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Part 1

Holodomor Background materials

For Teachers

The Holodomor and

The Alberta Program of Studies - Senior High

The Holodomor, which means “suffering and death by starvation, caused deliberately,” was an artificial famine that occurred as a result of Soviet government and Communist Party policies and actions taken in Ukraine in 1932–1933. From 1932–1934, about 4 million Ukrainians died of starvation or related ailments in Soviet Ukraine, which was considered to be the “breadbasket of the Soviet Union.” In May 2008, the Government of Canada recognized the Holodomor as an act of genocide and enacted the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (“Holodomor”) Memorial Day Act. On October 30, 2008, the Legislative Assembly of Alberta passed Bill 37, the Ukrainian Famine and Genocide Memorial day Act, which also recognized the Holodomor as genocide and in line with the federal government act established the 4th Saturday of each November as “Ukrainian Famine and Genocide (Holodomor) Day.” Remarkably, though, not many people are aware of this man-made catastrophe. The Alberta Social Studies Program of Studies requires that teachers address this issue in Social 20, but there are many other places in high school social studies where instruction around the Holodomor can meet specific outcomes in the curriculum.

The purpose of this document is to provide Alberta teachers with background information about the events of the Holodomor and to examine these events through the lens of the
Alberta social studies curriculum. This resource package includes (Part 1) materials that explain the events and (Part 2) lessons and activities that meet high school outcomes.

**Historical Outline**

Russia was a geographically enormous empire in 1914 at the start of World War I. Although ethnic Russians constituted the majority of its population, large minorities of non-Russians, such as Ukrainians, also lived in the Russian Empire, mostly in territories along the edges or peripheral zones of imperial lands. For instance, Ukrainian lived in the empire’s south-west provinces, while Poles lived in the central-western borderlands. In terms of its level of industrialization, democratic governance and social modernization, the Russian Empire was far behind the other great European powers. Most citizens were still peasants (small-scale and subsistence farmers). Although they had been released from serfdom in 1861, peasants in the Russian Empire lacked many rights that other European peasants had long since won. Most were poorly educated, if at all; employed outmoded methods of farming; and had little or no understanding of electoral politics. Overpopulation and land hunger were issues of importance in parts of the empire, including in Ukraine. Many peasants looked at the large landowning estates with the hope of obtaining additional lands for themselves.

On the eve of World War I the Russian Empire was a constitutional monarchy, ruled by Tsar Nicholas II, who was extremely conservative and resistant to change. Yet, he readily committed Russia to fight in World War I with aims of expanding the empire’s territory. The empire was not prepared for lengthy war, which sapped its resources. As the war dragged on, the army faced repeated defeats and morale deteriorated. Food shortages led to bread riots and the Tsar was forced to abdicate in March 1917. A provisional government that replaced the government of Nicholas II struggled through a series of crises until they were overthrown themselves by the Russian Bolsheviks, a radical Marxist party led by Vladimir Lenin, who took control of the capital, St. Petersburg, and Moscow, and other parts of central Russia starting in late October 1917 with the promise of Peace! Land! Bread!
Although there were some common elements with the course of events in central Russia, in Ukraine political developments took a different turn. When the Russian monarchy fell in March 1917, Ukrainian intellectuals and civic leaders established the Central Rada (Council) in Kyiv, which soon developed into a legislative body. In early summer of 1917 the Rada declared autonomy and established a government, the General Secretariat. Following the Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd, the Rada issued a declaration of sovereignty and established the Ukrainian People’s Republic, which still retained federal ties with a democratic Russia, whose provisional government had been overthrown. The Rada declared outright independence on 22 January 1918 in response to a military invasion from Bolshevik Russia in support of a rival Bolshevik-installed government in the eastern Ukrainian city of Kharkiv. This contender was established following the failure of Ukraine’s Bolsheviks to oust the Central Rada from power in Kyiv. Bolshevik forces did succeed in pushing Ukrainian government forces out of Kyiv in February 1918, but the Central Rada government was reinstalled with the assistance of the Central Powers.

These developments marked the opening phase of a prolonged period of armed struggles for power in Ukraine, which included foreign interventions (by Austro-German, Polish, French and various Russian forces); a civil war (between Bolshevik and White armies), battles between Ukrainian pro-independence, national armies and Bolshevik forces; and a radical transformation of the countryside, featuring the seizure and division of the estates of large landowners by the peasants, peasant riots, uprisings, and peasant-led guerrilla warfare. By 1921, however, Ukraine’s pro-independence forces were defeated by the Bolsheviks, who established another Soviet government with its capital in the eastern city of Kharkiv. Although under control of the Bolshevik Party in Moscow, the Soviet Ukrainian government remained formally independent until 1922, when it became part of the Soviet Union.

In central Russia, the Bolsheviks, after seizing power, had withdrawn from the fighting in World War I, but spent the next few years fighting a civil war against those opposed to Bolshevik rule (the anti-Bolshevik forces known as the Whites) as well as trying to re-establish control over the
formerly imperial territories of the non-Russian peoples like the Ukrainians, who had formed their own independent states. During this period (1918-1921), the Bolsheviks also imposed a political and economic order known as War Communism, during which they attempted to transform the economy according to communist doctrine. During the period of War Communism citizens were denied the right to own private property, and provisions were made for nationalization of all industry, rationing of food, and enforcing a government monopoly on foreign trade. Peasants were also subject to grain requisitions - essentially forced contributions. This policy, as well as severe drought and economic disturbances caused by the warfare, created a famine across the Bolshevik controlled areas in 1921 that resulted in 10 million deaths. In addition to the lower Volga region of Russia, Ukraine was severely affected by the famine.

In 1922 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was established by the Bolsheviks, with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR) as one of the founding members. Although formally a federal state within which Ukraine had its own government, in reality the Communist Party monopolized political power in the USSR, and the establishment of the USRR can be seen as a step in the reconstitution of the Russian Empire, which had collapsed in 1917. Also in 1921, Lenin, in an attempt to revive the economy, introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP), which allowed peasants more economic freedom. The ownership of small farms was allowed and peasants were allowed to keep their production after they paid a tax in kind to the state. This policy gave farmers the incentive to invest and work harder.

Following Lenin’s death in 1924, a power struggle ensued resulting in Joseph Stalin emerging as the new leader of the Soviet Union. After consolidating power and sidelining his rivals by 1928, Stalin’s approach to governing became increasingly characterized by terror and evolved into a form of totalitarian rule (a very centralized and dictatorial form of government in which the state and its institutions control most aspects of public life). In the Soviet Union, this system became known as Stalinism.
By 1928, Stalin rejected the softening of communist principles under the NEP and abandoned the policies associated with it. A sign of this was his turn to policies of forced collectivization of agriculture and rapid industrialization. He initiated a series of Five-Year Plans. It was during the first Five-Year Plan that peasants were forced to give up their farmland, farming equipment and farm animals and join a kolkhoz (collective farm). Although the collective farm was ostensibly formed in fulfillment of the communist goal of building a classless society and economy without exploiters and capitalists, the collective farms were actually controlled by Soviet and Communist Party officials. This made it easier to manage the peasantry and to receive for low prices, or without compensation, when required, goods and crops produced on the farms, such as grain.

The Five-Year Plans set economic goals aimed at making the nation militarily strong and industrially self-sufficient. To raise capital, the Soviet government planned to sell wheat and other products, mostly raw materials, abroad to pay for the purchase of foreign machinery and technology that was needed to support accelerated industrial development. These Five-Year Plans became the economic model the Soviet Union followed for the next sixty years.

Peasants, however, resisted being forced to join collective farms, which in essence meant their agreeing to the expropriation of their fields, livestock and farming implements. There were some large-scale protests and even revolts, which were put down by force. Ukraine was an especially active area of resistance. Some burned their fields and slaughtered their livestock in protest rather than hand them over to the authorities. The most successful farmers who flourished under the NEP, and even those who resisted collectivization, were labeled ‘Kulaks’ and a propaganda campaign was initiated against this category of peasants. In 1929, the Soviet government began methodically attacking peasant farmers who were resisting collectivization. Resistance from within the Ukrainian SSR was also, at times, labeled “bourgeois nationalism” and anyone who opposed collectivization was portrayed as an enemy of the people. Hundreds of thousands of peasants who resisted forced collectivization, most labeled as ‘Kulaks’, were arrested, sent to prisons or exiled, tortured and/or killed.
The worldwide depression, which began in 1929, resulted in a drop in wheat prices that seriously affected the Soviet government's ability to meet the objectives of the Five-Year plan. Following a good harvest in 1930, the chaos and mismanagement that accompanied collectivization, compounded by peasant resistance, led to a severe drop in grain production the following year. Nevertheless, the Soviet government assigned excessively high grain procurement quotas in 1931 and in 1932. By early 1932, famine was evident in many parts of Soviet Ukraine. Yet, despite warnings from Ukrainian officials that the grain quota was unrealistic, and that people were suffering from famine, the central authorities in Moscow insisted on following through on grain collection plans leaving farmers little or nothing for personal consumption. Furthermore, they enacted a series of laws, many only affecting the Ukrainian SSR, which intensified the famine and caused the Holodomor. Most of the policies came directly from Stalin and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party [AUCP(B)] based in Moscow. On August 8, 1932, a decree was passed that declared collective farm property as equivalent to property of the state. Those found storing or gathering grain from fields (even gleaning after the harvest) were subject to draconian penalties, including execution or imprisonment for ten years. To ostensibly fulfill the grain collection plans and other in-kind quotas imposed on the peasants, officials stripped collective farmers of stored grain, meat, other food, and, even seeds for sowing. Starving peasants were forbidden to take food from the fields where they worked. In fall 1932, Stalin sent his trusted lieutenants, Viacheslav Molotov and Lazar Kaganovich, at the head of special teams to strip even more grain from Ukraine and the north Caucasus region of Russia, where many Ukrainians also lived. In January 1933, a decree was issued that blocked peasants from Ukraine from leaving their villages for other areas of the USSR to search for food. When they tried to leave their villages, the government erected military blockades to prevent them from leaving or travelling to cities and beyond the borders of Ukraine.

The famine also affected urban workers inside Ukrainian SSR, though most labourers received food rations during the crisis. City workers were encouraged to see themselves as leaders of the
revolution and to see peasants as counter-revolutionaries who were hoarding food. After food was decreed state property, in the summer of 1932, communist brigades fanned out across the countryside to ensure that peasants were not committing theft. That is, keeping grain at home to feed their families.

In early 1933, at the high point of the famine, peasants were starving to death at a rate of about 25,000 per day. Diseases were also spreading due to people’s weakness from lack of food and their inability to care for themselves; incidents of cannibalism began appearing in government reports. Despite this immense catastrophe, news about the events in the Ukrainian SSR was sparse. There were no reports about the famine emanating from official circles in the Soviet Union, and considering the scale of the catastrophe, foreign media paid relatively little attention to it. The worldwide depression, as well as new governments in America and Germany, garnered much more international attention than what was happening inside the Soviet Union. It is clear that the Soviet Government was aware of the famine, though. However, it did not offer comprehensive aid by mobilizing internal grain resources, nor at any point did the Soviet government request international assistance. Moreover, Soviet authorities, when questioned on the famine, denied that it had even taken place. Their response to the peasants’ inability to meet the unrealistic quotas was to punish them, blaming them and lower-level Ukrainian officials for sabotaging the harvest. One cannot blame this tragedy on climate issues or a failure to produce wheat. Ukraine produced more than enough wheat throughout the crisis to feed herself. The clear cause of the Holodomor was the policies implemented by the Soviet authorities at the time.

For the next fifty years the Holodomor remained covered up, denied, and simply not talked about in the Soviet Union. This started to change with Gorbachev’s policy of glasnost in the late 1980s and then, with the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the release of records from government archives led to a flood of information about the Holodomor in Ukraine. Researchers are still uncovering more information about this time of terror.
Ukrainian National Identity and Ukrainian Nationalism

The origins of Ukrainian national identity arguably began with the establishment of the first Eastern Slavic state, called Kyivan Rus’, which existed from the late ninth to the mid thirteenth centuries. The Cossacks, whose democratic and semi-military societies emerged in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, also help shape Ukrainian identity. Perhaps the most important Cossack leader was Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who worked for the liberation of the “entire Ruthenian people.” (Ukrainians were known as Ruthenians then.) Khmelnytsky is still considered a national hero for leading an uprising in the mid-1600s that resulted in the creation of a Cossack state. His legacy though, is tainted by the fact that he eventually entered into an agreement and alliance with Russia (then known as Muscovy) that led to the loss of independence and later the autonomy of Ukraine.

Another important figure in helping form a Ukrainian national consciousness was Taras Shevchenko. Shevchenko was a poet and artist who lived in 1814-61 and inspired a revival of Ukrainian culture. He became involved in a political group calling for more autonomy for the peoples of the Russian Empire and wrote poems critical of the Tsar and Russian policies towards Ukraine for which he was arrested and sentenced to exile. His work is important for its influence on the Ukrainian national consciousness. His influence was so strong that during Soviet times the government worked to shape perceptions of him as a champion of the poor classes rather than as a promoter of Ukrainian patriotism and national identity (nationalism). Today he has become an iconic figure for Ukrainians and the Ukrainian Diaspora.

Prior to World War I, the area that is now Ukraine was divided between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Several attempts to establish an independent Ukrainian state after the war ended were unsuccessful, largely due to wars for independence lost to Soviet Russia and Poland. Treaties ending the war created many new nations in Eastern Europe, but Ukraine was not one of them. Following the war with Bolshevik Russia as well as the Polish-Ukrainian war over control of Eastern Galicia, Western Ukrainian lands fell under Polish, Romanian and Czechoslovak control while central and eastern Ukrainian lands succumbed to Bolshevik
Russia’s control. By 1922, the Soviet Union emerged with Ukrainian SSR as one of its founding republics. The Polish–Ukrainian War of 1918 and 1919 played a role in the development of Ukrainian nationalism. Although Ukraine was defeated, this war deepened feelings of patriotism among many in Ukraine providing fertile ground for the development a radical form of Ukrainian nationalism in the 1930s. Twenty years later Eastern Galicia became part of Ukrainian SSR and remains a part of Ukraine today.

Despite engulfing central and eastern Ukraine into its borders, the new Soviet government actually encouraged some national expressions during the twenties and early thirties in Ukraine as well as among the other non-Russian nations and peoples that found themselves incorporated into the Soviet Union. Initially, in Ukraine and the other non-Russian republics, national cultural development was tolerated and even encouraged through the policy known as korenizatsiia (indigenization) which in Ukraine became implemented through policies known as Ukrainization. Ukrainization allowed some expressions of national cultural assertiveness, as the Soviet state supported and encouraged Ukrainian language use. In the Ukrainian SSR, support was also given for the cultural development of Ukraine’s minority populations that lived in the Ukrainian SSR. During this time, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was created despite the Soviet Union’s anti-religious stance.

However, by the time Stalin consolidated power in 1929, he began to express concerns about the effect that indigenization policies were having on the unity of the Soviet people. He argued that the national movements and expressions of national distinctiveness were obstacles to the unity of the working class and a potential threat to the unity of the Soviet state. The state began to reverse these practices and soon the central government was identifying “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism” as a major problem in the Ukrainian SSR. A campaign already began in the late 1920s to exterminate leading non-Communist intellectuals and the political and cultural elite as a way to suppress national forces, even though Ukrainization controlled by the Communist Party still continued. Many view the Holodomor as simply a continuation of this
campaign against Ukrainian nationalism. The Ukrainian peasantry is seen here as a repository of Ukrainian identity and a natural base of support to Ukrainian nation-building efforts.

The Soviet Union finally disintegrated in 1991 just after Ukraine declared itself an independent country. The political system has evolved since independence into a unitary semi-presidential system of government, with parliament retaining many powers. With independence have come many challenges as the Ukrainian people work to create a new nation-state and find their place in the world. The relationship with Russia continues to be one of the fundamental questions in Ukrainian politics.

While Boris Yeltsin was Russia’s president (until 1999), Ukraine tried to retain good relations between both Russia and Western countries. In 1997 it signed a treaty with Russia that settled disputes and regulated affairs between the two countries. Following Vladimir Putin’s taking over the Russian presidency, however, relations between the two countries deteriorated. In 2004, Ukrainians protested a rigged presidential election that would have brought a pro-Russian candidate, Viktor Yanukovych to power. As result, new elections were held that brought Viktor Yushchenko, a pro-western candidate, victory. In 2010, Yanukovych finally succeeded in coming to power and set Ukraine upon a more pro-Russian course. Following his refusal in November 2013 to sign a treaty establishing closer ties with the European Union, it appeared that Ukraine would once again come under Russian dominance.

Most Ukrainians, however, refused to accept this decision, as they were thoroughly fed up with Yanukovych’s increasingly authoritarian and corrupt rule. Protests broke out in central Kyiv in late November 2013. After the Yanukovych government tried to break these up using deadly force, the protests culminated in a revolution in February 2014 that ousted Yanukovych, bringing to power a government favouring closer ties with Europe. Following this, Ukraine’s relationship with Russia changed fundamentally. In March 2014, Russia embarked on a series of aggressive acts towards Ukraine, annexing Crimea and then intervening militarily in eastern Ukraine in support of a pro-Russian rebellion. The result in Ukrainian society overall has been a
consolidation of Ukrainian patriotic feelings and identity (nationalism) and a further shift from Russia towards Europe and Western values.

Despite tremendous challenges, Ukraine seems poised in becoming a modern European country.

**Russian and Soviet Nationalism/Ultra Nationalism and Ukraine**

Ultra-nationalism is an extreme form of nationalism that is often associated with authoritarian governments. Many ultra-nationalists are anti-immigrant and use force, scapegoating, indoctrination and propaganda as methods to promote their ideologies. Both the Soviet Union and Russian Empire before it had many ultra-nationalistic characteristics.

The Russian Empire gained much of its identity from the Orthodox Church and the Romanov dynasty that had ruled since 1613. Nicholas II was the last Romanov ruler in this dynasty. Russification, which is essentially laws, decrees and other actions taken to promote the Russian language and culture throughout the Empire, became systematic in the nineteenth century through the promulgation of two decrees in 1863 and 1876 that aimed at suppressing the Ukrainian language and culture. The goal was to absorb Ukrainians and other non-Russian nations and peoples into a single Russian national culture. Russification led to Russian nationals being assigned to important administrative positions and to the use of the Russian language for all official business, as well as the suppression of national and cultural expressions of nations and peoples who were not ethnic Russians.

In March 1917, a democratic revolution broke out in the Russian Empire that led to the Tsar’s abdication from power. Soon afterward Ukrainian leaders demanded self-rule for Ukraine. A legislature and government were formed in Kyiv that received recognition of autonomy from Russia’s provisional government. In November 1917, however, the Bolsheviks, a radical leftist political party, took power in Russia during what has become known as the October Revolution. In January 1918, Bolshevik forces invaded Ukraine to support the establishment of a Bolshevik
government there which triggered Ukraine’s government to declare independence from Russia. By 1921, however, Ukraine’s quest for independence was crushed militarily by Bolshevik forces centred in Russia. However, the Bolshevik leadership headed by Lenin did make some concessions to Ukrainian national aspirations in allowing the formation of a Ukrainian Soviet state that would be controlled however by the Bolshevik Party. Concessions were also made to the peasants who were allowed to redistribute land among themselves confiscated from large landowners and engage in private farming during the NEP. In 1922, Soviet Ukraine and other Soviet republics were incorporated into a quasi-federal state called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

With the creation of the USSR, Lenin proclaimed that internationalism was its official ideology. Expressions of Russian nationalism were initially discouraged as they represented attachments to the old Tsarist imperial government. It was proclaimed that this new country was going to be different because the primary unifying characteristic was ideology rather than ethnicity. Bolsheviks believed that communism, an internationalist ideology, would inevitably spread around the world changing the whole nation-state system. Propaganda was created to help instill in workers a collective feeling of being part of a worker’s revolution. However, the government went further, demanding complete obedience from the people and condemning anyone who did not comply with their policies. Ultimately, this revolutionary fervor combined with elements of traditional Russian nationalism and imperial, great power aspirations became the basis for Soviet ultra-nationalism.

Shortly after Stalin consolidated power, he reversed the indigenization policy (known in Ukraine as Ukrainization), which had supported the use of the Ukrainian language in the government and public life and began a policy of Russification, which became a building block of Sovietization. Many Russians came to the Ukrainian SSR to take up important positions and to bring institutions in-line with those in Moscow. Only following Stalin’s death was an ethnic Ukrainian allowed to be first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine—technically the most important and powerful post in the Communist Party of Ukraine. Sovietization also led to the
“elimination” of anyone the Bolsheviks felt were a threat to the central government. The Soviets decided that expressions of Ukrainian national assertiveness and cultural autonomy were dangerous to the unity of the Soviet state.

Ultimately, the cause of the Holodomor can be interpreted as the problem in the relationship between the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the USSR, and the role of the Ukrainian peasantry as an autonomous economic and social formation that served as the social basis of support for Ukrainian statehood. The republics had no real power in the Soviet system and decision-making was centralized and bureaucratized. Stalin and the Politburo made all the important political and administrative decisions in Moscow at the Kremlin. Party and government officials who tried to defend the Ukrainian people were “purged” from the party and replaced, often by officials from Russia, and at times themselves suffered repression, jailing and even execution. At the same time, a significant part of Ukraine’s cultural elite was arrested or destroyed, and the remainder cowed into submission. Ukraine’s importance as an agricultural powerhouse and its strategic location on the Soviet Union’s western frontier motivated the Soviet leaders to do everything they could to keep control of Ukraine and to deny her people the right to make their own decisions. In Ukraine, as well, the question of the economic and social autonomy and status of Ukraine’s peasantry had a national dimension, as the peasantry served as an important base of support for Ukrainian identity and for Ukrainian national aspirations. A blow struck against the peasantry thus had national consequences.

Globalization

The declared goal of the Bolsheviks was international communism. The curriculum defines globalization as the process by which the world’s citizens are becoming increasingly connected and interdependent. The centralistic policies implemented by the Bolsheviks sought to increase connectedness and economic interdependence amongst the Soviet people (and eventually the whole world). Through this lens, we can compare the actions and policies of the Soviet government to both traditional Imperial Powers like Great Britain in the late 19th century, and to corporations and governments in the modern era of globalization. We can investigate, as
well, whether Soviet slogans promoting international communism served as a mask to hide nationalistic and imperialistic designs.

**Liberalism**

In the 19th century, much of Europe was embracing classical liberal principles. With the advent of industrialization came private property, self-interest, more individual rights and greater economic freedom. These changes had a powerful effect on society and led to urbanization, rapid innovation and the development of a middle class. Thus, classical liberal ideology became the foundation for societies based on capitalism. Also, historically, liberalism and the development of parliamentary or representative democracy in Western European countries and in North America seemed to go hand in hand.

Russia did not begin to industrialize until the 1860s when they finally abolished serfdom. The move to industrialization brought some changes, but Russia’s absolute monarchy made only minor concessions to demands for democratization and representative government. For the most part the vast majority of the people remained powerless and a small aristocracy controlled much of the agricultural land and industrial enterprises were owned by very few. The two groups controlled much of the means of production. Changes brought about because of the 1905 uprising were not substantial enough to satisfy the demands of many citizens for a liberal democracy. The provisional government after the Tsar abdicated did try to create a democratic state based on liberal principles but faced opposition from both sides of the political spectrum. As a result, Russians were never exposed to liberal principles long enough for these ideas to permeate the culture. It was thus easier for the Bolshevik Party to be able to channel popular discontent based on poverty and economic hardship, especially among the working class and peasantry in support of their program of radical economic and social change. Even today, the government of Russia is less inclined to protect individual rights, freedom of the press, and other liberal ideals compared with most European nations.
The government of the USSR rejected liberal ideas on a number of levels. Totalitarianism, practiced by the Bolsheviks, denied citizens political and individual freedoms, regimented society, and demanded that people accept the dominant ideology. Under Communist rule the people’s economic freedoms were severely limited and they were prevented from acting as independent agents in the economy. Some believe that totalitarianism, communism or both systems were the underlying cause of the Holodomor. Totalitarianism is a form of rule that permeates all levels of society. It aims to regiment society and demands submission of the individual to the state and its controlling bodies and institutions. Communism is a doctrine and belief system, an ideology, which may facilitate totalitarian rule. In power, communists have tended to institute authoritarian and even totalitarian rule. This type of rule could be called communist totalitarianism.

**Controversy**

While there are still debates about some aspects of the Holodomor, near consensus has developed amongst scholars that the Holodomor was preceded by a period dominated by forced collectivization, which led to chaos in the countryside and a sharp drop in farm production. This was followed by an extremely severe famine in Soviet Ukraine between 1932 and 1933 that the primary cause of which was excessive grain collection, the confiscation of grain and other foodstuffs, and accompanying repressions and restrictions placed upon Ukraine’s peasants. Most of the victims, around four million according to latest estimates by demographers, were ethnic Ukrainian.

The issue of genocide holds particular significance for many involved in researching the Holodomor. The question is complicated by various definitions of genocide and how different scholars apply them. The legal definition most often used comes from the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This followed from the work of Raphael Lemkin who coined the term genocide and wrote about it. Lemkin also studied the events surrounding the Holodomor and in a speech given in 1953 considered it as a key element of what he described as the Soviet genocide in Ukraine.
Those who argue that the Holodomor should not be considered an ethnic genocide say that millions of non-Ukrainian Soviet citizens, including Russians living in Russia, also died during the famine. They argue that Soviet actions represent more of a disregard for the lives of the people, in this case the peasants, in the pursuit of economic goals than a true ethnic genocide. Some say that the first thirty years of the Soviet Union saw such tremendous loss of life, due to the totalitarian nature of the government, that the Holodomor is best seen as part of this chaos and destruction. Stalin’s policies are responsible for the death of at least 20 million Soviet citizens.

Now that so much primary source material has become available, many scholars are finding more evidence to defend the position that the Holodomor was clearly an act of genocide. Some of the strongest arguments for this position include:

1. The government’s attack on political, cultural and religious elites, important cultural figures and even cultural workers leading up to, during and after the Holodomor.
2. The government’s destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Most Ukrainians were Orthodox in Soviet-ruled Ukraine and religious belief was important to the people’s identity. In addition, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was a self-ruling church, independent of the Russian Orthodox Church, and supported Ukrainian national identity.
3. The policies aimed at Ukraine that caused the removal of most foodstuffs from starving peasants who made up the heart of the Ukrainian nation.
4. The sealing of Ukraine’s borders, forbidding starving peasants from seeking food outside Ukraine, dooming many to starvation.
5. The dispersion of Ukrainians to other parts of the Soviet Union and the influx of Russians during this time and shortly following changed Ukrainian SSR demographics. The percentage of Ukrainians in Ukrainian SSR went from more than 80% in 1926 to only 63% in 1939.
6. The government’s policy of elimination of the Kulaks as a social class and the categorization of so many Ukrainians as Kulaks.
7. The beginnings of the rollback of indigenization (Ukrainization-government support for Ukrainian-language development and the return of Russification.)

Since the events surrounding the Holodomor were covered up for so many years, there was little official recognition before 1990. As the evidence continues to emerge, many governments around the world have begun to recognize the actions of Soviet government during this era as an act of genocide. In 2006, the Ukrainian parliament passed a law that recognized the Holodomor as an act of genocide. In 2008, the European parliament adopted a resolution recognizing the Holodomor as a crime against humanity. Other countries, including Canada, have recognized the Holodomor as genocide.
Citizenship and Identity

The relationship between citizenship and identity forms the basis for skills and learning outcomes in the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum. These two concepts are fundamentally linked, as our collective identities influence citizenship in our nation, and our roles as citizens help define our individual and collective identities. The development of these two concepts over the course of thirteen years help students develop an understanding of the world they live in and the roles they can play in it.

At the high school level, each course begins (Related Issue #1) with a focus on identity in relation to the curriculum’s main theme. In each of these courses, students examine numerous case studies to use as evidence to draw their own conclusions about citizenship and identity. In Social 10, students explore ways that collectives express their identities through tradition, language, religion and the arts. They also analyze the challenges presented by such globalizing forces as assimilation, marginalization, and integration. In Social 20, students explore understandings of, collective feelings about, and expressions of nationalism. Students also explore the issue of reconciling contending loyalties between national, ethnic, and ideological affiliations. In Social 30, students explore identity through an examination of collective beliefs and values. For each of these, Ukrainians, or Ukrainians in the period leading up to the Holodomor, provide an excellent case study to uncover curriculum outcomes.

The study of Soviet nationalism, and in particular the relationship between ultra-nationalism in the Soviet Union and the Holodomor, is a required part of the Social 20 curriculum. In this course, students explore the origins, causes and complexities of nationalism, as well as the relationship between nationalism and ultra-nationalism.
Foreign Policy

All three high school programs call for students to explore how foreign policy reflects the values of a country and can help governments to achieve their objectives. The foreign policy of a government is the actions that it takes in relation to other nation-states or international organizations. Whether countries should pursue a more nationalistic or international paths, and whether nations should strive for economic independence or embrace globalization, are ongoing debates around the world.

One of the ways we can engage our students in the study of the Holodomor is by asking them what the appropriate foreign policy response should have been to this catastrophe. What policies should Canada and/or the International Community have changed? Why wasn’t the famine discussed openly at the League of Nations? What actions could have prevented or lessened the effects of the Holodomor? What principles should we follow in creating our foreign policies? When do humanitarianism or human rights issues trump national sovereignty in the international system? Who should make these decisions? By encouraging students to project themselves into the role of policy makers, we can help them appreciate the challenges faced by sovereign countries in our international system. By having students develop foreign policy responses to the Holodomor and similar events, they begin to develop their own perspective on these issues.

Globalization

The Social 10 curriculum focuses on the issue of globalization and asks students to consider; to what extent should we embrace globalization? Students explore the impact of globalization on lands, cultures, economies, human rights and quality of life. The origins of globalization are with industrialization and imperialism and are usually associated with early capitalist empires. Despite the lack of capitalism, it is easy to view the actions of the Soviet Union as imperialistic.
**Liberalism**

In the Social 30 curriculum students study the principles of classical and modern liberalism. They have the opportunity to assess the viability, principles and role of liberalism in our society. Students also investigate responses to liberalism and systems that rejected liberalism in the 20th century including the Bolshevik model of government established in Russia after the 1917 revolution.

**Document Analysis**

Alberta Social Studies places an emphasis on embedding specific skills and processes into teaching strategies. These include critical thinking and historical thinking skills such as the ability to assemble, analyze, synthesize, and evaluate ideas and information from a wide variety of sources and perspectives. Teachers challenge students to develop positions informed by historical and contemporary evidence.

The rich collection of primary source material surrounding the Holodomor that has recently become available provides students the opportunity to develop these skills while gaining a deeper understanding of the Holodomor. Government documents, survivor testimonies, eyewitness accounts, propaganda posters, and other material from this period allow students to utilize essential skills and processes while expanding their knowledge of the Holodomor.

One example is the study of propaganda and/or propaganda posters. The Soviet regime used many political posters to indoctrinate people into their ideology. These included posters created to promote collective farming, to attack the Kulaks as class enemies, and to garner support for the Five-Year Plans. All of these records are of particular interest in the study of the Holodomor. The analysis of these types of sources provides students with a deeper understanding of the forces at work that brought about the Holodomor.
Controversy

Below are some of the questions Holodomor scholars have been studying for the last twenty years. These, and others, should be debated and researched by students.

- Should the Holodomor be considered a genocide? Should the Holodomor be considered an ethnic genocide, aimed at the destruction or partial destruction of an ethnic or national group?
- Was the Soviet government intent on destroying Ukrainian nationalism?
- Should the victims of the Holodomor be seen as primarily Ukrainians or as peasants?
- How many people actually died in Ukraine during the Holodomor?
- How many people died in other Soviet Republics during this time due to collectivization?
- What motivated the decisions of the central government / Stalin?

Conclusion

The Alberta educational system has already committed to promoting awareness of the Holodomor through its inclusion in the Program of Studies and in many of the basic student resources. By giving our students the opportunity to apply critical and historical thinking skills to the study of the Holodomor we are able to meet many outcomes from the program of studies while allowing students to explore the complexities of this event. In years to come we can be certain of an increased knowledge and understanding of the significance of this important event.
Time lines for Holodomor - the Ukrainian Genocide:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Ukrainian lands and people are divided between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires prior to World War 1. The majority of Ukrainians lived under the Russian Empire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>The Russian Revolution and the breakup of the Russian Empire. Ukraine sets up a legislature, the Central Rada and a Government, separate from Russia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917 - Nov. 7</td>
<td>The Bolshevik takeover in Petrograd, Russia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918 - Jan. 22</td>
<td>Ukraine declares Independence as the Ukrainian People’s Republic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918-1920</td>
<td>Ukraine attempts to establish and remain an independent state (The Hetmanate and the Ukrainian People’s Republic), while fighting the Red Army (Bolsheviks/Communists), the White Army (Russian Monarchists) the Poles and the Romanians on Ukrainian soil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918 - March</td>
<td>The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, a separate treaty on the Eastern Front to end the war (World War I). Signed by the Central Rada of Ukraine as a separate country and Leon Trotsky for the Bolshevik Government of Russia, acknowledging Ukrainian territorial integrity and Ukraine as a separate country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Ukraine is not accepted as a separate country and is left out at the hearings that determined the post-war map of Europe at the Paris peace talks. These led to several treaties, the most important of which was the Treaty of Versailles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918 -- 1921</td>
<td>Civil War rages throughout the former Russian Empire, including Ukraine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>The Bolsheviks gain control of Ukraine with the aid of the Red Army. Ukrainian politicians go into exile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1922</td>
<td>Famine rages in Ukraine as 1,500,000 Ukrainians starve to death. Food is confiscated and taken out of Ukraine to feed Russian cities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>The New Economic Policy (NEP) is brought in by the Bolsheviks to rebuild the economy. It allowed for small farm holdings, permitting Ukrainian farmers to continue farming their private land plots and running small businesses in Soviet controlled Ukraine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-1923</td>
<td>Ukraine is formally incorporated into the Soviet Union as a republic with Kharkiv, in Eastern Ukraine, as the new capital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Lenin dies resulting in a power struggle between Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Korenizatsiia (Indigenization) is made a policy of the USSR. This was done to appease the national feelings and aspirations of the Ukrainian population and encourage Ukrainians to join the Communist Party. A cultural renaissance arises, as Ukrainian artists, writers and film directors embrace the call and continue developing an indigenous Ukrainian culture. The Ukrainian language is supported, encouraged and flourishes in schools and government offices. As a result, some Ukrainian intellectuals join the Communist Party of Ukraine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-1929</td>
<td>Stalin consolidates control of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, introduces the First Five Year Plan (1928-1933) with Collectivization and Industrialization as the goals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>The Soviets launch an attack on Ukrainian national elites - potential leaders of resistance: Arrest of 700 members and show trial of a fictitious SVU (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine Organization) accused of wanting an independent Ukraine with links to the farmers and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>The Ukrainian Autocephalous (autonomous from the Moscow Patriarch) Orthodox Church is liquidated and leaders are imprisoned or executed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929-1931</td>
<td>Forced Collectivization and De-Kulakization: Collectivization involved forcing and coercing farmers into giving up their generally small privately owned farmsteads, livestock and farming implements and joining larger collective farm units, ostensibly owned and operated by the members of the collective farms themselves. Resistance to joining the collectives was widespread in Soviet Ukraine, including strikes, and even uprisings, especially in early 1930. Forced collectivization was accompanied by dekulakization, or the elimination of “rich farmers” (kulaks) from their households and communities. About 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 farmers are sent to Siberia, are executed, or sent to concentration camps with their families. Property of &quot;rich farmers&quot; (kulaks) is confiscated and transferred to collective farms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1932</td>
<td>Government sets unrealistic grain procurements targets for Ukraine. Little is left for the farmers. Farmers live off their depleted reserves, small plots next to their cottages,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and some, if lucky enough to have them, farm animals. Ukrainian farmers flee to cities, to Russia and Belarus in search of food. Famine and starvation begins in early 1932.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1932 - April 23</th>
<th>The Communist Party liquidates all non-governmental literary organizations in Ukraine.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932 - August 7</td>
<td>Government passes law making all food state property. Death penalty for stealing grain in the field. Unproductive villages in Ukraine (1/3) and the Kuban are deprived of manufactured goods and food stuffs -they are blacklisted. Villages are cordoned off by troops and left to starve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Widespread starvation in Ukraine and in the north Caucasus, including the Kuban and the Volga region all of which have very large ethnic Ukrainian populations. Dec. 14, 1932 secret decree blames Ukrainization, and the infiltration of nationalist elements into the Ukrainian communist party and administration, for the grain problems. In Ukraine, some of the top Ukrainian leadership is replaced and a campaign against Ukrainian nationalism is launched, leading to purges and the replacement of party figures, mainly by Russians. The rollback of Ukrainization and Russification begins. In January 1933, the Soviet leadership issued a decree closing the borders of Ukraine and the Kuban from the rest of the USSR, to prevent starving farmers from searching for food. In 6 weeks, 220,000 are arrested, many shot or sent to the gulag, and 85% were sent home to starve. In May 1933, a famous Ukrainian writer, Mykola Khyvyliovy commits suicide in protest. In July 1933, Mykola Skrypnyk, a top Ukrainian communist leader also kills himself in protest. Non-Ukrainians are settled in areas where famine has devastated whole villages in late 1933. The Red Cross and Cardinal Innitzer demand permission to send famine relief; Moscow denies famine and rejects relief.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Foreign Policy
Foreign Policy Responses and Genocide

Framing an Effective Foreign Policy - LearnAlberta

http://www.learnalberta.ca/content/ssoc11/html/framingeffectiveforeignpolicy_cc.html

Students brainstorm FPs. Discuss what the most appropriate FP for genocide is.

Contending Loyalties: First Person Narrative

Students take on role of Ukrainian Communist Official who must write a letter to a brother. The letter is the main product of this assignment.

Historically Significant

This lesson borrows heavily from http://historicalthinking.ca/lesson/386
In this lesson students look at a series of event cards (not really cards yet) and rate them according to Historical significance. Then they rate them according to their impact on the Holodomor. Students create a significance timeline, design a webpage and write an article as part of the assignment.

Re-imagining a Past - Counterfactual Scenarios and the Holodomor

Students compare the Holodomor to actions we usually associate with imperialism

Ukrainian Language Education Centre Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies; 430 Pembina Hall

What Constitutes Genocide: Holodomor Case Study and Comparison

Students compare Holodomor to other genocides to arrive at an answer to the question: Should the Holodomor be considered genocide?

Foreign Policy Responses and Genocide
**Description**

In this challenge, students investigate the role of foreign policy in promoting internationalism and in pursuing national interests.

**Process**

Begin lesson by considering some international event going on in the world. Review the event and then talk about how the Canadian government should respond to it. What is the most appropriate foreign policy response to this situation? Alternatively, you could give a specific scenario and ask the students what the appropriate foreign policy response should be for that.

For example, what should Canada do if one of our allies stops trading with us?

Have each student complete the following survey to get them thinking about Foreign Policy.

**Survey**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>StA</th>
<th>Agr</th>
<th>Un</th>
<th>Op</th>
<th>SO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No nation should ever intervene in the affairs of another. State sovereignty is the key to the international system.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If genocide is occurring in a country, that country loses their right to be sovereign.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International law is the best way to prevent or stop genocide.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When genocide occurs we must call for an international effort to stop it, but we should be prepared to act on our own if necessary.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our government should focus more on protecting our country and its interests and worry less about stopping ethnic hatreds in other parts of the world.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Putting economic or security interests before the lives of innocent people repeats the tragic mistakes of history.

Supranational institutions, like the UN, threaten the sovereignty of individual states and usually do more harm than good.

We should work with other nations to strengthen the power of the United Nations so they are better able to respond to genocide.

Foreign policy should only be used to pursue national interests.

Canada should only intervene in international affairs when something directly affects us.

Brainstorm Foreign Policies

Ask students to consider specific actions governments take. Brainstorm a long list of foreign policy actions. Some examples are provided.

Specific Foreign Policy Actions Canada could take

- Unilaterally impose a military blockade against a country
- As part of a coalition of nations, impose a military blockade against a country.
- Unilaterally use air power against a country
- Unilaterally invade another country
- As part of a coalition invade another country
- Provide foreign aid directly to another country's government
- Provide aid to another country through a Canadian aid agency
- Work through a supra-nationalist organization (UN, WTO) to solve an international issues
- Withdraw from most supra-nationalist organizations
- Set up a trade mission in another country
- Make a free trade deal with another country
- Conduct espionage against another country
- Withdraw from NATO
- Work with other countries to standardize legislation on an important international issue
- Sign a treaty with another country to work together for defense
• Announce we will be withdrawing from the terms of a treaty
• Sign a treaty
• Kick the ambassador out of the country
• Quit trading with a country
• Freeze all assets of a country or leaders of that country that are in our banks

Categorize Foreign Policies

After students have brainstormed a long list of actions, assemble the class into groups for four or five. Tell each group to discuss scenarios for each action – when would this foreign policy action be appropriate? For example, when would it be appropriate to provide direct foreign aid to another country’s government? After each policy is discussed, ask the students to revisit the list and rate the actions as more nationalistic or international. The action may depend on the context in which is used but most actions will lean one way or the other.

Each group can then select five actions that they feel best reflect the spectrum from internationalism to nationalism. Groups could create a visual presentation with their choices or all groups could add their information to one class continuum.

Internationalism         Nationalism

Foreign Policy Response to the Holodomor

Now that students are thinking about foreign policy issues, think about how Canada should have responded to the Holodomor. Were there actions Canada should have taken at the time? Could Canada or other countries in the world have taken actions that could have changed the outcome or lessened the effect of the Holodomor? Have each group come up with a Foreign Policy that they feel would have been most appropriate at the time of the Holodomor. Consider the consequences of the policy itself. Try to be realistic.
These foreign policy responses could be put together into a presentation or simply shared with the rest of the class. At this point, you may wish to have the students take the survey again and discuss any changes in their responses.

**Individual Assignment**

Imagine that there is a genocide taking place in the world today. Have students write a letter to the Minister of External Affairs advocating a specific action in response. Make sure that they are specific in what they are suggesting and they provide reasons for what they are suggesting.
Contending Loyalties: First Person Narrative

Social 20-1

Description

This challenge provides students with the opportunity to take on the role of a citizen living in Ukrainian SSR during the Holodomor and explore the issue of contending loyalties. Students are provided with a scenario, to which they respond. To complete the task students read the following scenario and letters and respond by writing a letter.

Scenario

You are a thirty-two year old man living in a city in Ukrainian SSR. It is the fall of 1932. You moved away from your family during the Russian civil war fifteen years ago. You have worked hard for the Bolsheviks and have been rewarded well. You have served both the party and government in many important positions throughout Ukrainian SSR. When the country was moving towards collective farming, you convinced your family members to join immediately. You have been devastated to see what has happened in Ukraine over the last year and are very worried as winter approaches. You have seen so many sick and dying people and the sights of starving children haunt you at night. You worry about your family because most of them still live on collective farms. You have been able to help family members with food a few times in the last year but now it is getting impossible.

As the situation worsens, more and more comrades are arriving from Moscow. They have been taking many important positions and seem to be suspicious of the Ukrainian leadership. You are particularly concerned about the new Russian commander of the region – Egorov. The mail has just arrived this morning and the first letter you open is from comrade Egorov.

Instructions for Lesson

Write a letter in response to the scenario described above. Make sure to note the specific requirements of the letter according to Egorov.
Comrade Stalin and Politburo of the CC CP(b)U

Comrade Stalin,

We are collective farmers who gave up land and joined our kolhosp back in 1929 when many were still saying they were going to keep their land. We supported the party and a socialist peoples’ economy. But comrade, are we not allowed to share in this economy? I ask you, is there a Soviet government law stating villagers should go hungry? Because we, our entire kolhosp, has not had any bread since June. And it is not only here, in every district in this region there is mass famine among the people. Why are there abundant supplies of different and inexpensive breads in Voronezh, Annovka, Moscow, Kuban, Tbilisi and Crimea, but there are none in Ukraine? And if you can ever find any bread it is so expensive that no from our kolohosp could possibly afford it.

The horses are all dead, people took them to eat, which led to so many deaths and sickness; sanitary conditions are absent. People are eating pig slop, roots, or worse, because there is nothing else.

Now there are officials coming around to search for food in every kolhosp. But there is no food comrade. We are starving to death. Your approach to the countryside ... that grain should be taken away and that villagers be made to work like factory workers may be necessary, but forcing the starving to work does not make any sense.

Are we are condemned to starve to death as the harvest is still four months away? What did we die for on the battlefronts? To go hungry, to see our children die in pangs of hunger? Please comrade Stalin.

Andriy Kobzar

(Based on material from Ukrainian Holodomor Source Book)

*****************************************************************

Comrade Nicholai Kobzar,

I intercepted this letter that your brother had attempted to send to Moscow. I am disappointed to see that your family is not more supportive of what we are working so
hard to achieve. I do not think it would be helpful for you or your family for this letter to get through to our leader. I would like you to write your brother and send me a copy of the letter. May I suggest to you that you follow this outline when you write your letter? I look forward to reading it.

Send your warm personal greetings
Express empathy for their situation
Explain that you are not able to help them
Explain to them why it is so important for Ukraine to meet the quotas set by our leaders
Explain to them how we are trying to create a better country for all our citizens

Lev Egorov

You are very worried. Many Ukrainians, who favour Ukrainian cultural development and Ukrainization and who were good party members have lost their jobs in the last few months. They have been accused of Ukrainian nationalism and many have been sent to gulags in Siberia. It seemed that many of them were not really guilty of much. Now as you read this letter from Kobzar you are wondering if you are being replaced as well. Why did the Commander ask for a copy of the letter? Is he looking for some reason to fire you? You decide that your best approach is to follow his instructions completely in writing your letter to your brother. Make sure that you do a very good job of the letter! Your life may depend upon it.

(Rubric from web.rbe.sk.ca/assessment/rubrics/languagearts/RAFTS%20Rubric.doc)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accuracy</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The information provided in the letter is very incomplete and/or has major anachronisms.</td>
<td>The information provided in RAFTS has some small inaccuracies, omissions or anachronisms.</td>
<td>The information provided in THE LETTER is accurate but could use more support or specific details related to subject or time period.</td>
<td>Information &amp; details in THE LETTER are always accurate and properly reflect information, ideas and themes related to the subject and time period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspective</td>
<td>Viewpoint or ideas are sketchy and not drawn from time period. LETTER does not show insight into how characters feel or act during the event(s).</td>
<td>Viewpoint or ideas reflect current concerns rather than time period. LETTER does not show insight into how characters feel during the event(s).</td>
<td>LETTER maintains a reasonably consistent point of view and includes ideas relevant to role and time period played. Character's feelings about the event(s) are evident.</td>
<td>LETTER maintains clear, consistent point of view, tone and ideas relevant to role and time period played. Ideas and information always tied to role and audience of time. Characters are insightfully shown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>LETTER wanders from topic; focus cannot be seen or has many side comments.</td>
<td>Central topic and purpose of LETTER can be seen, but focus is inconsistent.</td>
<td>LETTER stays largely on topic; its ideas are mostly supported.</td>
<td>LETTER stays on topic, consistently maintains form or type; details and information are included and directly support the purpose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Class Time</td>
<td>Class time used to disrupt others. Class resources are not or inappropriately used.</td>
<td>Class time and resources used to do work for other classes and/or chat with friends.</td>
<td>Class time used mostly effectively to research the era and create coherent stories.</td>
<td>Class time used efficiently and appropriately to research the era and create interesting, well written, stories; extra effort or involvement beyond class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>Writing is unclear and has gaps or confusions. Essay is marred by numerous errors, which disrupt reader’s understanding.</td>
<td>Writing wanders or is somewhat repetitious. Essay contains several sentence errors and mechanical mistakes that may interfere with clarity of ideas. Audience is irritated by errors.</td>
<td>Writing is clear and direct. Essay contains some fragments, run-ons or other errors; occasional mechanical mistakes. Audience is informed.</td>
<td>Writing is fluent and interesting. Essay contains few or no fragments or run-on sentences; rare errors or mechanical mistakes result from risk-taking. It engages and informs audience.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Historically Significant

Social 10-1

In this challenge students explore historical significance. Significant events are usually those that resulted in great change over long periods, for large numbers of people. There are four different activities in this lesson. Teachers may choose to do only parts of this lesson.

For further information about historical significance and its application to social studies go to http://historicalthinking.ca/concept/historical-significance

About The Historical Thinking Project

This lesson is based on the work of The Historical Thinking Project, an initiative of the University of British Columbia’s Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness. It was initiated in partnership with the Historical Foundation, and has received support from the Canadian Council on Learning, and the Canadian Studies Program, Department of Canadian Heritage. This lesson on historical significance can be adapted to Social 20 or Social 30

Suggested Activities for Understanding Historical Significance

Begin the unit by asking students to list the three most significant events in their life. After students have listed these events on a piece of paper, ask them what made these events so significant. Using a mind map with significance at the centre, track student responses on the board (i.e. had a big effect on my life, was a major achievement for me).

Once students have had a chance to respond, introduce the criteria for historical significance:

- Resulted in change
- The event had deep consequences for many people
- The event affected many people
- The consequences of this event lasted for a long period of time
- Revealing: The event sheds light on an aspect of the past; helps us understand the past in a new way
Help students see connections between the reasons why they chose particular events as significant in their own life with criteria for historical significance. Explain that one of the objectives of this lesson is to help students understand some of the tools historians use to decide which events in the past should be seen as historically significant. Clarify to students that the past is everything that ever happened to anyone anywhere. There is too much that has happened in the past to remember it all. Therefore, historians must choose which events, people, and developments are worth remembering. This is where historical significance comes in; these criteria help us decide which events are the most important.

**Part I**

Announce that you are going to present them with a number of events that occurred in Russian, Soviet and Ukrainian history. As historians, their job is to determine the historical significance of these events. Use the Significant Event Cards.

To prepare students for this task, select one of the events to work on together as a class. On the board create a model template of the Criteria for Historical Significance sheet. Go over each criterion one by one —

- event had deep consequences
- affected many people
- consequences of the event lasted for a long period of time

Ask students what evidence there is from the historical event card that would help them to decide to what extent this event fits the criteria for historical significance. Fill in the chart on the board with student responses.

Once completed, ask students what evidence may be lacking to determine historical significance. Ask students to come up with a series of inquiry questions that will guide them in finding this information. Direct students to their textbook and other resources to help them
answer these questions. When students have found the information, ask them to rate the
event in terms of its historical significance. Finish the practice example by offering some of your
thoughts as to what degree this event fits the criteria for historical significance.

Then the group adds up the individual ratings to select the five events they consider the most
historically significant and as a group present their selections to the rest of the class. Data from
each group can be collected and analyzed to determine the most significant events according to
the class overall. Class can discuss the results and make arguments for certain events over
others. Another vote where each student selects their top three events could result in a
different class “top five”.

Distribute sets of the Significant Events Cards to groups of three or four students. Direct
students to use the information on the cards to complete the "Criteria for Historical
Significance" sheet for each event. Using the three criteria of historical significance, review how
to rank the events on a scale from -2 to +2. Direct students to generate inquiry questions in
order to find information they will need to properly determine historical significance. Provide
access to relevant resources. Have students divide up the events so that each member has an
equal number of events to research for the group.

Once students have found the information they need to determine historical significance, have
students rank order each event on the historical significance scale. When students complete
this task they can then use their rankings to determine the five events that were the most
historically significant. As this point, ask each group to orally present their conclusions. Have
each group choose one event to use as an example of using criteria to determine historical
significance. Ensure that students keep their sheets because they will need it for the next
activity.
**Significant Event Cards**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event:</th>
<th>Date:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deep consequences:</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justification:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affected many:</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justification:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long lasting:</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justification:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Points:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part II

Next, provide students with a brief overview of the Holodomor. Much of the main information has already been covered with the events from Part I. Now, ask students to reconsider the historical events from the perspective of the Holodomor. Which of these events is most significant in relation to the Holodomor? Which events had the most impact on whether the Holodomor happened or not? Allow the students to discuss this in groups and redo their rating system from Part I. During their discussions have students individually rate each event by the degree to which it affected the Holodomor. From this, students again select the top five events.

Each student should then create a ‘significance grid’ to construct a chronological timeline of these events. On the ‘x’ axis of the timeline have students plot four distinct lines, labeling them from bottom to top: 0, +2, +4, +6. Have students plot their events chronologically corresponding to the ranking they gave the event for historical significance. For each event, have students include a picture and a brief explanation as to why they consider the event to be historically significant. Remind students that their explanation must be based on the criteria for historical significance.

Teachers may wish to evaluate the timelines based on the following rubric
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Events</td>
<td>The timeline is missing several events, or those included are not complete.</td>
<td>Timeline includes 5-6 historical events, in chronological order placed according to their rating of significance (+2-+6)</td>
<td>Timeline includes 6-7 historical events, in chronological order placed according to their rating of significance (+2-+6)</td>
<td>Timeline includes 8 historical events, in chronological order placed according to their rating of significance (+2-+6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Significance</td>
<td>Few events contain an effective description explaining why they were historically significant (had deep consequences for many people, affected many people and the consequences lasted for a long period of time.</td>
<td>Some events contain an effective description explaining why they were historically significant (had deep consequences for many people, affected many people and the consequences lasted for a long period of time.</td>
<td>Most events contain an effective description explaining why they were historically significant (had deep consequences for many people, affected many people and the consequences lasted for a long period of time.</td>
<td>Each event contains an exceptional description explaining why it was historically significant. Had deep consequences for many people, affected many people and the consequences lasted for a long period of time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Pictures</td>
<td>Few pictures are effective and relate to the events. Few pictures are cited accurately in a bibliography.</td>
<td>Some pictures are effective and relate to the events. Some pictures are cited accurately in a bibliography</td>
<td>Most pictures are effective and relate to the events. Most pictures are cited accurately in a bibliography.</td>
<td>All pictures are exceptionally effective and relate to the events. All pictures are cited accurately in a bibliography.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Overall Impression</td>
<td>The timeline is difficult to interpret.</td>
<td>The overall appearance of the timeline is somewhat easy to interpret.</td>
<td>The overall appearance of the timeline is pleasing and easy to interpret.</td>
<td>The overall appearance of the timeline is exceptional, and very easy to interpret.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part III

Discuss Holodomor. Talk about how so few people still know about this event. One way to spread information about the Holodomor is through the World Wide Web. Propose the following scenario: A historical society is going to sponsor a contest to create a title page for a new section on the Holodomor on a popular history website.

In the next activity, students select their top event from Part II and use this to help design a page for a new website being created on the Holodomor. To create their design, students can cut out art, draw, color, or use whatever tools/techniques they have at their disposal. Students are required to hand in either a completed design or a comprehensive detailed description of the elements of a web page on the Holodomor.

Students would only have to create one page. This page should include

- Name of the section
- Headline for the feature article, (the event they personally select as most historically significant) and a brief description of this event that will catch the reader's attention
- Reference to four other events that would be included in the magazine if an entire magazine were being produced (these might simply take the form of four catchy headlines)
- Pictures with accompanying captions that will capture the reader's interest
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Layout</strong></th>
<th>The webpage is exceptionally attractive in terms of design, layout and neatness.</th>
<th>The webpage is attractively designed, and it makes full use of layout and neatness.</th>
<th>The webpage is acceptably attractive though it may be a bit messy.</th>
<th>The webpage is distractingly messy or very poorly designed. It is not attractive.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feature article</strong></td>
<td>The feature article has a strong hook or attention grabber that captures the reader's attention.</td>
<td>The feature article has a hook or attention grabber that captures the reader's attention.</td>
<td>The feature article has a hook or attention grabber, but it does not capture the reader's attention.</td>
<td>The feature article does not capture the reader’s attention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Required elements</strong> (Name of webpage, Headline/description of feature article; Reference to 5 other events; Text and pictures that capture reader’s interest)</td>
<td>The webpage includes all required elements as well as additional information.</td>
<td>The webpage includes all of the required elements.</td>
<td>All but 1 of the required elements were included on the webpage cover.</td>
<td>Several elements were missing from the webpage cover.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Graphics</strong></td>
<td>Includes well-detailed supporting graphics/pictures. All pictures are accurately cited.</td>
<td>Includes good supporting graphics/pictures. Most pictures are accurately cited.</td>
<td>Includes satisfactory supporting graphics/pictures. Some pictures are accurately cited.</td>
<td>Has poor supporting graphics/pictures. Few pictures are accurately cited.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part IV

Students will write a full-page article in the form of an editorial that explains why the event they chose is the most historically significant event in relation to the Holodomor.

To help students write an effective editorial discuss the criteria and format of writing an opinion piece. To help students write an editorial that communicates a clear statement of purpose and presents convincing arguments in support of their position, visit the following link on the Online Guide to Implementation for support materials:

http://www.learnalberta.ca/content/sssm/html/writinganeffectiveeditorial
Significant Events

End of Serfdom

Tsar Alexander II finally freed all serfs in a major agrarian reform in 1861, stimulated by fear that "it is better to liberate the peasants from above" than to wait until they won their freedom by risings "from below." Serfdom was abolished, but its abolition was achieved on terms unfavorable to the peasants and served to increase revolutionary pressures.

The serfs had to work for a landlord as usual for two years. The nobles kept nearly all the meadows and forests and had their debts paid by the state while the ex-serfs paid over-the-market price for the shrunken plots they kept.

1905 Revolution

The 1905 Russian Revolution was a wave of mass political and social unrest that spread through vast areas of the Russian Empire, much of it directed against the government. It included worker strikes, peasant unrest, and military mutinies. An Orthodox priest led a huge workers' procession to the Winter Palace to deliver a petition to the Tsar. The troops guarding the Winter Palace who had been ordered to tell the demonstrators not to pass a certain point, opened fire on them, which resulted in between 200 and 1000 deaths. The event, known as Bloody Sunday, is usually considered the start of the active phase of the revolution. It led to the establishment of limited constitutional monarchy, the State Duma, the multi-party system, and the Russian Constitution of 1906. The Tsar ultimately refused to cede enough authority to the Duma to allow it to be effective.

Bolshevik Revolution

The October Revolution or the Bolshevik Revolution overthrew the Russian Provisional Government and gave power to the local soviets dominated by Bolsheviks. Since the revolution was not universally recognized outside of Petrograd there followed the struggles of the Russian
Civil War and culminated with the creation of the Soviet Union in 1922-23. The revolution was led by the Bolsheviks to organize the armed forces. Bolshevik Red Guards forces began with a takeover of government buildings.

**Abdication of Nicholas II**

The Tsar received a telegram from the Chairman of the Duma urging him to return to the capital:

> The situation is serious. The capital is in a state of anarchy. The Government is paralyzed. Transport service and the supply of food and fuel have become completely disrupted. General discontent is growing... There must be no delay. Any procrastination is tantamount to death.

The Tsar took a train back towards Petrograd, which was stopped after having been instructed to divert by a group of disloyal troops. When the Tsar finally reached his destination, the Army Chiefs and his remaining ministers suggested in unison that he abdicate the throne, which he did. He returned to Petrograd where he was placed under house arrest. A provisional government took over

**Civil War in Russia**

The Russian Civil War was a multi-party war that occurred within the former Russian Empire after the Russian provisional government collapsed to the Soviets, under the domination of the Bolshevik party. Soviet forces first assumed power in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) and subsequently gained control throughout Russia.

The principal fighting occurred between the Bolshevik Red Army, often in temporary alliance with other leftist pro-revolutionary groups, and the forces of the White Army, the loosely allied anti-Bolshevik forces. Many foreign armies warred against the Red Army, notably the Allied Forces, and many volunteer foreigners fought on both sides of the Russian Civil War. Other
nationalist and regional political groups also participated in the war, including the Ukrainian nationalist Green Army, the Ukrainian anarchist Black Army and Black Guards.

**War Communism**

War communism or military communism was the economic and political system that existed in Soviet Russia during the Russian Civil War. This policy, which in the countryside favoured the establishment of collective farming enterprises and the requisition of grain and other food from farmers, was adopted by the Bolsheviks with the aim of keeping towns and the Red Army supplied with weapons and food, in part as a response to conditions in which normal economic mechanisms and relations were being distorted or destroyed by the war. The Supreme Economic Council enforced war communism until it was replaced by with the New Economic Policy.

**Lenin Begins the New Economic Plan**

The New Economic Policy (NEP) was an economic policy proposed by Vladimir Lenin, which marked a significant shift from the previous policies known as War Communism. Lenin called it state capitalism. Allowing some private enterprise, the NEP allowed small animal businesses or smoke shops, for instance, to reopen for private profit while the state continued to control banks, foreign trade, and large industries. In essence, the policy required the farmers to give the government a specified amount of raw agricultural product as a tax in kind. Further decrees refined the policy and expanded it to include some industries.

**Death of Lenin**

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was the creator of the Soviet Communist Party, leader of the October Revolution, and founder of the USSR. As head of the Bolsheviks, he led the Red Army to victory in the Russian Civil War, before establishing the world's first officially socialist state. As a theorist, his extensive theoretical and philosophical contributions to Marxism produced Leninism. With his death, the party was thrown into a power struggle that was ultimately won by Joseph Stalin.
Stalin takes power

Joseph Stalin was among the Bolshevik revolutionaries who brought about the October Revolution and held the position of first General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union’s Central Committee from the start of the Soviet Union until his death. While formally the office of the General Secretary was not regarded as the top position in the Soviet state, after Vladimir Lenin’s death in 1924, Stalin managed to consolidate more and more power in his hands, gradually sidelining and silencing opponents and putting down all opposition groups within the party. Stalin's idea of socialism in one country became the primary line of Soviet politics.

Law of State Property

The Soviet Government passed a law that stipulated that all collective farm property, including the food grown and stored there, was equivalent to state property and that mere possession of food therefore was evidence of a crime. Among the most enthusiastic enforcers of the law were urban members of youth organizations, educated under the Soviet system, who fanned out into the countryside in order to prevent the "theft" of state property. They constructed and staffed watchtowers (over 700 in the Odessa region alone) to ensure that no peasants took food home from the fields. The youth brigades lived off the land, eating what they confiscated from the peasants.

Korenizatsiia (Indigenization)

Indigenization was an early Soviet policy that promoted representatives of the different nations of the USSR and national minorities on lower levels of the administrative subdivision of the state, into local government, management, bureaucracy and nomenklatura in the corresponding national entities. Indigenization implied the introduction of the local languages into all spheres of public life and usage of the local languages to the widest possible extent, particularly, in education, publishing, culture, and, most importantly, government and the Communist Party. Not only was the local cadre of the titular nations to be promoted at all levels
but the ethnic Russians who served in the local governments were encouraged (or required) to learn the local language.

**Elimination of the Kulaks**

The most successful farmers who flourished under the New Economic Policy were labeled ‘Kulaks’ and a propaganda campaign was initiated against this stratum of people. However, this term was used more broadly to label those who opposed collective farms. When the NEP was replaced with the Five-Year Plan the Soviet government began to methodically attack peasant farmers who were resisting collectivization. Hundreds of thousands of peasants the government called ‘Kulaks’ were arrested, sent to prisons, tortured and/or killed. With these people gone the government got rid of the group most likely to oppose collectivization but they also got rid of the group with the most expertise in farming.

**Soviets raise quotas**

The worldwide depression, which began in 1929, resulted in a drop in wheat prices that seriously affected the government’s ability to meet the objectives of the Five-Year Plan. In 1930, Ukraine harvested 23.1 million tons of grain, 7.7 million of which were taken by the state. This represented 2.3 times the amount collected in 1926. The 1931 harvest was only 18.3 million tons. In 1932, 14.6 million tons were harvested, while the figure for 1933 was 22.3 million. In 1934, only 12.3 million tons were harvested. One has to take into account that much of the grain that was harvested was actually lost during the harvest. In 1931, the procurement quota for Ukraine remained at 7.7 million, despite the poor harvest, which led to famine in early 1932. Although procurement quota was lowered to 6.2 million tons for 1932, this was not nearly enough to prevent mass starvation and deaths in 1932-33. Despite the low harvest in 1934, there was no famine that year. Collective farmers who were unable to meet quotas were stripped of food, livestock, seeds and tools. Starving peasants were forbidden to take food from the fields where they worked. When peasants tried to flee the region the government erected military blockades to prevent them from leaving the country or travelling between districts.
Peasants were prevented from travelling to towns where more food was available and thousands were shot trying to flee the famine or search for food.

**Stalinism**

Joseph Stalin becomes General Secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Union. After Lenin’s death in 1924, a power struggle ensued resulting in Joseph Stalin emerging as the new leader of the Soviet Union. Stalin’s approach to running the country, known as Stalinism, was characterized by terror and totalitarian rule. Stalin rejected the softening of communist principles under the NEP. In 1928, he began a series of five year plans that forced peasants to give up their property and join kolkhoz (collective farms). These five year plans set economic goals aimed at making the nation militarily and industrially self-sufficient. The idea was to sell wheat abroad and buy foreign machinery and technology with the money generated. These Five-Year Plans became the model by which the Soviet economy was organized for the next sixty years.

**Five Year Plans and forced Collectivization**

Stalin replaced the New Economic Policy with a highly centralized command economy, launching a period of rapid industrialization and collectivization in the countryside. While the USSR was transformed from a largely agrarian society into a great industrial power, but this caused great hardship throughout the entire country. One result was the regimentation of labour and loss of labour rights in order to serve the goals of the Soviet state. In addition to the deep sacrifices and loss of freedoms, many resources were squandered and people’s lives were wasted. As part of the first Five-Year-Plan, the Soviet government imposed collectivization on the peasants of the Soviet Union. Many peasants, who felt betrayed by the government, reacted by burning their crops and killing their livestock. Most peasants were not happy to give up their property and be forced to join collective farms. When they were given no choice, many burned their fields and livestock in protest rather than hand them over to the authorities.
Russian Empire had long dominated Ukraine

While Ukraine has long been a separate national cultural group, the Ukrainian people have a long history of being dominated politically, most recently by Russia. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the area that is now Ukraine was divided between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Ukrainians experienced many periods where their culture and language came under attack by Russian imperial policy aimed at “uniting” the empire.
Re-imagining a Past - Counterfactual Scenarios and the Holodomor

This lesson could be adapted to Social 10, 20 or 30.

Students investigate the long-term implications of significant events in history by imagining how present conditions for Ukrainian peoples may be different if a specified event in history had not occurred or had turned out differently.

This assignment requires that students have a basic understanding of the Holodomor as well as an understanding of modern-day Ukraine. Teachers should discuss why many consider it important that the Holodomor be better known and understood.

Introduction to counterfactual scenarios

Using counterfactual scenarios can be an effective means to engage students in learning history. To introduce students to the idea of counterfactual history consider showing them an excerpt from one of the following suggestions. In the first twenty minutes of the movie Sliding Doors students will see Gwyneth Paltrow playing a young woman who gets fired from her job. On her way home she barely manages to get on the subway as the doors close. At this point the movie backs up and we see her just failing to get on the subway. From this point the movie follows Paltrow’s character from the two scenarios; one where she gets on the subway, gets home relatively quickly and catches her live-in boyfriend with another woman; the other whereby she missing the subway so must take a cab to get home, but is mugged while waiting for a cab. By the time she gets home, the other woman has left. A chance occurrence has significant consequences on her life. The television show Frasier did a variation on this theme with an episode called Sliding Frasiers. After viewing an excerpt from the movie or the television show ask students to select an event or decision in the lives of their parents that could have significantly altered their (the students’) lives. Students can construct parallel mind-maps to show the impact of the actual decision/event and the counterfactual scenario. This quick activity helps to lay the foundations for students working with counterfactuals.
Suggested Activities

One way to approach this lesson is to assign students to groups of 3 to 5. Have them begin their discussion with one of the scenarios below or one the students and teacher have agreed upon. At first, the students should discuss whether the scenario would have resulted in a change in the Holodomor? What consequences would have resulted from this scenario that would have impacted the Holodomor? Would the Holodomor still have occurred? Why or why not? Give students time to try to arrive at a consensus position in their group. If all groups are working on the same scenario it would be helpful for each group to share their ideas and discuss the conclusions as a class.

Next students should return to their groups and discuss how this scenario would have affected present day Ukraine. Ask students to determine the implications for contemporary Ukrainian peoples in these five dimensions:

- population
- political autonomy
- culture and language
- territory
- economic well-being

Counterfactual scenarios

- The policy of Korenization continues throughout the history of the Soviet Union.
- The Czar retains power throughout WWI and continues to rule Russia for several more decades.
- Ukrainian Nationals defeat Bolsheviks and others and finally declare the Ukrainian Republic as an independent state in 1922
- Central Powers win WWI and all Ukrainian territory becomes part of Austro-Hungarian Empire after WWI
- The New Economic Policy is continued after Stalin comes to power.
- Trotsky becomes the leader of the Soviet Union after Lenin’s death
Tips for working with Counterfactuals

- It will be important that students research a representative range of the perspectives on the topic but to be aware of bias and look for evidence of a lack of balanced or fair-minded treatment in the resources they consult.
- Avoid beginning with a preconceived view of history as you would like it to have been and then reimagining events so as to create the history of our desires.
- Be careful not to reach erroneous conclusions based on faulty reasoning.
- Counterfactual history can never lead to a definitive alternate history—at best it can suggest what might have been.

Share counterfactual scenarios

Arrange for students to share their counterfactual scenarios with the rest of the class. Students could present the information in a variety of ways. Teachers may wish to provide some structure to their presentations and provide the students with a criteria that they may be marked on. Alternatively, teachers may wish to make the presentations brief and simple at the end of the discussions. Then students could be given the following individual assignment.
**Individual Assignment**

The final assignment is for you to use the counterfactual scenario as the basis for a description of what Ukraine would look like today. In this assignment you are a Canadian diplomat living in the capital of Ukraine for the last five years. A new Canadian ambassador has arrived who knows very little about this nation. You have been assigned to provide the ambassador with an overview. You will need to write a report (or use some other format approved by your teacher) that gives information about the following:

- population - how many people
- political autonomy - what type of nation is Ukraine? Is it an independent nation-state or part of a larger entity? What other nations have strong ties to Ukraine?
- culture and language - what is the language and culture of this nation?
- territory - how big is Ukraine? where are the borders?
- economic well-being - what type of economy does Ukraine have? how is the economy doing?

What Constitutes Genocide: Holodomor Case Study and Comparison

Overview
In this lesson, students investigate various case studies of genocide and compare these to the events of the Holodomor. Students present their analysis of the different case studies perspectives to develop a position to the question. Students uncover different aspects of genocide by comparing the Holodomor to other events considered genocide. Then they examine similarities and differences of each in relation to ultra-nationalism and the eight stages of genocide. A discussion of Raphael Lemkin’s broad definition and the more restrictive UN genocide Convention could prove useful here.

Instructions for Lesson
Teachers can begin a class discussion by asking students such questions as:

- How many people need to die before an event is considered a genocide?
- Do all of the victims have to be located in the same geographic area?
- How should the international community respond to genocide events?
- Why would some groups refuse to recognize events like the Holodomor as genocide?

Then discuss the relationship between ultra-nationalism and genocide. As a class, go through the questions on genocide as they relate to the Holodomor.

1. Where and when did the genocide occur?
2. What was the victim’s national association based on? In other words, why did these people feel connected? Was it historical, geographic, economic, linguistic, cultural, ethnic, religious or political connections? Note: a nation may include more than one of the classifications listed above, but only include substantial connections.
3. Whose national interests were being satisfied with the genocide?
4. Explain the role ultra-nationalism played in the genocide.
5. Find insistences within your genocide that exemplify the Eight Stages. Refer to each of the eight stages of genocide handout to help understand these. Make sure to reference these eight stages in your presentation.
Cut up the list of genocides and have students randomly choose their case study. For each case study students need to thoroughly address all of the questions. Students will need to have access to a variety of resources to do their research.

Next, have each group present their information to the class. This presentation could be used as a summative evaluation or could be a simple discussion of the answers to the questions. During the presentations about the selected genocide, make continual comparisons to information presented earlier about the Holodomor.

Once the entire class has presented their information, create a t-chart on the board (example below). Talk about the controversy over whether Holodomor should be considered genocide or not. Ask the students to present arguments on both sides of this chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should be recognized as a genocide</th>
<th>Should Not be recognized as a genocide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once the class has finished filling in the T-chart the teacher will lead a discussion as to which position is most correct and persuasive according to the arguments listed. The following questions may be asked: Which position has the stronger arguments. Why are these arguments stronger and how did they help us as a class come to this conclusion. Did comparing the Holodomor to other genocides affect our final decision? Why and how?

Teachers could have students present a final product such as a paper, multimedia presentation, poster, etc. that presents their position on the main question.
Genocide Comparison Project

According to the United Nations, genocide is the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial, religious or national group; however, legal scholars continue to debate whether certain events constitute genocide or not. What is clear is that ultra-nationalism plays a role in each act of genocide. The Holodomor is one event that is under debate by scholars as to whether it should be considered genocide or not. Your task is to take a position on this issue.

Task

After discussion of the six genocide questions as they relate to the Holodomor, you will be assigned a specific genocide to research. Answer the five questions for your assigned genocide.

Genocide Question

1. Where did the genocide occur?
2. What was the victim’s national association based on? In other words, why did these people feel connected? Was it historical, geographic, economic, linguistic, cultural, ethnic, religious or political connections? Note: a nation may include more than one of the classifications listed above, but only include substantial connections.
3. Whose national interests were being satisfied with the genocide?
4. Explain the role ultra-nationalism played in the genocide.
5. Find insistences within your genocide that exemplify the Eight Stages. Refer to each of the eight stages in your presentation

Present your answers to the above questions to the class. Discuss the format of your presentation with your teacher. Review the attached rubric to ensure you have included all required elements in your presentation.
The Eight Stages of Genocide

1. Classification:
All cultures have categories to distinguish people into “us and them” by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality: German and Jew, Hutu and Tutsi. If societies are too segregated (divided) they are most likely to have genocide.

2. Symbolization:
We give names or other symbols to the classifications of ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality. We name people “Jews” or “Gypsies”, or distinguish them by colors or dress; and apply them to members of groups. Classification and symbolization are universally human and do not necessarily result in genocide unless they lead to the next stage, dehumanization. When combined with hatred, symbols may be forced upon unwilling members of minority groups: the yellow star for Jews under Nazi rule, the blue scarf for people from the Eastern Zone in Khmer Rouge Cambodia.

3. Dehumanization:
Dehumanization is when one group treats another group as second class citizens. Members of a persecuted group may be compared with animals, parasites, insects or diseases. When a group of people is thought of as “less than human” it is easier for the group in control to murder them.

4. Organization:
Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, though sometimes informally or by terrorist groups. Special army units or militias are often trained and armed. Plans are made for genocidal killings.

5. Polarization:
Extremists drive the groups apart. The state or leadership of political entities or ethnic groups as well as hate groups broadcast propaganda that reinforces prejudice and hate. Laws may forbid intermarriage or social interaction between the groups. Extremist terrorism targets moderates, and intimidates them so that they are silent. Moderate leaders are those best able to prevent genocide and they are often the first to be assassinated.
6. **Preparation:**

Victims are identified and separated out because of their ethnic or religious identity. Death lists may be drawn up. Members of victim groups may be forced to wear identifying symbols, like the Yellow Stars worn by Jews during the Holocaust. They are often segregated into ghettos (confined living quarters), forced into concentration camps, or restricted to a famine-struck region and starved.

7. **Extermination:**

Extermination begins, and quickly becomes the mass killing legally called “genocide”. It is “extermination” to the killers because they do not believe their victims to be fully human (see dehumanization). When it is sponsored by the government, the armed forces often work with private armies to the killing. Sometimes the genocide results in revenge killing by groups against each other, creating the downward whirlpool-like cycle of mutual genocide where the victims actually organize and commit a second genocide on the perpetrators.

Genocide can also be a slow process, which is more methodical than simple mass murder and can be seen as the slow destruction of a group. See Lemkin’s definition in his 1944 study *Axis Rule in Europe*.

8. **Denial:**

Denial is the eighth stage that always follows genocide. It is among the surest indicators of further genocidal massacres. The perpetrators of genocide dig up the mass graves, burn the bodies, try to cover up the evidence and intimidate the witnesses. They deny that they committed any crimes, and often blame what happened on the victims. They block investigations of the crimes and continue to govern until driven from power by force, when they flee into exile. Leaders of the genocide continue to deny the crime unless they are captured and a tribunal (special court) is established to try them.

*This is based on a document that was edited for students by the Genocide Education Project in cooperation with the original author, Gregory H. Stanton.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Event/Location</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia</td>
<td>1992-1995</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darfur</td>
<td>2003-present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurds in Iraq</td>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>1975-2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khmer Rouge in Cambodia</td>
<td>1975-79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Timor</td>
<td>1974-99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>1966</td>
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<td>Bangladesh</td>
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<td>Burundi</td>
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<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Armenian</td>
<td>1915</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zanzibar</td>
<td>1964</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish Kurds</td>
<td>1937-38</td>
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<td>Guinea</td>
<td>1968-79</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluating Student Presentations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Analysis of Information</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>The analysis of information is simplistic or incorrect and considers only one source and perspective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Position</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>The student(s) explore the issue minimally with the lack of arguments, which makes the position unclear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Appearance</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The project's appearance is sloppy and illustrates originality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation (effective communication, organization)</td>
<td>There is little to no evidence of conciseness or organization, and volume and pitch were at inappropriate levels.</td>
<td>There was some evidence of conciseness and organization in the presentation, and volume and pitch were inconsistent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>/5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total /30