

Dr. Victoria Khiterer

Eastern European Historian, Professor, and Member of the Scientific Council at the Babyn Yar Center



Dr. Victoria Khiterer is a scholar who has written over seven books, and over one hundred Articles on Belarussian, Ukrainian, Russian, Soviet, and Eastern European Jewish History. She has worked for prominent Universities offering lectures on Jewish history, and currently teaches at Millersville University, and as an adjunct at Gratz College. She also helped to found the Scientific Council at the Babyn Yar Holocaust Memorial Center.

In this presentation, she discusses at length the Holdomor in Ukraine, addressing the background, effects, and legacy of the famine which had claimed the lives of four million.

Dr. Khiterer also discusses these events in the context of a pattern of the weaponization of food by Russia, both in the form of the Soviet Union and today as the Russian Federation. In both cases, Dr. Khiterer explores how Ukrainian lives are used as a means to an end for accomplishing Moscow's policy objectives, and how these policies shape the Ukrainian identity and psyche

[00:00]	Introduction
[01:08]	Background to Ukrainian Agriculture and Collectivization
[07:42]	The Humanitarian consequences of the Famine
[24:05]	Why didn't the Ukrainians resist?
[31:18]	Human toll of the Famine
[32:36]	News of the Famine Travels
[37:40]	Reactions to the Famine
[40:42]	Food as a Weapon Today
[45:16]	What is Dekulakization?
[49:24]	Holodomor compared to the Russo-Ukrainian War
[52:40]	How Have These Events Shaped the Ukrainian Psyche?
[55:27]	Upcoming Events and Presentations
[56:50]	Generational Trauma in Ukraine

[59:34]	Has Any English Literature Been Written on Ukrainian Generational Trauma?
[1:01:30]	Closing

[00:05]Krasner: Well Welcome to this event hosted by the Mercer County Holocaust Genocide and Human Rights Education Center. I'm Barbara Krasner, I'm the director, and tonight we're talking about the Holodomor: Food as a Weapon. With us today is Dr. Victoria Khiterer, Associate Professor of History at the Millersville University, in Pennsylvania. She is a founding member of the Academic Council of the Babyn Yar Holocaust Memorial Center in Kyiv Ukraine. Dr. Khiterer is the author of seven books and more than a hundred articles on Ukrainian, Russian, and Eastern European Jewish History and the Holocaust. She is currently working on a new monograph, Echo of Babyn Yar: Commemoration and Memorialization of the Holocaust in Kyiv. Welcome Dr. Khiterer.

[01:08] Khiterer: Thank you very much for [the] opportunity to talk to your audience, and this is very important to talk about because of [the] current war. Show that [the] Russian Federation, as previously [the] Soviet Union, uses Food as weapons. I would like to remind everybody that Ukraine was always a breadbasket, in [the] Russian Empire, Soviet Union, and now its fifth in the world grain producer. Ukraine has a mild climate, and most fertile land, and if not artificially organized people would never suffer in the degree suffered during the Holodomor. I try to explain why [the] Soviet Union used food as a weapon. I would like to share on my screen at this point, hopefully everyone can see.

[02:20] Dr. Khiterer: Why did the Soviet Union in general start the policy of Collectivization and Industrialization of the country? The Russian Empire was really a backward country, but there were periodically some shortages of food, even some famine, but usually not in the Ukraine. Famine mostly happened in the Volga region, or in Siberia, but Ukraine could feed itself. However Stalin decided to Industrialize the country, and in order to industrialize the country he needed hard currency. Then the other question, where to get hard currency? What can Russia sell for hard currency? Ideas they thought made sense, one of them was grain from Ukraine. Peasants wouldn't voluntarily give up their grain, especially individual farmers. Furthermore individual farmers could always provide prices basically that they wanted for their trade and to sell on the market. So they hid their grain from the so-called state price, and they refused to sell at state price. The result of this, in 1928 in the cities, not the rural areas, was a shortage of food in the Soviet Union. My Grandmother who was born in 1908 told me many years ago, she passed away many years ago, that she remembers how she [stood] in 1928, in long lines for bread that was distributed just by vouchers in 1928. Once she would collapse from the pain of hunger in these long lines in 1928. Peasants and free farmers did not want to do this because the [state] price was unfair. Stalin took it as resistance by individual farmers, and so

forced land collectivization of individual farms, into large collective farms. Reaction was quite different in different parts of the Soviet Union. In Russia, many farmers that used to work collectively had peasant communities, called *Mir*. They work together, they pay taxes together. They were able to survive in a very harsh climate, because Russia was a northern country, by collective responsibility. But even this collective responsibility did not save Russia from shortage of food or famine. In Ukraine it was a different type of agriculture, they had individual farmers. They were responsible for their individual household, and paid taxes on an individual basis. They actually lived wealthier, better houses, than peasants in Russia. However, Stalin said “we need to take their grain”, and peasants did not want to give up their grain voluntarily, and then he decided to deprive peasants the right to work individually, everyone should go to collective farms.

[7:42] Dr.Khiterer: From collective farms, it was easier to confiscate grain. Because in Collective farms, peasants are supposed to collect together, keep in farms storage places, and then was sent, as you can see in the picture, the so-called red train with all the carriages with horses. They [were] sent by the soviet government to take away the grain of the Ukrainian people. What was the reaction of the Ukrainian farmers who used to work individually on the Ukrainian farms? First of all they did not want to work on collective farms, they did not work hard, sometimes they break tools intentionally, they also slaughter their cows, horses, they don't give them up to collective farms. Usually the more wealthy the farmer, the more resistance he provided against the policy of collectivization. During collectivization, the state took from farmers land, the state took from farmers horses, cows, basically everything the farmer had. Basically only the poorest farmers more or less accepted the policy of collectivization. Some were poor, some were rich, usually the wealthier were part of working families that knew how to take care of the harvest and take care of their domestic animals, they were good farmers. The poor usually had a behavior problem, or not full families, or another problem as to why they became poor. Usually they were not good farmers. During the collectivization, the wealthiest farmers were expelled from the villages, some as far as Siberia, while the poor farmers who could not take care of their own household and own land, were appointed as chairs and presidents of collective farms. Of course they did not take care of their own land, so they didn't take care, they did not do well as administrators. The reaction of the farmers in Ukraine was resistance. They start to shoot and kill chairmans, some were wounded, some were killed, and they resist Authorities and troops who arrive from the cities to confiscate their grain, cows, and horses. I should explain to you who was considered a wealthy farmer, or *Kulak*. *Kulak* means fist, or also in Ukrainian *Kurkul*. A person who had a cow and horse was already considered wealthy by Soviet Standards. So this was already considered *Kulak* or *Kurkul*. Of course there were many resistances, and peasant uprisings against the Soviet Authority. As I said many soviet representatives who came to take peasant land and peasant horses were shot. You can see it, just between February 20th and April 2nd 1930, were hundreds of peasant uprisings. In total between 1928 and 1930, there were thousands by different calculations, up to 6,000 peasant uprisings.

Different books provide different numbers from 3-6,000. Peasants did not give up their land without resistance, they resisted and soviet authorities sent troops to expel peasants from their house. In addition to war against wealthy peasants, there was paralel another war against Ukrainian spirituality, against orthodox religion. Many churches, synodic churches, as well as synagogues and mosques were closed in the late 1920s, early 1930s. You can see residents of Village Sergeevka, Donetsk region, before the church in the early 1930s. This probably in the front group of activists who were happy about this, you can see in the background many women in traditional Ukrainian clothes, close in front of church. They definitely came to pray there for the last time because the church would be destroyed by soviet authorities. Together with organizing, claiming, seizing of land, Bolsheviks attacked spirituality, spiritual life of the Ukrainian people.

[14:59] Khiterer: Churches and synagogues were closed around the whole country, this was not just a phenomenon of Ukraine. Holodomor was a pure Ukrainian phenomenon. In Ukraine there was more resistance to the policy of collectivization, and to punish Ukrainian farmers Stalin intentionally gave far more bread production. Wealthy peasants, who are the best farmers by this time are already expelled by this time from their place of residence. You can see that men as well as women were openly expelled in the middle of winter. Sometimes they were expelled to other nearby regions, other times expelled to Siberia. Those who remained began to starve. These collective farms cannot produce enough bread under a Chairman, usually someone who didn't know how to take care of agriculture. All food, not just bread, they seized grain, they seized eggs, they seized domestic animals, basically everything. People in the Ukraine never starved so bitterly before, began to starve. Bread in the cities was also distributed by vouchers, and more per day for working people, non-working people received nothing. What happens when you begin to starve, and basically when you're doomed to death, people try to escape from Ukraine. Escape by all possible means. Some you can see try to storm trains, and they would come to roof of train. Others just walk out as far as they could. But escapement was a problem. Soviet government denied peasants their IDs, and without their IDs they couldn't really find a job in a good place. And that's a big problem because each place in the Soviet System of local registration. For example, you escape from starving in Ukraine to some region that's doing better, then what? How are you going to establish yourself? You can see that people run away without belongings or very few belongings. Some small backpack or something. You arrive in a new place, whether it's Russia or Belarus, you arrive in Europe or somewhere else. You want to work for a plant for example, but nobody will give you a job because you don't have your ID. IDs were confiscated by Chairmans of collective farms, they would not get IDs until, not before Brezhnev came to power, only in the 1970s peasants received their IDs again in the Soviet Union. Of course some were lucky ones, but basically these are cases of exception. A friend of mine told me his family was De-Kulakized and was sent from the village to Siberia. When the train arrived in Siberia, they dropped them in the middle of the forest. Then his great grandfather told his son, "run away, run away because you will perish there". One of his sons arrived in

Kyiv, he was 16 years old, and somebody who felt really sorry for the young boy when he came to the plant gave him any kind of job, because their human resources department in each plant helped after he said "I lost my passport." Somebody felt sorry for him and took him to a job even though this person broke the law and sometimes later he was able to obtain documents, and this way he survived. Probably one lucky case for thousands, because thousands of peasants and humans survived collectivization, they couldn't find food or jobs. You can see people looking for any kind of food. Children dig some frozen earth looking for potatoes, if there are any other potatoes remaining. They still smile because children, they always try, especially if there's some photography. But the truth is in many villages many partial populations or most [of the] population perish from hunger. The death rate in Ukraine was four million people. I heard from old people that people would kill each other for loaves of bread. Bread was precious, Grain was precious. You can see it, an armed guard stands in front of a grain warehouse ready to shoot anyone who approaches the grain warehouse. The hunger in Ukraine was so bad that people try to eat anything they can like Birch from the tree. In the beginning of spring 1933 they started eating leaves, grass, and boiled tree branches. They of course ate all the cats and dogs in the villages. Finally people turned to cannibalism. In Ukraine there were cases of disappearing children, disappearing adults, and it was found out that these people were killed and eaten, because these people were so desperate. The Soviet Authorities confiscated everything, it was not only grain. Potatoes, grain, eggs, meat, horses, cows, they did not leave people anything.

[24:05] Dr.Khiterer: Peasants who were before well to do farmers, should suffer, and starve to death. Many people ask why did they not resist more? They didn't resist for the same reason people in concentration camps could not resist, they were exhausted. They did not have energy, they did not have enough nutrition to keep themselves in strong shape to resist. Everything that they can do is just escape. Escape with time becomes more and more difficult. It started in fall 1932 and continued to 1933 in some places even longer, when a new harvest started. With time when Soviet Authorities saw that many ukrainian peasants tried to escape, they put the military guards around the villages, and didn't let people leave. Because unarmed peasants cannot do much against armed guards, this was of course a big big problem. It was a total disaster in rural areas as well as the cities. Again appeared many homeless children whose parents died of famine. Then appeared lots of homeless people on the streets of the city who collapsed there and also died of famine. I attended a conference, years ago in Toronto, on Holodomor, and some scholar asked me "why Kyivans didn't help more?". They didn't help for several reasons. First of all there was also a shortage of bread in the cities. The government that confiscated the grain did not confiscate it for urban inhabitants. The government confiscated grain to sell abroad for hard currency, and hard currency was used to buy machines and technology for industrialization of the country. When people died on the street they cared very little. Furthermore Stalin did not believe in famine. He received all the time from even local authorities who reported about famine and he said "No the peasants still hide grain, they still have", he didn't want to believe it. In cities there was also a shortage of food, but people who work in plants and factories receive a

quarter pound of bread per day. Second reason, most urban inhabitants live in communal apartments, and usually families occupy one room in an apartment. There was absolutely no space to take some other family who came from the rural areas. Another reason was that it was forbidden to provide any help to newcomers. Soviet propaganda dehumanized the *Kulak*, or *Kurkul*, the wealthy peasants. It was forbidden to provide them any help as class enemies. It was well organized by Soviet Union [as a]genocide of Ukrainian population as punishment for resistance to collectivization policy, as punishment for peasant uprisings, which was especially strong in Ukraine, significantly stronger than in Russia. Stalin himself recalls the famine in conversation with Winston Churchill during the war, and asked in 1942 “when was a more difficult situation, during collectivization or during world war 2?”. Recalled Churchill in his memoirs, [Stalin] raised his fist and said “10 million peasants were against us” during collectivization. He did not hide even in 1942 from Churchill that it was war in the Soviet Union against its own people. In 1932 and 1933 actually the truth was hidden from the world. While people were dying on the street, Soviet propaganda wrote absolutely nothing about famine. Furthermore when Western mass media started to write about famine and got information later and got correspondents within the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union denied it and said “oh it was Nazi Propaganda” because it was 1933 they still were in bad relations with Nazi Germany, or that it was “some western propaganda, we don’t have any famine”. In the Soviet Union, this famine continued [and they] continued to sell grain for hard currency. They refused to accept any aid from the Red Cross or any other Charity organizations that proposed aid for Ukrainian peasants, or other peasants that would suffer from famine.

[31:18] Dr. Khiterer: Just [so] that you understand what [this] meant for Ukrainians that four million died from famine. It means that more than 10% died, the population then of Ukraine was about 30 million. So the death rate was about 10%. Furthermore we should also count how many people at this time really destroyed their health and died later from malnutrition. We also should count how many children were not born, of course women try to not have any children, and some women were so exhausted by famine that they could not even conceive children. So it was definitely genocide against [the] Ukrainian population, and actually Holodomor that means “death by famine” was recognized by many countries as genocide.

[32:36] Dr. Khiterer: The truth actually about famine later on [got out of] the Soviet Union. For example the British journalist Gareth Jones visited the Soviet Union during the famine. He was supposed to go only to large cities. Soviet Authorities did not like that a journalist [went] to rural areas because they know that some villages are totally devastated and most of the people, in some villages all of the people, died of famine. Gareth Jones defied the order that he was supposed to stay in Moscow. He went to Ukrainian villages and basically was shocked by what he saw there. When he returned to Great Britain he wrote over twenty articles about Ukrainian famine. He was not [the] only journalist who told the world the truth, there is actually in 2019 made a movie... I highly recommend [it] because it talks not only about him but the famine in

the Ukraine [also]. As I said he was not the only journalist who was shocked by what he saw in [the] Soviet Union. For example, an American Socialist Journalist Harry Lang traveled to the Soviet Union also in 1933. He traveled with his wife. Before they came to the Soviet Union they were socialist, worked for socialist yiddish newspaper in America, The Forward, and they saw socialism as the future of mankind, and they came back astonished. They visited before the Soviet Union, dozens of other countries. Harry Lang wrote in his correspondence to other newspapers that never again and never before he saw so many people suffering in such a devastating situation, where people were willing to kill each other for a piece of bread. He saw people who collapsed from fatigue. He saw the fresh rows of graves of victims of the famine. People looked at him and begged him to tell the truth to Americans and relatives about the situation in Kyiv. By tell the truth to American relatives, and to force American relatives a symptom of hard currency because the only stores it was possible to buy food at this time except for long lines for bread everyday were special stores that were basically for foreigners and for hard currency and precious metal, but you could exchange your hard currency and other precious metals for bread or sausage or grain or butter or some other food. People at this time care only about food, they don't care about anything else. What's interesting is people who receive this currency from their relatives, later were arrested by Soviet Security and Police who then reported to the NKVD, and later many of them received long term (Unintelligible) Foreign agents. So to receive help from abroad was also quite dangerous.

[37:40] How [did the] world react when this devastating famine and genocide denied by the Soviet Union? You can see the Ukrainian community try to organize meetings and protest in America, and they were attacked by communists who didn't believe in famine. In Britain hen Harry Lang, the American journalist of the Forward Yiddish newspaper, he was under attack from socialist parties in America, was expelled from socialist parties in america. Communists in america did not want to believe the truth, even though there were more correspondents, there were several, more than several sources of information that talked about famine in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately the American Government then also silenced the news about famine. 1933 was the year when the United States of America decided to actually have diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. From 1917, the bolshevik revolution, until 1933 the United States did not have any diplomatic relations with the Bolsheviks, they thought the Bolshevik system would collapse soon. Furthermore, why in '33 would finally sign an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United State of America? Hitler came to power in Germany, and that the United States of America should decide between two evil regimes. They probably found that Hitler and Germany were more aggressive, more dangerous for them, so they decided to sign the agreement to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. They don't need much information to leak out about genocidal policy towards the human population. That's why the US government was not aiming an official protest at the Soviet Union.

[40:42] Dr. Khiterer: So, just some time to leave for questions. Almost every Ukrainian family remembers some victims or family, and in commemoration of Holodomor at state level, every town and Ukrainian school has a special person of the Holodomor. In independent Ukraine the memorial museum of the Holodomor, and several monuments to the Holodomor. You can see the young starving girl outside the memorial museum of the Holodomor, you can see here as a part of the decoration of the museum, quite impressive five, six years ago. Before even the Museum was built there were monuments to the Holodomr in front of Sophia cathedral, one of the oldest in Ukraine built in the 11th century, rebuilt in the 18th century, you can see the candles provide dates to the Holodomor. And of course it was not just a policy of the Communist party and the soviet union and personally Comrade Stalin who was a brutal dictator. The Holodomor never would have hit Ukraine, because Ukraine is fifth in the world producer of grain and can feed not only itself but also many other countries in the middle east, africa, and you know during the Russian aggressive war there was a big problem not just for ukraine but for many middle eastern and african countries. The president of Turkey Erdogan made some negotiations with the Russian dictator Putin and with Ukraine about export of grain to African and Asian countries because without Ukrainian grain, people definitely will starve. So Erdogan gave dozens of dozens of ships that were sent from Odessa port to other countries. Of course this year's harvest was not as great as previous years due to the war, and the occupation of parts of Ukraine, but even in this condition Ukraine can still feed itself and export grain. So to create famine where four million of thirty million die [proves] especially genocidal policy, with the main goal to suppress Ukrainian resistance to collectivization and of course force Ukrainian people to work on collective farms. And of course receive loads of money on account of Ukrainian grain and Ukrainian life force for industrialization which Stalin first of all, understood as military preparation. Thank you very much, and now we have 15 minutes for questions.

[45:00] Dr. Krasner: Thank you so much. If you could stop the share that would be great so we can see people.

[45:12] Dr. Khiterer: Thank you very much.

[45:16] Dr. Krasner: Great, thank you. So if you have questions you can speak up, we're a small group, or you can put something in the chat. I will start us off: Can you tell us exactly what Dekulakization is?

[45:40] Dr. Khiterer: Yes, dekulakization is when the wealthiest peasants that were called Kulak, kurkul is the Ukrainian word, were expelled from their houses and their farms. They were sent either to nearby villages or siberia. Sometimes people who either exist or there was suspicion that they would resist would be sent to Siberia. My friend said "I read in literature and in memoirs, they were dropped in the middle of forest and without any belongings." Authorities who dropped them there said "here you should live, here you should work" without any

agricultural tools, without houses, in the middle of nowhere. That means for many of these families, hunger and death in cold forests. That is what [is] meant [by] dekulakization. Furthermore, as I said it made agriculture unproductive for many years because those were the best farmers. Those who remained in collective farms did not know so well how [to] take care of collective lands. Directors and Chairmans of collective farms appointed were either city workers who had no idea how to work on the land at all but were communist, or bolshevik, or a local drunkard who was poor because he was drunk throughout the year and did not work hard. I can tell you that collective farms survived until the collapse of the soviet union, and they never were productive enough. The Soviet Union under Kruschev, under Brezhnev, imported grain, not exported, because collective farms never produced enough grain to feed the whole population.

[48:30] Dr. Krasner: Well there's always that sort of joke about Stalin's Five Year Plan that turned into the Ten Year Plan that turned into the Fifteen Year Plan, because it was never executed... I don't like that word, so implemented.

[48:50] Yes some farms reported that they continue the plan but it was fake reports because all these local authorities are afraid to tell the truth, because they would be executing themselves during Stalin's repression.

[49:19] Dr. Krasner: So do any of you in the audience have any questions?

[49:24] Dana Bort: I do. I'm curious to hear your thoughts on the connection of what happened in the Holodomor with the war that's going on now? History doesn't repeat itself but it has reflections, I think is the saying. Recently I was listening to a podcast done by a young journalist out of Kyiv and they referenced the Holodomor as far as relatives and their family who had survived who are hearing stories of that. This morning I heard at a webinar that several things that Ukraine has been through as a country that has been catastrophic, like chernobyl and things like that, so what do you see specifically that are connections between what's going on now and the Holodomor.

[50:26] Dr. Khiterer: Let's talk about food as weapons, again Putin like Stalin tries to use it as weapons. They use it for different purposes. Stalin used it to suppress Ukrainian resistance and also to receive hard currency from ukraine. Putin tries to put pressure on ukraine so that it completely capitulates, and pressures not only [them] but pressures other countries. The blackmail that is going on in a historical stage is that if Ukraine will not capitulate, of course we occupy territory, no export grain, means they are dependent in Africa, in Asian countries. This blackmail continues today not only with food but with gas and oil. Putin tries to deprive people in Europe. Of course inexpensive food, because Ukraine not only exported grain and many other kinds of food, for example oils and potatoes and fruits and vegetables, all of the price on these goods will increase. They already have increased in Europe, the same for the price of gas and oil.

If western countries do not surrender to Putin's demands you will suffer shortage of food, gas, oil, and this blackmail continues into the present.

[52:40] Dana Bort: Do you think it contributes, or how do you think it contributes to the collective way that the Ukrainian people view the Russians, if they aren't soviet anymore but there's still that history of oppression... and that sort of thing.

[53:00] Dr. Khiterer: Of course, all of this and the current war and current blackmail affect the Ukrainian people. They never forgive and never forget the Holodomor, the national trauma, as well as this war will remain national trauma. I just yesterday call my friend in Kyiv who is a principal of a high school and he told me that what happened on monday, airstrikes in Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities really traumatized the children probably for the rest of their lives. Of this also we recount Putin- that people will be broken and will be surrounded, of course children have to go to bomb shelters, there are too many people, there's tears, children are worried about their parents, some people were killed during this airstrike, I mean all of this. After all of this, children in Kyiv return to distance learning which for some people is not a problem, but for young children is really a problem. So the Ukrainian children suffer not only physically, but spiritually because they cannot educate their children the normal way. Furthermore, after this airstrike they destroyed 30% of electricity infrastructure so for several days before it was restored, children couldn't even have distant learning lessons, because many did not have internet, many did not have electricity at this point. As I said people continue to suffer, with national trauma people never forgive and forget the Russian Federation just as they do not forgive and forget the Soviet Union.

[55:27] Dr. Krasner: Thank you, just a word about some upcoming programs while you might be thinking about one or two more questions for Dr. Khiterer. On November 9th we have Kristallnacht commemoration, a presentation by esteemed Holocaust scholar John K. Roth, warnings Kristallnacht and after. On November 15th we have Dr. Alex Alvarez from Northern Arizona University, who will be talking about surviving genocide, Native America and the legacy of the past, in commemoration of Native American Heritage Month. In commemoration of international holocaust remembrance day, which we are presenting on January 26th in the evening, is Dr. Barry Trachtenberg from Wake Forest University, and he'll be talking about the US and the Holocaust. So those are some of the programs that are upcoming, so those of you who are on the mailing list or are opting into our mailing list will be receiving news of those events and information about those events when promotional materials become available. Are there other questions for Dr. Khiterer?

[56:50] Kasey McNulty: I have a question. I know that in Holocaust studies we talk alot about the descendents of survivors and generational trauma, and obviously that goes for any

catastrophic event. I was wondering if in your experience and in your studies you've come across the same thing and how that's shaped the modern Ukrainian.

[57:22] Dr. Khiterer: Yes you are absolutely right, the going from generation to generation affects the shape and mentality of the modern Ukrainian. For example this happened ninety years ago but at the same time it's not very far away in historical distance from us. My friend remember told me the story about how he found out about Holodomor. He grew up in Kyiv while his parents and grandparents lived in rural Ukraine. When he visited them he asked "what is this hill in the village" and they said "Oh it's filled with half our village buried, they are people who died from Holodomor". The problem is Soviet authorities did not allow [them] to mark collective graves, but the people remember. It wasn't difficult to forget half the village died from Holodomor and they are buried in mass graves all these people. Of course it's trauma for all people who live in this village and they will remember it forever, and their descendants will remember it forever. There were published more in the Ukrainian language more scholarly literature, and memoir literature about Holodomor, like I said was built a Holodomor museum in Ukraine that is open to visit for school children with their teachers. It became probably one if not the most significant event in modern Ukrainian history.

[59:34] Dr. Krasner: Just to build on that is any scholar looking at- in English, looking at the trans generational trauma?

[59:40] Dr. Khiterer: I can say that I don't know honestly, I didn't look. It appeared in Ukrainian work on this topic, but in general there are some respectful Historians who already 30 years or more under Gorbachev and perestroika became possible, researching Holodomor. There are some younger generations who have published many articles about Holodomor statistics for different national groups or different regions. There are books of memories that are listing victims of a particular district or village. Lot's is done about commemoration but the transition between generations, I don't know modern Ukrainian literature on this. Of course now attention on Holodomor Scholars most of what I present today, food as weapons and trauma of Holodomor, but a good person to ask is **Lyudmila Krasneyivich (Spelling based on sound)** who is the director of the Holodomor Center in Ukraine, [she] is my colleague and friend, I may contact her to find somebody who works on this.

[1:01:30] Dr. Krasner: Any last questions? Okay I want to thank Dr. Khiterer for her presentation tonight. I thank all of you for attending. I appreciate it. I know it's a choice to attend and we appreciate the choice that you came to her session.