



The Ukrainian Free University  
The Center for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, NaUKMA  
Fulbright Ukraine & Institute of International Education Kyiv Office

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# *Unpunished Crimes Repeat Themselves: the Holodomor and the Ongoing Genocide Against the Ukrainian Nation*

November 28-29, 2023 November 28-29, 2023 November 28-29, 2023 November 28-29, 2023

Please, join the Conference via the Zoom links below:

<b>Tuesday, November 28</b>	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Mrhcwt">https://bit.ly/3Mrhcwt</a>
17:30 Munich time (CET)	Opening Remarks
18:00 Munich time (CET)	Session 1. Genocide and Disinformation: Russia's War Against Ukraine in Historical Context
<b>Wednesday, November 29</b>	<a href="https://bit.ly/3Ms5a5U">https://bit.ly/3Ms5a5U</a>
10:00 Munich time (CET)	Session 2. Theoretical and Comparative Aspects of the Holodomor as a Crime of Genocide
12:20 Munich time (CET)	Session 3. From the Holodomor to the Ongoing Russian Genocide Against the Ukrainian Nation
15:30 Munich time (CET)	Session 4. Crimes Committed within Russian Aggression Against Ukraine
	<b>Language: English</b>



**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**  
***Unpunished Crimes Repeat Themselves:***  
***the Holodomor and the Ongoing Genocide Against the Ukrainian Nation***

**November 28, 2023 (Munich time) <https://bit.ly/3Mrhcwt>**

- 17:30 – 18:00 **Opening Remarks**  
Prof. dr. Maria O. Pryshlak, Rector, Ukrainian Free University  
Prof. dr. Myroslava Antonovych, Director of the Centre for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, NaUKMA; Dean, Ukrainian Free University  
Dr. Jessica Zychowicz, Director, Fulbright Ukraine & Institute of International Education Kyiv Office
- Session 1:** ***Genocide and Disinformation: Russia's War Against Ukraine in Historical Context***  
Moderator: Prof. dr. Matthew Pauly, Michigan State University, USA
- 18:00 – 18:20 ***Operation "Pharisees": KGB Active Measures Against Worldwide Recognition of Holodomor***  
Dr. Andriy Kohut, Director, Sectoral State Archive of the Ukrainian Security Service, Ukraine
- 18:20 – 18:40 ***Russia's Deployment of Historical Narratives to Incite Genocide Today***  
Dr. Kristina Hook, Kennesaw State University, USA
- 18:40 – 19:00 ***Ukrainian Cinema on International Platforms as a Deterrent Against the Global Spread of Russian Propaganda Through the Film Industry***  
Darya Levchenko, Program Coordinator, Docudays UA International Human Rights Documentary Film Festival in Kyiv, Ukraine
- 19:00 – 19:40 **Discussion**

**November 29, 2023 (Munich time) <https://bit.ly/3Ms5a5U>**

- Session 2:** ***Theoretical and Comparative Aspects of the Holodomor as a Crime of Genocide***  
Moderator: Prof. dr. Myroslava Antonovych, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine; Ukrainian Free University, Germany
- 10:00 – 10:20 ***The Legal Definition of the Holodomor as Genocide Under the Genocide Convention***  
Dr. Kateryna Bondar, Main Representative of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations to the UN, Geneva, Switzerland
- 10:20 – 10:40 ***The Imperial Context of Genocide Against Ukraine: Lemkin's Perspective on Genocide as a Colonial Crime***  
Dr. Gennadi Poberezhny, Ukrainian Free University, Germany
- 10:40 – 11:00 ***The Experience of a Child in a Ukrainian Soviet Orphanage During the Holodomor, 1928-1935***  
Dr. Artem Kharchenko, Kharkiv I.P. Kotlyarevsky National University of Arts, Ukraine
- 11:00 – 11:20 ***Speaking Object of Survival: Materiality of Everyday Resilience During the Holodomor***  
Dr. Iryna Skubii, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada
- 11:20 – 12:00 **Discussion**
- 12:00 – 12.20 **Coffee Break**



- Session 3:** ***From the Holodomor to the Ongoing Russian Genocide Against the Ukrainian Nation***  
Moderator: Dr. Marta Barandiy, editor-in-chief of Brussels Ukraine Review, Brussels, Belgium
- 12.20 – 12:40 ***From the Holodomor to the Full-Scale War of Russia Against Ukraine: How Ukrainian Criminal Justice System Meets the Challenges of Dealing with International Crimes***  
Dr. Yuliia Anosova, Gent University, Belgium
- 12.40 – 13:00 ***Genocidal Act of Transferring Children from One Group to Another: The Holodomor and the Ongoing Russian Genocide Against the Ukrainian Nation Cases***  
Prof. dr. Myroslava Antonovych, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine; Ukrainian Free University, Germany
- 13:00 – 13:20 ***Impact of the Full-Scale Invasion on Ukrainian Children. The ICC's Case on Their Unlawful Deportation and Transfer***  
Dr. Kateryna Krakhmalova, Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw, Poland
- 13:20 – 14:00 **Discussion**
- 14.00 – 15.30 **Lunch**
- Session 4:** ***Crimes Committed Within Russian Aggression Against Ukraine***  
Moderator: Dr. Dmytro Koval, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine
- 15:30 – 15:50 ***Russian Aggression in Ukraine: Violation of International Law, Covenants and Court Decisions (Holodomor-Genocide, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity)***  
The Honorable Bohdan Futey, Judge, US Court of Federal Claims, Washington, DC, USA
- 15:50 – 16:10 ***Particularities of Proving the Alleged Crime of Genocide Committed Against the Ukrainian National Group Today: Challenges, "Gray Zones" and Prospects of the Law***  
Maksym Vishchyk, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine
- 16:10 – 16:30 ***The United States and the Genocides Against Ukrainians***  
Prof. dr. Victoria Malko, California State University, Fresno, USA
- 16:30 – 17:10 **Discussion**
- 17:10 – 17:30 **Closing remarks**



## PANELISTS (alphabetical order)

**Dr. Iuliia Anosova** is a researcher and practitioner specializing in international law and human rights. She obtained her PhD degree in International Law at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in 2019. In her PhD thesis she explored the jurisdiction of the international courts over the crime of genocide. During the past five years she has been actively involved as a lawyer and legal expert at Ukrainian civil society organizations working with the issues of gender-based violence, human trafficking, children and women's rights. Since June 2023 she is a postdoctoral fellow under the MSCA4Ukraine fellowship at the Human Right Centre of the Faculty of Law and Criminology of Ghent University, conducting a project titled "(In)Visible Crime: Dealing with Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in International and National Contexts. A Case-Study of Ukraine".

**Dr. Myroslava Antonovych** is a former Judge *ad hoc* of the European Court of Human Rights (2010-2014). She received her Doctor of Law (Habilit.) degree from the Ukrainian Free University (2019) and her LL.M. degree from McGill University in Montreal, Canada (1999). She is the Head of the Centre for Genocide and Human Rights Studies and Associate Professor of the Faculty of Law at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Dr. Antonovych is also Professor and Dean at the Ukrainian Free University. She is the author of more than 130 publications on Public International Law, International Human Rights and Genocide Studies. She was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar 1995-1996 (University of Cincinnati, OH) and a President of the Ukrainian Fulbright Society (2006-2011).

**Dr. Marta Barandiy** is editor-in-chief of Brussels Ukraine Review, a media outlet dedicated to fostering dialogue about Ukraine and covering Ukraine-Russia-EU relations. She specializes in International Law, specifically in the topics of Human Rights, Sovereignty and Statehood as well as the Supranationality of the EU. She is also the founding chair of Promote Ukraine (since 2014), a Brussels-based non-profit civil society, advocacy and media organization, European Citizen's Prize Awardee (2022) that voices the interest of Ukrainian civil society and advocates the Ukrainian case to EU policymakers. She holds a post-master's and PhD from the University of Saarland in Germany, where she wrote her thesis on the concept of state sovereignty in International and European Law. She also has a Master's degree in International Law from Lviv Ivan Franko National University in Ukraine. She is a Visiting Lecturer at the Ukrainian Free University, teaching foremost Conflict Resolution in International Relations.

**Dr. Kateryna Bondar** is an international lawyer, specializing in international dispute resolution, including commercial and investment treaty arbitration and cross-border litigation, public international law, international investment law, international business transactions, and international trading and shipping. She is admitted to practice law in the state of New York and in England & Wales. She holds law degrees from the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, LL.M. from Harvard Law School, LL.M. in International Dispute Settlement from Geneva University, as well as Ph.D. in international law from the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. At Harvard, she researched the topic of the Holodomor and wrote an LL.M. paper on the Holodomor as genocide under international law. She is the Main Representative of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations to the UN in Geneva.

**Hon. Bohdan A. Futey** is a Senior Judge on the United States Court of Federal Claims in Washington, DC, appointed by President Ronald Reagan in May 1987. He graduated from Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio receiving a B.A. in 1962 and an M.A. in 1964. In 1968, he received a Doctor of Law degree from Cleveland Marshall Law School. He has been active in various Rule of Law and Democratization programs in Ukraine since 1991. He served as a member of the working group on Ukraine's Constitution adopted on June 28, 1996. He is a professor at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Germany and a visiting professor at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv, Ukraine. In March 2015, he was appointed by the President of Ukraine to serve as a consultant on the Constitution Commission. His book entitled *Establishing the Rule of Law: Ukraine 1991-2011* was published in August 2011, and he is an author of numerous articles concerning Rule of Law, Democracy, Constitution, Judiciary, Elections, Comparative Legal Systems, and Genocide. Judge Futey is a recipient of many honors and awards.



**Dr. Kristina Hook** is an Assistant Professor of Conflict Management at Kennesaw State University's School of Conflict Management, Peacebuilding, and Development. An anthropologist specializing in the prevention of genocides and mass atrocities, she is also an expert on Ukrainian national identity formation and Ukrainian-Russian relations, and was a Fulbright Scholar to Ukraine (Fulbright U.S. Student Program 2018-2019, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv). She has conducted multiple years of fieldwork in Ukraine since 2015 and is writing a book on the Holodomor. Her analysis has appeared in *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Atlantic Council*, *CNN*, *USA Today*, and others. She received her joint PhD in anthropology and peace studies from the University of Notre Dame (USA). Previously, she served as a U.S. Department of State policy advisor for mass atrocity prevention and in leadership roles with several non-governmental organizations. She is a nonresident senior fellow at the Atlantic Council's Eurasia Center.

**Dr. Artem Kharchenko** is an Associate Professor at the Kharkiv I. P. Kotlyarevsky National University of Arts, where he works on a monograph "Jewish Community Within the Space of an Imperial City, 1859–19123". Several years he worked on the project "System of Orphanages in Soviet Ukraine in the Holodomor period, 1928-1935" and he works on a monograph on the topic. He was a lecturer on the history of the Holocaust of the university partner program "Claims Conference". Co-founder of the NGO "Center for interethnic relations research of Eastern Europe". He participated in education programs in the USA, France, and Germany. He was a guest researcher at the Simon Dubnov Institute in Leipzig, New European College in Bucharest, Jerusalem University. In 2022, at the Center for Urban History, he participated in projects for documenting war experiences.

**Dr. Andriy Kohut** is a Director of the Sectoral State Archive of the Ukrainian Security Service. The Archive stores the largest collection of declassified KGB files. He received his Ph.D. in History from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv and his M.A. in History from Ivan Franko Lviv National University. He was a Fulbright Research and Development Program Fellow 2021-2022, Stanford University, CA. His recent articles have focused on the Soviet deportation operation "West". His academic and professional interests cover various topics related to Soviet deportations, communist secret services history, memory politics, and cultural diplomacy.

**Dr. Dmytro Koval** holds a Ph.D. in international law. He served as a member of the Ministry of Justice Expert Committee on International Humanitarian Law Implementation. As a Legal Director of Truth Hounds, he worked on IHL and IHRL issues in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, China, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Ukraine. He also advised the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, UNESCO, the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture, and the Prosecutor General's Office on different aspects of international law. He is a member of the board of the 2022 Nobel Peace Prize winner Center for Civil Liberties. He was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar 2019-2020 (Stanford University, CA).

**Dr. Kateryna Krakhmalova** is a Ukrainian lawyer, trainer, lecturer, and migration expert, currently working as a postdoc research fellow/co-investigator on a project about children and migration at the Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw, Poland. She holds Bachelor and Specialist Degrees in Law with Honors (from the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv, Ukraine); an LL.M. in Human Rights (from the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary), and a PhD in Law (from the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2017, for one of the first dissertations in Ukraine on the legal status of persons internally displaced by Russian aggression in 2014).

**Darya Levchenko** is a festival programmer, film researcher and cultural manager. She is the program coordinator at the Docudays UA International Human Rights Documentary Film Festival in Kyiv, Ukraine, and a Head Programmer for New Talents of the PÖFF Shorts (Black Nights Film Festival) in Tallinn, Estonia. She is also involved in various cultural diplomacy and international cooperation projects. Darya Levchenko is serving as the cultural consultant for UNESCO in Ukraine, and also heads international development initiatives at the NGO Cultprojector focusing on empowering the creative youth of south-east Ukraine, particularly of her hometown, Zaporizhzhia. She holds an MA in Film Studies from North Carolina State University in Raleigh



and a double MA in Foreign Languages from Zaporizhzhia National University, Ukraine, and Tallinn University, Estonia. Darya Levchenko is a 2018 Full Frame and 2023 Cannes Makers Fellow, alumna of Edmund S. Muskie and Erasmus academic exchange programs. Fulbright scholar (Fulbright Graduate Student Program 2017-2018, North Carolina State University, NC).

**Dr. Victoria A. Malko** is a founding coordinator of the Holodomor Studies in the Department of History at California State University, Fresno. She is the editor of *Women and the Holodomor-Genocide: Victims, Survivors, Perpetrators* (2019), published in English and Ukrainian; contributor to *Russian Active Measures: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, edited by Olga Bertelsen (2021); and author of *The Ukrainian Intelligentsia and Genocide: The Struggle for History, Language, and Culture in the 1920s and 1930s* (2021). She is a member of the editorial board of *American History and Politics*, a bilingual peer-reviewed journal, published by the Department of History of Taras Shevchenko National University, and *Ukrainian Voices*, a book series, published by *ibidem*-Verlag. She has served on the advisory board of the National Holodomor-Genocide Museum in Kyiv, Ukraine.

**Dr. Matthew Pauly** is an Associate Professor of History at Michigan State University. He is a core faculty member of the Center for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies at MSU and an affiliate faculty member of the Michael and Elaine Serling Institute for Jewish Studies and Modern Israel. He also serves as a member of *H-Ukraine's* advisory board and the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, USA. He is the author of *Breaking the Tongue: Language, Education, and Power in Soviet Ukraine* (University of Toronto Press), as well as numerous journal articles and book chapters on early Soviet nationalities policy, education, childhood, and medicine in the Russian Empire and Soviet Ukraine. He has won numerous grants and fellowships, including a 2016-2017 Fulbright U.S. Scholar fellowship at the Odesa I.I. Mechnykov National University, Ukraine. He is currently engaged in the writing of two books: a research monograph, *City of Children: Juvenile Poverty, Crime, and Salvation in Odesa*, and a historical survey, *Traversing Europe*, that prominently integrates Ukraine into the twentieth-century history of the continent.

**Dr. Gennadi Poberezny** is a scholar in Genocide, Colonialism, and Ukrainian Studies, an Associate at Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (US), and an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Germany. He has degrees in the fields of geography, sustainable systems, political science, and global affairs, and his areas of expertise include the scholarship of Raphaël Lemkin, the Soviet legacies, and political geography of Eastern Europe and North America. He was a Fulbright U.S. Scholar to Ukraine 2019-2020, Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, Kyiv.

**Dr. Iryna Skubii** is a PhD Candidate in History at Queen's University (Kingston, Canada) and the editor at *H-Ukraine*. Her doctoral thesis is focused on examining consumption practices, materialities of survival, and human-nature relationships during the Soviet famines in Ukraine. She completed her Candidate of Sciences Degree in History at Karazin Kharkiv National University (2013). Previously, she taught at the Petro Vasylenko Kharkiv National Technical University of Agriculture and the University of Alberta. She held multiple visiting fellowships in Germany, Canada, Poland, and Austria. Her first monograph was titled *Torhivlia v Kharkovi v roky NEPu (1921–1929): ekonomika ta povsiakdennist'* (Kharkiv: Rarytety Ukrainy). She is also currently writing a second book, focused on consumption and material culture in the early Soviet Ukraine.

**Maksym Vishchyk** works as a Legal Advisor with Global Rights Compliance Foundation and specializes in public international law, with a focus on international humanitarian, criminal, and human rights law. In recent years, he has been involved in various projects aimed at strengthening Ukraine's capacity to investigate and prosecute atrocity crimes, including Mobile Justice Teams assisting current conflict-related investigations and the MATRA-Ukraine project "Strengthening Ukraine's Capacity to Investigate and Prosecute International Crimes". Maksym is a PhD student and lecturer in international law at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.