

# Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgments</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Frank E. Sysyn, Preface</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Chapter I. Holodomor “Places of Memory”: Between Theories and Methods</b>	<b>33</b>
1.1 The <i>Lieux de mémoire</i> according to Pierre Nora: A redefinition	35
1.2 The Holodomor and “realms of memory” and “places of memory”	39
1.3 Monuments and memorials to the Holodomor as “places of memory”	42
1.3.1 Monuments and memorials	42
1.3.2 Cemetery sites	46
1.3.3 The choice of a theoretical concept	52
1.4 Reading images of the Holodomor	55
1.4.1 Eyewitnessing the Holodomor	55
1.4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	59
1.5 Conclusions	61
<b>Chapter II. The Communities of Memory of the Great Famine (1932–33)</b>	<b>63</b>
2.1 Who creates a “community of memory” and why?	64
2.2 The first Holodomor “communities of memory” in the Ukrainian diaspora and Ukrainian émigré communities	67
2.3 The Holodomor generation	75
2.4 “Practices of commitment”	83
2.4.1 The early stages of Holodomor discourse in the diaspora	84
2.4.2 Commemoration of Holodomor anniversaries in the diaspora and Ukraine	90
2.4.3 Community and research organizations	107
2.5 Conclusions	112

<b>Chapter III. Memorialization of the Holodomor Abroad</b>	<b>115</b>
3.1 Secular <i>vs</i> sacral: The first Holodomor memorialization initiatives in North America	115
3.2 The Ukrainian Orthodox St. Andrew Memorial Church in South Bound Brook	123
3.3 The wave of Holodomor monuments in the 1980s	142
3.4 Monuments abroad commemorating Holodomor anniversaries (1991–2016)	156
3.5 Holodomor museum exhibitions in Canada	168
3.5.1 The museum exhibition in Hamilton	169
3.5.2 The Canadian Museum for Human Rights in Winnipeg	170
3.6 Conclusions	173
<b>Chapter IV. Forms of Holodomor Commemoration in Ukraine 1990–2016</b>	<b>175</b>
4.1 Between <i>acting out</i> and <i>working through</i> : The Holodomor in Ukraine during <i>Perestroika</i>	176
4.2 Ambivalence of social memory or “non-memory” in the context of memory of the Holodomor in the early 1990s	183
4.3 The role of the Ukrainian diaspora in North America in initiating the construction of the Holodomor monument in Kyiv	193
4.4 The Holodomor in the politics of memory from the mid-1990s to 2004	198
4.5 The most significant Holodomor “places of memory” from the period of the Viktor Yushchenko presidency	204
4.6 The Great Famine of 1932–33 and the politics of memory since 2010	214
4.7 Is it possible to end the mourning?	219
4.8 Conclusions	221
<b>Chapter V. Holodomor “Places of Memory”: Iconology Analysis</b>	<b>225</b>
5.1 The monument in Edmonton (1983)	225
5.2 The monument in Winnipeg (1984)	235
5.3 The memorial in Lubny (1993)	246
5.4 The monument at the Church of St. Michael in Kyiv (1993)	256
5.5 The monument on the grounds of MAUP in Kyiv (2002)	263
5.6 The memorial in Kyiv (2008)	267
5.7 The monument in Washington, DC (2015)	278
5.8 Conclusions	290
<b>Chapter VI. Visual Culture of the Holodomor</b>	<b>293</b>
6.1 The iconography of symbolic burial sites and cemetery monuments	294
6.2 Iconographic motifs in monuments and memorials	299
6.2.1 Mother and child(ren)	302

6.2.2 Hands	308
6.2.3 Cross	312
6.2.4 Angel	316
6.2.5 Bell	320
6.2.6 Circle	322
6.3 Holodomor monuments: From inspiration to replication	325
6.3.1 Replicas of Vasyl Perevalsky's sculpture	328
6.3.2 Replicas of Petro Drozdovsky's sculpture	337
6.4 Do Holodomor monuments have a future?	342
6.5 Conclusions	344
<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>347</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>355</b>
<b>List of Illustrations</b>	<b>383</b>
<b>Index</b>	<b>391</b>