

Contents

Introduction	1
<i>Concepts and terminology</i>	4
<i>Analytical framework and methodology</i>	5
<i>Structure of this book</i>	7
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	8
PART I	
The past as present	11
1 Total recall	13
<i>The event</i>	13
<i>Ban and oblivion</i>	16
<i>The emergence of the theme: the Ukrainian diaspora</i>	19
<i>The emergence of the Holodomor: Ukraine</i>	27
2 Inventing the tradition	37
<i>Holodomor: a political legitimation</i>	37
<i>Setting up the canon: Yushchenko era</i>	43
<i>Revising the canon: Yanukovych's presidency</i>	47
<i>Holodomor after 2014: back to "historical truth."</i>	49
<i>The Holodomor and the Russian war against Ukraine</i>	50
3 Holodomor: the agency	56
<i>The Holodomor as an agent of politics</i>	56
<i>The Campaign</i>	57
<i>Criminalization of denial</i>	64
4 Urbi et orbi	76
<i>Periodization</i>	76
<i>The context: the Holocaust, the Armenian genocide, and Holodomor.</i>	77

<i>The debut</i>	78
<i>The “World Recognizes” campaign</i>	80
<i>The Russian-Ukrainian controversy</i>	85
<i>Holodomor international after 2014</i>	90
<i>The bitter triumph</i>	91

PART II

Words and things	101
5 Discourse, symbols, rituals	103
<i>Intro</i>	103
<i>The vocabulary</i>	104
<i>Symbols and rituals</i>	108
<i>Summary</i>	110
<i>The Holodomor and the Other</i>	112
6 Lieux de memoire	118
<i>Memorial sites, monuments, and museums</i>	118
<i>Movies and documentaries</i>	124
<i>Textbooks and curricula</i>	126
<i>Documentary publications and archival collections</i>	129
7 Social frames	141
<i>Social contexts</i>	141
<i>Actors</i>	146
<i>The Holodomor and the power play</i>	150
<i>Sociology of Holodomor</i>	152
8 Vivat academia? Vicissitudes of mnemohistory	159
<i>The context</i>	159
<i>Institutional dimension</i>	161
<i>The Holodomor as an academic canon</i>	164
<i>Western debates</i>	171
<i>The Historikerstreit: RU versus UA</i>	178
<i>Scholars at risk</i>	183
Conclusions	194
<i>Selected bibliography</i>	199
<i>Index</i>	207