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Politics of memory in Ukraine. A case study on the commemoration of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky*

Polityka pamięci na Ukrainie na przykładzie komemoracji metropolity Andrzeja Szeptyckiego

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to scrutinize activities related to the commemoration of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. There were three main goals of the research. The first one was to identify the most important actors of the commemorative activities. The second goal was to reconstruct the strategies applied by these agents. Thirdly, this research aimed to consider current processes in the Ukrainian political system. In particular, the question was what we can know about the evolution of these commemorative activities after the Euromaidan based on relations between different agents in the mnemonic field. Special emphasis was placed on Sheptytsky's attitude during the Holocaust and on the impact of this topic on the commemorative activities. As a theoretical framework of the research, Jan Kubik and Michael Bernhard's theory of the politics of memory was applied. The research enabled verification of some elements of Kubik and Bernhard's concept. Inter alia it was an issue of a set of presumptions regarding interrelations between strategies applied by mnemonic actors, the structure of mnemonic regime, and prospects for democratization of a political system.
Keywords: politics of memory, Ukraine, Sheptytsky, democratization

Streszczenie: Celem artykułu jest analiza działań na rzecz upamiętnienia metropolity Andrzeja Szeptyckiego. Postawiono trzy zasadnicze cele badawcze. Pierwszy to identyfikacja najważniejszych aktorów uczestniczących w działaniach komemoracyjnych. Drugim celem była rekonstrukcja strategii, którą

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posługiwali się ci aktorzy. Po trzecie, celem studium była próba diagnozy bieżących procesów, które determinują funkcjonowanie ukraińskiego systemu politycznego. W szczególności chodziło o uchwycenie ewolucji po Rewolucji Godności przekazu związanego z komemoracją, która była pochodną relacji pomiędzy różnymi aktorami działającymi w ukraińskim „polu pamięci". Specjalny nacisk położono na kwestię upamiętnienia postawy Szeptyckiego podczas Holokaustu oraz na znaczenie tego wątku w kontekście działań podjętych w celu upamiętnienia tej postaci. Badania przeprowadzono w oparciu o teorię polityki pamięci Jana Kubika i Michaela Bernharda. Badanie pozwoliło zweryfikować niektóre jej elementy. Dotyczy to zwłaszcza podstawowych założeń, na których opiera się wspomniana teoria, a które dotyczą wzajemnych powiązań pomiędzy strategiami stosowanymi przez aktorów działających w polu pamięci, strukturą reżimu pamięci i perspektywami dla demokratyzacji systemu politycznego.

Słowa kluczowe: polityka pamięci, Ukraina, Szeptycki, demokratyzacja

Introduction

The topic of memory studies related to Ukraine and the politics of memory in Ukraine has already attracted the attention of many scholars[1]. Particularly, the issue of the Holocaust in Ukraine and its commemoration has been scrutinized[2]. The life of Metropolitan Sheptytsky and his activity in ecclesial, social, national and political fields have been an object of interest to many researchers[3]. This study on his com-

1   For more on the memory politics in Ukraine, see: T. Stryjek, *Ukraina przed końcem historii. Szkice o polityce państw wobec pamięci*, Warszawa 2014; A. Wylęgała, M. Głowacka-Grajper, *The Burden of the Past. History, Memory and Identity in Contemporary Ukraine*, Bloomongton 2020; A. Oliinyk, T. Kuzio, *The Euromaidan Revolution, Reforms and Decommunisation in Ukraine*, "Europe-Asia Studies" 2021, vol. 73, no. 5, pp. 807-836, doi: 10.1080/09668136.2020.1862060; M. Wojnar, *Miejsce Stepana Bandery w ukraińskiej polityce pamięci w latach 2014-2019*, "Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej" 2020, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 187-210.

2   O. Bartov, *Erased. Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine*, Princeton 2007; J.P. Himka *Debates in Ukraine over nationalist involvement in the Holocaust, 2004-2008*, "Nationalities Papers" 2011, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 353-370; J.P. Himka, *The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Ukraine* [in:] *Bringing the Dark Past to Light The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe*, J.P. Himka, J.B. Michlic (eds.), Lincoln and London 2013, pp. 626-662; G. Rossoliński-Liebe, *Survivor Testimonies and the Coming to Terms with the Holocaust in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia: The Case of the Ukrainian Nationalists*, "East European Politics and Societies and Cultures" 2020, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 221-240; O. Baranova, *Conceptualizations of the Holocaust in Soviet and Post-Soviet Ukraine and Belarus: Public Debates and Historiography*, "East European Politics and Societies and Cultures" 2020, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 241-260; T. Snyder, *Black Earth. The Holocaust as History and Warning*, London 2016.

3   C. Korolevskij, *Metropolite Andre Szeptyckyj.1865-1944*, Rome 1964; L. Hentosh, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi 1923-1939. Vyprobuvannia idealiv*, Lviv 2015; *Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki. Studia i materiały*, A.A. Zięba (ed.), Kraków 1994; *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi*, P. Magocsi, A. Kravchuk (eds.), Alberta 1989; *Kościół, naród, państwo. Działalność Metropolity Andrzeja Szeptyckiego (1865-1944)*, A.R. Szeptycki (ed.), Wrocław 2011; M. Nowak, *Dwa światy. Zagadnienie identyfikacji narodowej Andrzeja Szeptyckiego w latach 1865-1914*, Gdańsk 2018.

memoration is based on Jan Kubik and Michael Bernhard's theory of politics of memory. It seems to be a promising tool which allows for the discovery and scrutiny of how issues related to historical memory are interrelated with the processes running in a given political system.

According to Kubik and Bernhard's theory of memory politics, there are four types of "mnemonic actors and their dominant strategies": "mnemonic abnegators", "mnemonic prospectives", "mnemonic warriors", and "mnemonic pluralists"[4]. The latter two seem to be particularly relevant to the agents involved in the activities related to the commemoration of Metropolitan Sheptytsky. Mnemonic warriors argue that "the problems of the present (and the future) cannot be effectively addressed unless the whole polity is set on the proper foundation, constructed according to the 'true' vision of history"[5]. They count themselves as "the proprietors" of this vision while the other actors "cultivate 'wrong' or 'false' versions" of the past[6]. According to Kubik and Bernhard's concept, "the content of collective memory appears to warriors as largely non-negotiable; the only problem is how to make others accept their 'true' vision of the past"[7]. Mnemonic pluralists in turn "accept that, in addition to 'us' and our vision of history, there are 'them' with their own visions of the past. (…) If they disagree with those visions, they are ready to engage in a dialogue whose principal aim is the orderly pursuit of 'the truth', discovery of the areas of overlap among the competing visions, and articulation of common mnemonic fundamentals that allow discussion among competing versions"[8].

Kubik and Bernhard indicated three groups of "factors influencing actors' decisions when it comes to the choice of their mnemonic strategy": there are "cultural constraints", "cultural choices" made by actors within these constraints, and "structural-institutional constraints of the political field in which they act"[9].

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4   *Twenty Years After Communism. The Politics of Memory and Commemoration*, J. Kubik, M. Bernhard (eds.), New York 2014, pp. 11-14.
5   Ibid., p. 13.
6   Ibid.
7   Ibid.
8   Ibid.
9   Ibid., p. 20

In fact, Kubik and Bernhard were focused on "major political actors and political parties"[10]. At the same time, they examined regimes with at least "a minimal level of democracy"[11]. In that case, there are also other nongovernmental agents which should be considered while scrutinizing politics of memory. Marek Ziółkowski noted that, apart from institutions directly related to or subordinate to the state power system, two other kinds of agents are involved in "the game of memory": "civil society institutions" and "non-institutionalized actors"[12].

As Jan Nowak aptly pointed out, "if we understand the democratization of a society's life as the authorities giving back some control over society, then in this context this change will result in increased rights of nongovernmental agents of social life"; also, these agents' impact on the process of developing historical policy will increase[13].

It is particularly interesting to see if the mechanisms of historical policy-making – especially those operated by state institutions – show any tendencies related to the process of democratization. With regard to Ukraine, apart from the prospects of democratization, it is also worth considering the potential symptoms of the erosion of the patronal (neo-patrimonial) model of social life that was shaped after 1991[14].

1. The Ukrainian memory field: constraints and actors' strategies

There are many cultural constraints affecting the mnemonic actor's choices of strategies in Ukraine. They stem from the alternative patterns of conceptualizing some important elements of the past. For example, there is a legacy of anti-Semitism and stereotypes of different nationalities relevant to Ukraine. There might also be ways of remem-

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10 Ibid., p. 2.
11 Ibid.
12 M. Ziółkowski, *Pamięć i zapominanie: trupy w szafie polskiej zbiorowej pamięci*, "Kultura i społeczeństwo" 2001, no. 3-4, pp. 5-6.
13 J. Nowak, *Społeczne reguły pamiętania. Antropologia pamięci zbiorowej*, Kraków 2011, p. 110.
14 O. Fisun, *Ukrainian Constitutional Politics: Neopatrimonialism, Rent-seeking, and Regime Change* [in:] *Beyond the Euromaidan: comparative perspectives on advancing reform in Ukraine*, H.E. Hale, R.W. Orttung (eds.), Stanford 2016, pp. 181-203; H.E. Hale, *25 Years After the USSR: What's Gone Wrong?*, "Journal of Democracy" 2016, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 24-35.

bering World War II (different in the former Galicia and in the rest of Ukraine), a renaissance of symbols related to Ukrainian nationalism in a new social, political and cultural context after 2014. One of the most important sources of constraints is the legacy of foregoing public discourse on the Holocaust in Ukraine[15].

In all of these cases, the actors' cultural choices come from alternative patterns of conceptualizing the past. For example, there is an issue of choice between a concept of World War II and the Great Patriotic War. Another important choice relates to evaluation of the activities of OUN and UPA (seen as either Nazis' collaborators co-responsible for the Holocaust or "fighters for independence")[16]. The Greek Catholic Church is also an object of alternative epistemological approaches (supporter of the Ukrainian nationalist movement or defender of basic human moral values in Ukrainian social life)[17].

Moreover, behaviours of the actors in the Ukrainian mnemonic field are affected by incentives coming "from outside". For example, there are new tendencies in Holocaust research based on the conviction that "the simple equation of Holocaust perpetrators with the Nazis or Germans is misleading and deficient"[18]. Representatives of this conceptual current consider that "the perception of the Shoah as a German or German-Jewish event is misleading"[19]. Therefore, they recognize a new challenge: "writing the history of the Shoah without marginalizing the agency of local actors and showing the complex relationships between them and the Germans and the Jews"[20]. This approach seems to be a big challenge from the point of view of the domestic actors of the Ukrainian memory field, especially when the

15 A. Portnov, *The Holocaust in the Public Discourse of Post-Soviet Ukraine* [in:] *War and Memory in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus*, J. Fedor, M. Kangaspuro, J. Lassila, T. Zhurzhenko (eds.), London 2017, pp. 347-370.

16 P.A. Rudling, *The Cult of Roman Shukhevych in Ukraine: Myth Making with Complications*, "Fascism: Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies" 2016, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 25-65.

17 O. Zaitsev, O. Behen, V. Stefaniv, *Natsionalizm i relihiia. Hreko-Katolytska Tserkva ta ukraiinskyi natsionalistychnyi rukh u Halychyni (1920-1930 roky)*, Lviv 2011, see also review of this book by L. Hentosh, review in "Ukraina moderna" 2012, vol. 19, pp. 277-283.

18 G. Rossoliński-Liebe, *Conceptualizations of the Holocaust in Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine: Historical Research, Public Debates, and Methodological Disputes*, "East European Politics and Societies and Cultures" 2020, vol. 34, no. 1, p. 134.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 133.

survivors' testimonies are used for the purpose of discovering "the role the Ukrainian nationalists played in the Shoah in western Ukraine"[21]. Such attempts lead to a clash with the adherents of the Ukrainian state-official narrative of memory, who very often take the position of mnemonic warriors[22].

Strategies of the mnemonic actors operating in Ukraine are strongly determined by the structural-institutional constraints of the political field. The structure of the Ukrainian political field is shaped by the pivotal conflict between adherents of the customs of the social order related either to the West or to Putin's neosovietized Russia. In other words, the Ukrainian political field is quite sensitive to the impulses coming from external agents (Russia, EU, USA).

For example, the integration of Ukraine into the EU is intertwined with a challenge stemming from the emerging transnational "Europeanized" narrative on memory and attempts to promote a vision of common European identity. As Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper pointed out, "the "return to Europe" means joining not only a common political and economic system but also a common European memory in which the narratives of World War II and the Holocaust become central elements[23]. Thus, the memory of the Holocaust plays the role of "an 'enter-ticket' into the European community"[24].

2. Why Sheptytsky?

The legacy and biography of Andrey Sheptytsky and, especially, the issue of his relations with Jews very effectively generate all the main constraints affecting mnemonic strategies of different actors in the Ukrainian memory field.

21 G. Rossoliński-Liebe, *Survivor Testimonies…*, p. 228.
22 T. Kurylo, *Skandal iz Rossolinskym-Libe ta stan ukraiinskoii istorii*, "Hromadianska Osvita" 2012, vol. 09, http://osvita.khpg.org/index.php?id=1330953482 [30.04.2021]; P. Solodko, *Lektsia pro "fashysta" Banderu. Konspekt i khronolohiia skandalu*, https://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2012/03/5/75689/ [30.04.2021].
23 M. Głowacka-Grajper, *Memory in Post-communist Europe: Controversies over Identity, Conflicts, and Nostalgia*, "East European Politics and Societies and Cultures" 2018, vol. 32, no. 4, p. 929, see also: L. Probst, *Founding Myths in Europe and the Role of the Holocaust*, "New German Critique" 2003, no. 90, pp. 45-58.
24 A. Wylęgała, M. Głowacka-Grajper, op.cit., p. 3.

For example, on the one hand, Sheptytsky condemned the political terror fomented by the Ukrainian nationalists and competed with them for "the souls" of Ukrainians. At the same time, he maintained close relations with the leaders of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), who were receiving support from the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) in various ways. Sheptytsky maintained good and friendly relations with the Jewish community, especially in L'viv. However, when members of nationalist military groups had started or actively had joined the pogrom in L'viv, he officially supported the "renewal" of the Ukrainian state in July 1941 under the aegis of the OUN. On July 5, 1941, Metropolitan Sheptytsky drew up an address "on the occasion of the liberation of Halychyna from Soviet occupation". At the end of this address, he gave an order to pray for "good fortune for the victorious German army"[25]. Afterwards, he contributed to the action of saving Jews launched by several structures of the UGGC. As a result, the Yad Vashem Institute still has serious reservations about granting Sheptytsky the title "Righteous Among the Nations". At the same time, the International Catholic-Jewish Historical Commission concluded in 2000 that "no other high-ranking Catholic Churchman, to the best of our knowledge, provided such direct eyewitness testimony and expressed concern for Jews *qua* Jews (and as primary targets of German bestiality) in the same way"[26].

3. Civil society (non-governmental) institutions

There have been two main agents involved in commemoration of Metropolitan Sheptytsky on this level. There are Ukrainian Jewish Encounter (UJE)[27] and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC). The most important events related to their commemorative activities were the Canadian parliament's motion recognizing the Metropolitan's

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25 *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi. Zhyttia i Diialnist. Dokumenty i materialy 1899-1944. Tserkva i Suspilne pytannia*, vol. 2, part 1, A. Kravchuk (ed.), Lviv 1998, p. 518.
26 *The Vatican and the Holocaust: A Preliminary Report,* https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/preliminary-report-on-the-vatican-during-the-holocaust-october-2000-2#24 [30.04.2021].
27 *Public Awareness and Communal Events,* https://ukrainianjewishencounter.org/en/about-us/what-we-do/public-awareness-communal-events/ [30.04.2021].

deeds in 2012[28], establishing of the "Sheptytsky Award", and the reso-
lution of the UGCC on celebrating the "Remembrance Year of God's
Servant Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky" from 2013[29].

In 2012 Canadian MPs commemorated "Andrey Sheptytsky's cou-
rageous actions, compassion for his oppressed Jewish Ukrainian coun-
trymen, and this enduring example of commitment to fundamental
human rights as humankind's highest obligation"[30]. It happened dur-
ing the visit to Canada by the representatives of the All-Ukrainian
Council of Churches and Religious Organizations (AUCCRO). The
main organizer and founder of this tour was UJE. The main official
purpose of the visit was "honouring Metropolitan Sheptytsky and his
legacy"[31]. In his letter to the Ukrainian delegation, the Canadian Prime
Minister stated that Sheptytsky's "compassion and courage made him
a role model and an exemplar of the values that Ukrainian and Jewish
people aspire to uphold to this day"[32].

No other attempt to commemorate Sheptytsky before 2012 was
organized with such panache or was executed at such a high political
level. The source of the success of this visit stemmed from the very
skilful association of the commemoration of Sheptytsky with the sym-
bolic capital related to memories of the Holocaust in the West[33]. In
some sense, Sheptytsky was used by Ukrainian non-governmental or-
ganizations as a tool of soft power to develop positive relations with
representatives of the Western political culture. At the same time, the
official Ukrainian state was drifting away from the West due to the
policy of President Yanukovych.

In 2013, the Sheptytsky Award was founded on the initiative of UJE
with the intention of honouring those particularly involved with "the

28 *Statement of the Parliament of Canada on honoring Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky*, https://irs.
in.ua/en/statement-of-the-parliament-of-canada-on-honoring-metropolitan-andrey-sheptytsky
[30.04.2021].

29 *Postanovy patriarshoho synodu*, http://ugcc.ua/official/official-documents/postanovy_patriarsho-
ho_synodu/postanovi_sinodu_yepiskop%D1%96v_ugkts_2013_roku_70052.html [30.04.2021].

30 *Statement of the Parliament…*

31 *Honouring Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and His Legacy*, https://ukrainianjewishencounter.org/
media/Sheptytsky_Tour_English.pdf [30.04.2021].

32 Ibid.

33 A. Medvedovska, *Holokost v Ukraiini v suspilnii dumtsi kintsia XX – pochatku XXI st.*, http://www.dnu.
dp.ua/docs/ndc/dissertations/D08.051.14/dissertation_58459fad28388.pdf, pp. 98-110 [30.04.2021].

cause of Ukrainian-Jewish understanding and cooperation"[34]. The first laureate of this award was a cofounder of UJE, James Temerty, a Canadian businessman of Ukrainian origin, a philanthropist and sponsor of numerous projects in both Canada and Ukraine. The award ceremony was held in Kyiv in June 2013. In his speech, Temerty emphasized that "the history of Israel is not complete without the history of Ukraine, and the history of Ukraine is not complete without the history of Israel"[35]. However, he also remarked "that the road to rapprochement between Ukrainian and Jewish people will be long"[36]. Temerty indicated an interrelation between "the problem of preserving the memory of the Holocaust" and the prospects for Ukraine's attempts "to draw closer to the European Union"[37].

In November 2014, the second ceremony of the Sheptytsky Award took place. This time, Victor Pinchuk, a major Ukrainian oligarch, received the award[38]. In subsequent years the Sheptytsky Award was granted to the Ukrainian dissident, Ivan Dzyuba[39], in 2016 and to the president of the World Jewish Congress, Ronald Lauder, in 2018[40].

So far, the 2014 edition of the award was probably the most glamorous and remarkable event related to the commemoration of Sheptytsky launched by UJE. In 2014, Adrian Karatnycky, a member of the Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter Initiative, underlined that Pinchuk was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, organizers of the Sheptytsky Award wanted to promote the idea of "the integration of Ukraine with the external world"[41]. In other words, UJE aimed

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34 *UCU Benefactor Awarded Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky Medal*, https://ukrainianjewishencounter.org/en/ucu-benefactor-awarded-metropolitan-andrey-sheptytsky-medal/ [30.04.2021].

35 *The first laureate of the medal in honor of Andrei Sheptytsky became a Canadian businessman of Ukrainian descent originally from Donbass*, https://ukrainianjewishencounter.org/en/the-first-laureate-of-the-medal-in-honor-of-andrei-sheptytski-became-a-canadian-businessman-of-ukrainian-descent-originally-from-donbass/ [30.04.2021].

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 *Victor Pinchuk at the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Award Ceremony*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PkJ0jsB6l10 [30.04.2021].

39 *Ivan Dziuba receives the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi Award for 2016*, https://ukrainianjewishencounter.org/en/ivan-dzyuba-receives-metropolitan-andrey-sheptytsky-award-2016/ [30.04.2021].

40 *The Honorable Roland S. Lauder receives the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi Award for 2018 at ceremony in New York*, https://ukrainianjewishencounter.org/en/the-honorable-ronald-s-lauder-receives-sheptytsky-award-at-ceremony-in-new-york/ [30.04.2021].

41 *Andrey Sheptytsky Award. Ukraine Crisis Media Center, 18th of November 2014*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z8FUiJYCC20 [30.04.2021].

at "renovating and contemporizing the international community's perception of these complex processes and the war"[42]. Pinchuk was probably recognized as a suitable person for this task because he was trying to develop an image as a "pro-Western" Ukrainian oligarch after the Orange Revolution.

The second reason Pinchuk was honoured with the Sheptytsky Award was his charitable activity. However, it turned out that this issue was quite problematic. Significantly, the UGCC did not take part in nominating Pinchuk for the Sheptytsky Award as they had the previous year. It seems that the superior of the UGCC, Archbishop Sviatoslav Shevchuk, was quite surprised with this nomination and commented that "our Church never cooperated with Viktor Pinchuk in charitable projects but probably the Jewish community cooperated with him if they decided to honour him with such an award"[43]. Moreover, with regard to the initiative of honouring this Ukrainian oligarch with the Sheptytsky Award, Archbishop Shevchuk stated that "everyone who today calls himself a patron has yet to grow in virtue and benevolence of her/his deeds to the style and zealousness of the great philanthropist who was Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky"[44].

The issue of Sheptytsky's involvement in saving Jews during the World War II started to appear in a new context and gained new connotations. It had been evident when Victor Pinchuk was honoured with the Sheptytsky Award. Obviously, although Archbishop Shevchuk was not involved with the decision to award Pinchuk, he was forced to participate in the Sheptytsky Award ceremony. He put forward his point of view in a very specific way: "Since Metropolitan Andrey is the face of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church of the 20th century", said Shevchuk, "and in order not to separate his activities for the sake of saving Jews during World War II from his Church and pastoral services, I decided to attend this ceremony"[45].

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42   Ibid.
43   *UGCC Head believes that any other Ukrainian patron has yet to grow to equal the great patron who was Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky,* http://news.ugcc.ua/en/news/ugcc_head_believes_that_ any_other_ukrainian_patron_has_yet_to_grow_to_reach_the_great_patron_who_was_met- ropolitan_andrey_sheptytsky_72162.html [30.04.2021].
44   Ibid.
45   Ibid.

It seems that both the UGCC and UJE had primarily the same goals and applied the same strategy of mnemonic pluralists. However, UJE started to apply the patterns appropriate to the mnemonic warrior. Or at least it exploited these patterns, as was the case of the motion in the Canadian parliament. Then the authority of the state institution was employed with the purpose of legitimizing a positive approach to the legacy related to Metropolitan Sheptytsky. In other words, the Canadian parliament was involved in attempts to make others accept UJE's "true" vision of the past. Moreover, activities of UJE in reference to the commemoration of Sheptytsky were entangled in the issue of the future geopolitical position of Ukraine (i.e., the problem of integration with the West) and with current conflicts in Ukrainian politics. The mnemonic strategy of the UGCC evolved, too. In terms of the post-Maidan circumstances, it took on more "warrior" features. However, the UGCC was determined to protect its freedom from neopatrimonial rules of Ukrainian politics. Nonetheless, symbolic capital related to Sheptytsky and his attitude during the Holocaust became a tool of legitimization of informal oligarchical structures involved in the state power system after President Yanukovych's overthrow.

4. State institutions

On 17 June 2014, the Verkhovna Rada voted on the "Bill of the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's birth". After the first vote, the bill was not placed on the agenda.[46] Then Volodymyr Yavorivskyi encouraged all MPs, regardless of their political affiliations and coalitions, to support the bill; he said that this hierarch was "a unique figure in Ukrainian history, who hid about one thousand Jewish people during the war"[47]. Yavorivskyi exaggerated the number of people helped by Metropolitan Sheptytsky during the Holocaust, but his argument was effective. This was a very interesting moment, as it became apparent that the memory of the Shoah may be a very efficient tool for achieving political goals. Finally,

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46 *Stenohrama plenarnoho zasidannia. Zasidannia Piatdesiat Pershe,* http://iportal.rada.gov.ua/meeting/stenogr/show/5633.html [30.04.2021].

47 Ibid.

in the second vote, the bill was accepted and applauded[48]. Sheptytsky was recognized as "a public leader" (*hromadskyi diiach*) and "patron" (*metsenat*)[49].

With the adoption of the bill, the Council decided to celebrate the Metropolitan's birth anniversary at the state level. The Ukrainian Council of Ministers was given the task of establishing an organizational committee responsible for the preparation and conduct of events related to the celebrations[50].The Ukrainian government, headed by Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk, approved the "schedule of preparations and celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Greek Catholic Church Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in 2015"[51] only on 30 April 2015. Vice-Prime Minister Viacheslav Kyrylenko highlighted that Sheptytsky should be presented like an "historical personality" of "all-national significance"[52]. The main goal he set was "to break the stereotypical perception of the Metropolitan's person shaped by the Soviet propaganda"[53].

In July 2015, a monument to Andrey Sheptytsky was unveiled in L'viv. This event was left off of the official governmental schedule of commemorative activities devoted to Sheptytsky. The monument was established on the initiative of the UGCC and with the support of the municipal authorities of L'viv. However, the opening ceremony was attended by President Poroshenko. He asserted in his speech that "the best monument to the metropolitan is the independent Ukraine that moves towards the family of European nations"[54]. The next day Poroshenko had an opening speech during a solemn concert in the

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48 Ibid.
49 *Postanova Verkhovnoii Rady Ukrainy Pro vidznachennia 150-richchia z dnia narodzhennia mytropolyta Ukraiinskoii Hreko-Katolytskoii Tserkvy Andreia Sheptytskoho*, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1330-18 [30.04.2021].
50 Ibid.
51 *Vidznachennia 150-richchia vid dnia narodzhennia Andreia Sheptytskoho maie predstavyty Mytropolyta iak postat natsionalnoho znachennia*, http://news.ugcc.ua/news/v%D1%96dznachennya_15or%D1%96chchya_v%D1%96d_dnya_narodzhennya_andreya_sheptitskogo_maie_predstaviti_mitropolita_yak_postat_nats%D1%96onalnogo_znachennya__vyacheslav_kirilenko_73711.html [30.04.2021].
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
54 *UGCC Patriarch and Ukraine's President unveil Metropolitan Sheptytskyy's monument*, https://risu.ua/en/ugcc-patriarch-and-ukraine-s-president-unveil-metropolitan-sheptytskyy-s-monument_n75418 [30.04.2021].

L'viv Opera Theatre. Although he touched on Sheptytsky's contribution to rescuing Jews, his main attention was focused on the issues of consolidation of the Ukrainian nation and struggle against Russian aggression in Donbas and Crimea[55].

It is worth noting that external agents have also been involved in commemorative activities related to Sheptytsky. One of the most important is the Yad Vashem Institute. The attempts to encourage Yad Vashem to change its position on the issue of granting Andrey Sheptytsky the title "Righteous Among the Nations" were launched in the mid-80's and have been continued during the following decades. The Israeli Holocaust Memorial Institute has received successive appeals from different mnemonic actors. On 21 January 2020, Moshe Reuven Azman, Chief Rabbi of Kyiv and Ukraine, asked Yad Vashem to award Andrey Sheptytsky the title "Righteous Among the Nations". President Volodymyr Zelenskyi joined this petition[56]. The position of Yad Vashem remained non-negotiable despite the claims of the witnesses and survivors. The Chairman of the Directorate of the Israeli Holocaust Memorial Institute, Avner Shalev, responded, "there are Jewish survivors who attested to having been rescued by Metropolite"; however, "there are others" wrote Shalev "who are sure that it was his conduct that contributed to Ukrainians joining the ranks of murderers of their families"[57]. In other words, from Yad Vashem's point of view, recognizing Sheptytsky as "Righteous among the Nations" might call into question one "true" vision of the past related to the Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the Holocaust.

In fact, Yad Vashem declared in its mission statement that it strives to maintain "the authentic individual voice emanating from testimonies, diaries, artifacts and other documentation" in order to continue "to pave the way for a brighter future"[58]. Thus, its agenda covers some universal goals like inspiring "non-Jewish" visitors of the Museum

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55 *Prezydent: diakuiu Tserkvi za ii rol u yednanni kraiiny*, http://ugcc.ua/news/prezident_ukraini_dyakuyu_tserkv%D1%96_za_ii_rol_u_iednann%D1%96_kraini_74403.html [30.04.2021].

56 *Zelensky backs appeal to recognize Sheptytsky as "Righteous among Nations"*, https://spzh.news/en/news/68199-zelenskij-podderzhal-obrashhenije-o-priznanii-sheptickogo-pravednikom-mira [31.08.2021].

57 A. Shalev, *Letter to rabbi Azman from the 9th February*, https://spzh.news/en/news/68677-otvet-jad-vashem-andrej-sheptickij-privetstvoval-nacistskih-okkupantov [30.04.2021].

58 *Mission Statement*, https://www.yadvashem.org/about/mission-statement.html [30.04.2021].

Complex "to join the drive towards a more ethical future for humanity as a whole" and "encouraging every visitor to consider the Holocaust's universal dimensions"[59].

Apparently, such an approach suits the type of agent classified as "mnemonic prospective" in Kubik and Bernhard's typology. Such an actor is supposed to "focus political energy on building a 'brighter' future"[60]. However, authors of the theory of the politics of memory expect that this type of agent would strive to "build a 'brighter' future" by "challenging competing visions of the past"[61]. Yad Vashem, in turn, attempts to meet its target by promoting "the history of the Holocaust from a Jewish perspective" and by evoking "a greater empathy for the fate of the Jewish people" among "non-Jewish visitors"[62]. In other words, Yad Vashem's task is to promote and share its own message on the Holocaust, not to compete with or negotiate it with narratives of the other mnemonic actors. Such an approach seems to be more akin to the mnemonic warrior's strategy.

Conclusions

The commemoration of Sheptytsky after the Euromaidan was dominated by mnemonic warriors. The memory of his legacy was formatted and adapted to political goals. Legitimization of the formal and informal structures of the state power after the Euromaidan was one of them. In parallel with the process of associating Ukraine with the EU, a military conflict in Donbas escalated. The fundamental existence of the Ukrainian state was threatened. Thus, dreams of its "European prospects" were overshadowed. The main tasks were consolidation of the political community and its mobilisation against hybrid warfare. The issue of the Holocaust was too complicated for such purposes. Finally, the topic of relations with Jews was dominated by the image of Sheptytsky – "a state-maker" (*derzhavotvorets*)[63].

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59 Ibid.
60 *Twenty Years After Communism...*, p. 15.
61 Ibid.
62 *Mission Statement…*
63 It does not mean that the issue of memory of the Holocaust has not attracted attention of different actors of the Ukrainian memory field after the Dignity Revolution. For example, the attempts to commemorate victims of the Babyn Yar have been intensified. They provide a lot of

From the moment of the Ukrainian Supreme Council's declaration, a process of nationalizing symbolic capital related to Metropolitan Sheptytsky started (in the sense of its expropriation beneficial to the formal and informal structures of state power). It was also used in activities destined to legitimize neopatrimonial and oligarchical rules in terms of post-Maidan Ukraine through the manipulation of notions and values. For example, at the award ceremony, Pinchuk stated that he considered himself "an integral part of civic society" in Ukraine[64].

The legacy of Metropolitan Sheptytsky is an issue that goes beyond the border of the memory field of one community. A given type of mnemonic regime, as well as the structure of the mnemonic field, do not depend only on internal actors. They are also influenced by the external environment. Apart from Russia, there are at least three potential external agents influencing the Ukrainian memory field who have referred directly or indirectly to the Sheptytsky case: the Yad Vashem Institute, researchers who question a "Germano-centric conceptualization of the Shoah" and the Ukrainian diaspora (UJE). Each of them, to some degree, have introduced a strategy of the mnemonic warrior. They fight for "their version of the truth". Their activities generate constraints which affect the memory politics in Ukraine.

Oksana Shevel pointed out that a pillarized mnemonic field "is not only more conducive to political pluralism and democracy; it is arguably the only sustainable one in a society such as Ukraine that features multiple historical, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural experiences and identities"[65]. The legacy of Sheptytsky might be very helpful in achieving "a compromise in the form of a mnemonic reconciliation"[66]. The

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very interesting empirical material for the further research on the Ukrainian memory field and on its interrelations with political processes in Ukraine and in Eastern Europe (see: A. Drobovych, *Kazus Babynoho Yaru s dolia natsionalnoho muzeiu Holokostu*, https://risu.ua/kazus-babinogo-yaru-i-dolya-nacionalnogo-muzeyu-golokostu_n93397 [31.08.2021]; S. Dorosh, *Babyn Yar i rosiiskyi slid. Shcho stoiit za konfliktom navkolo memorialu*, https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-56156925 [31.08.2021]. However, this issue goes beyond the frames of this paper.

64 *Victor Pinchuk*…

65 O. Shevel, *Memories of the Past and Visions of the Future. Remembering The Soviet Era and Its End in Ukraine* [in:] *Twenty Years After Communism…*, p. 161.

66 Ibid.; Probably, results of research from 2017 on the perception of the past by the Ukrainians confirm this hypothesis. (T. Stryjek, K. Konieczna-Sałamatin, K. Zacharczuk, *Ukraińcy o historii, kulturze i stosunkach polsko-ukraińskich*, Warszawa 2017). Its authors asked respondents from Western, Central, and Eastern Ukraine to evaluate the most important personalities of Ukrainian history. It turned out that Sheptytsky belonged to a group of figures who still were rather obscure to

problem is that, according to the Kubik and Bernhard's theory of politics of memory, there is no place for a warrior in a pillarized regime[67]

However, it is worth noting that, in regard to the issue of the Holocaust actors, behaving in the manner of mnemonic warriors may also contribute to the pluralization of the mnemonic field and to democratization of social life. Although they do not simplify the achievement of reconciliation, they may, for example, secure the mnemonic field from being dominated by other warriors. Apart from this, they supply incentives for "finding a way of reading" the legacy of the past. Probably even the most complex legacy without such stimulus is "merely a potential" whose "invoking is purposeless"[68]. Moreover, it seems that some topics and issues from the past in a given circumstances (for example, the Holocaust in the Eastern Europe) are more conducive to the mnemonic warrior strategy, whereas the other ones better "suit" the position of a mnemonic pluralist.

Metropolitan Shevchuk reacted with self-constraint to the idea of granting the oligarch the Sheptytsky medal. This difficult situation which he had to tackle probably quite well reflects the complexity of social reality in Ukraine after Euromaidan. As a result, in the case of such non-state (non-government) agents like UJE or the UGCC, it used to be hard to unequivocally assess the relevance of their primary intentions and aims to the final results of their activities in the memory field. It seems that once they entere into interactions with formal and informal state power structures, their agency and autonomy are threatened. This indicates that the social order in Ukraine is still dominated by patronal patterns.

the general public in Ukraine. However, in social memory of Sheptytsky positive assessments prominently dominated the negative ones (Ibid., p. 42). Thus, he is likely to get a more common recognition as a national hero in the future. Of course, under the condition that more Ukrainians would get an opportunity to hear about him.

67   *Twenty Years After Communism*…, p. 4.
68   J. Kieniewicz, *Wprowadzenie do historii cywilizacji Wschodu i Zachodu*, Warszawa 2003, p. 365.

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