

# SUMMARIES

# PETRO DOLHANOV

## THE STATE POLICY OF COMMEMORATING OF GENOCIDE VICTIMS IN UKRAINE: LEGAL CONTEXT

The article deals with the analysis of the state legal acts which form the legal basis for policy of commemorating of genocide victims. Based on the classification of the memorial legislation as declarative and criminal, the established in Ukraine set of declarative rules to commemorate the victims of the genocides and the attempts of regulatory consolidation of criminalization, the denial of these crimes is considered. This analysis is carried out in compliance with the chronological sequence of the public authorities' law-making function in respect of each of the specific types of laws in the memorial commemorating of the genocide victims. Then, it is given a comprehensive assessment of the issue of (in)effectiveness of a regulatory legal acts in the practical implementation of the state policy of memory. This approach is consistent with the classical delineation of the functions of the political system on "output" – the rule-making and enforcement of the legal norms that should be differentiated in time and space.

It is noted that the policy on commemorating of genocide victims and overcoming of genocide consequences in the Ukrainian regulatory framework provides for the following measures: public action to commemorate victims of genocides (various commemorative practices, conferences, and other events of a similar nature), fixing of the memory of the genocide victims in the symbolic space of the country, the intensification of academic studies, social and economic guarantees for survived victims, and, in the case of Holodomor, also struggle for international recognition.

Most initiatives focused on fixing the memory of the genocide and public events to commemorate their victims were dedicated to the Holodomor; at the same time, the victims of the Holocaust and Porajmos at least de jure received social and economic benefits aimed on overcoming of the genocide consequences. However, the presence of such mechanism is treated rather a coincidence than the result of a clearly defined strategy to overcome the genocide consequences, because this mechanism was institutionalized before the moment, when at the state level appeared the first regulations about the Holocaust and genocide of Roma. Victims of the Holodomor only in order of recommendation got chance for economic support.

The analysis of legislation on commemorating of genocide victims in Ukraine gives a reason to make a conclusion about the indifferent attitude of state and political elites to this problem. This explains the chaos existing in regulatory framework. However, despite initial motivation and errors, the first steps towards commemorating the victims of genocides that took place in Ukraine in the past, the state has already made. The memorial policy on the Holodomor, the Holocaust and Porajmos is launched officially. Its future will depend not only on the balance of political power and interests of the new ruling coalition and the opposition, but also on the initiatives of civil society, that is emerging.

# SŁAWOMIR KAPRALSKI

### THE MUSEUM OF AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU AS A POLYPHONIC MEMORYSCAPE

The article presents the history of the perception of Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp in the social memory of Polish society. The author interprets Auschwitz-Birkenau from the perspective of memory studies

#### SUMMARIES

as a polyphonic "memoryscape" in which different collective visions of the past become spatialized and organized by the relations of power. The argument is organized chronologically and breaks the history of the perception of Auschwitz in the following periods: 1945-1949 with the domination of Polish state-nationalist symbolism: 1949-1970 that has been characterized by the domination of international symbolism, rooted in the communist vision of history, but also with the growing importance of nationalist ingredients since the end of the 1960s: 1970- beginning of the 1990s, marked by the domination of Polish Catholic symbolism which caused several conflicts with the Jewish vision of Auschwitz as the symbol of the Holocaust; the decade of the 1990s, in which, together with the postcommunist transformation, the Jewish symbolism has become dominant in the memorial landscape of Auschwitz: the period from the end of 1990s till now when the Jewish symbolism remains strong but it is accompanied by the new international symbolism (that emphasizes non-Jewish victims: Poles, Roma, Soviet POWs) and universal symbolism of Auschwitz as a general symbol of genocide; but also of peace and reconciliation.

Regarding the first periods of the history of Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum, the author is particularly interested in symbolic and ritual practices of erasing the Jewish memory of Auschwitz as the site of the Holocaust and replacing it either with the narratives of Polish suffering or the internationalist vision of the site of crime against people (with a special emphasis on the political prisoners) of different nationalities. The history of the Auschwitz memorial and its ideological distortions have been presented in this section as an illustration of the erasure of Jewish memory. Then the author focuses on the religious (Christian) vision of Auschwitz as a site sanctified by the martyrs' sacrifice and, consequently, a part of the Christological paradigm of redemption, that manifested in the beatification of father Kolbe who offered his life for the one of another prisoner, the holy mass performed by the Pope John Paul II on the grounds of Birkenau in 1979, and the decision to create the convent of the Carmelite Nuns on the premises of the camp, together with the growing visibility of the Christian symbols in the Museum. The postcommunist transformation of the memoryscape of Auschwitz is presented in the context of the Polish public debates and controversies regarding the Jewish-Polish relations and the way Poles behaved during the Holocaust. The author presents a detailed analysis

of the so-called "battle of crosses" that involved the presence of Christian symbolism at Auschwitz and the controversies regarding the "March of the Living" that activated conflict potential of the Polish and Jewish visions of Auschwitz. The period since the 1990s has also been characterized by the growing visibility of the Roma symbolism and commemoration that the author presents in a detailed way in the subsequent section of the article.

In the final sections the author presents the results of sociological surveys conducted between 1995 and 2015 that prove that dissemination of adequate knowledge about Auschwitz and the Holocaust is not a constant tendency in the Polish collective memory, but rather depends on situational factors. Results of sociological research corroborate the thesis that Polish society did not so much recover memory of the Holocaust but rather became polarized with regard to its attitude towards Jews and the Holocaust. The post-1990 transformation of Auschwitz memoryscape cannot be thus perceived as the consequence of the restructuring of Poland's collective memory but nevertheless constitutes one of the frames within which this memory continues to be formed.

## **BOHDAN ZEK**

## HOLOCAUST IN OCCUPIED LUTSK, 1941-42

The administrative center of Volyn region – Lutsk – was occupied by the Wehrmacht troops already on June 25, 1941. At that time most of the residents were Jews. German government began shooting in the first days of the occupation. In this way she wanted to liquidate politically unreliable people. A series of directives that restrict the rights of Jews were published. The Jews were forced to wear special insignia, restricted the movement of the city, deprived of material goods.

The mediator between the occupation command and the Jewish community was the Judenrat, formed on July 12, 1941 at the request of the field commandant of the city. A policy of separation of Jews from other nationalities reached its highest point in December 1941 when the Lutsk ghetto was formed. The local administration gave the Judenrat

hospital and several factories that had to serve only the Jewish population. Physical and material resource exploitation of Jewish community continued throughout the period of German occupation.

In August 1942 Lutsk ghetto was destroyed. As a result about 16,000 people were killed. For some time the Jewish labor camp continued to operate in the city; it consisted of 500 people. Upon knowing of its liquidation, on December 12, 1942 Jews revolted. Almost all of them were killed. Jewish property was transferred at the disposal of local administration. Despite the protection and the possibility of being punished, habitants of Lutsk tried to steal something. First of all this is explained by difficult financial situation of local residents.