

# Formation of public policy on national memory in Ukraine with the participation of civil society organisations



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**Abstract** The article's primary focus is on the examination of civil society organisations' involvement in the decision-making and implementation processes conducted by public authorities. The aim of this article is to analyse the involvement of civil society in Ukraine (with civil society organisations as a case study) in public policy regarding national memory in Ukraine. The article employs a combination of descriptive, analytical and synthetic methods, as well as inductive and deductive approaches. The use of the dialectical method ensures a comprehensive study of the activities of civil society organisations. A comparative and structural-functional analysis was employed to examine the activities and functioning of civil society organisations. The research yielded several key insights. Firstly, the main vectors of public policy regarding national memory in Ukraine were identified. Secondly, the regulatory framework of Ukraine regulating the activities of civil society organisations and their participation in political processes was analysed. Thirdly, an overview of the instruments of civil participation in the public policy regarding national memory was conducted. Finally, the activities of civil society organisations in the field of national memory through partnerships and networking were characterised using the example of the "Reanimation Package of Reforms" Coalition. It was established that the state implements a policy to advance the growth of civil society in Ukraine, with the objective of providing support to civic initiatives. In order to implement this, Ukraine has established a regulatory framework that is continually updated in response to evolving socio-political challenges and needs. The country implements the National Strategy for the Development of Civil Society, adopts international norms and standards, and fulfils international obligations.

**Keywords:** public administration, colonial past, European values, non-governmental organisation, public authorities, national identity

## 1. Introduction

The development of a modern democratic state is contingent upon the assurance of unimpeded citizen participation by public authorities in the decision-making and implementation processes. In a democratic state with a developed civil society, the formulation and implementation of public policy are contingent upon the mandatory participation of civil society representatives. This is applicable to all spheres of society, including the policy on national memory, which may be defined as a system of goals and measures designed to foster appropriate identification with the national state.

In a democratic state, civil society plays an active role in the political process, not merely as a conduit for presenting societal problems and needs to public authorities, but also as a direct participant in their resolution. Two interdependent conditions are essential for achieving the desired outcomes in this context. On the one hand, this entails the actions of civil society organisations and citizens of the state. On the other hand, it necessitates the acceptance of public opinion by public authorities. Tilly (2007) posits that the degree of democracy is contingent upon the manner in which the state responds to the opinions, needs, and demands expressed by its citizens.

The formulation and implementation of public policy on national memory in Ukraine is a multifaceted process that involves a diverse array of stakeholders, including state authorities, local self-government bodies, civil society organisations, international institutions, businesses, and individual citizens. In Ukraine, there has been an observable increase in the number of civil society organisations and their level of activity, including their participation in the political process. For example, the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (2023) reports that in December 2021, the number of registered civil society organisations in Ukraine was 96,258, representing a 25% increase compared to 2013. Following the commencement of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian conflict, the rate of growth in the number of new civil society organisations slowed. In 2022, 2,760 organisations were registered, representing a 36.7% decline from the previous year. However, during this period, the number of charitable organisations increased significantly, by 7.7 times, with 6,367 organisations registered in 2022. Additionally, there



have been positive developments in the level of trust that the general public places in civil institutions. As reported by the Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies named after Oleksandr Razumkov and the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation (Ukraine), the level of trust in civil society organisations exhibited a range of 42.7% to 64.5% during the period between 2016 and 2022. By the end of 2023, this figure reached 63%.

At the present time, Ukraine has established mechanisms for interaction between society and the state as actors in the political process. Furthermore, a pertinent legal framework has been established to provide a conducive environment for the flourishing of civic initiatives and the implementation of diverse instruments of civil participation in decision-making and implementation processes. The state has adopted a targeted policy aimed at supporting the development of civil society, respecting its autonomy, and fostering relationships based on transparency and partnership. The National Strategy for the Development of Civil Society in Ukraine for 2021–2026, approved by the President of Ukraine in September 2021, places particular emphasis on the exceptional value of partnership between the state and society. This implies the establishment of an equal partnership between state representatives and civil society actors in the formulation of public policy, with the objective of addressing the needs and concerns of citizens. It is anticipated that such collaboration will facilitate effective decision-making at the local, regional, national, and international levels.

A distinctive feature of the formulation and implementation of public policy on national memory in Ukraine today is the overcoming of Ukraine's colonial past and the combination of two essential elements: national and European identity. In this regard, Yurchuk (2017) employs the concepts of "restoration of history and identity" and "overcoming the difficult past" to define the policy of reviving national memory and overcoming the imperial, colonial, and Soviet communist past. Yurchuk (2017) posits that, as a postcolonial state, Ukraine must construct its own history, disassociate itself from Soviet history, and, as a European state, espouse European values and establish strategic objectives for European integration. Indeed, Ukraine has a millennia-old history and close ties with European countries, and thus the European integration processes, which have accelerated in recent years, are also taking place in the sphere of national memory.

The selection of this research objective is supported by the prevalence of studies within the scientific discourse that examine the involvement of state institutions in public policy on national memory. At the 2nd International Conference on Cultural Informatics, Communication & Media Studies, held in Greece in 2019, it was asserted that in the field of memory studies, the state and its institutions are frequently identified as the primary agents of collective memory formation, whereas civil society organisations are largely overlooked.

The aim of this article is to analyse the role of Ukrainian civil society (in particular, non-governmental organisations) in the formulation of public policy on national memory.

The objective of this study is threefold: firstly, to identify the principal vectors of the public policy of national memory in Ukraine that are currently of vital importance and will remain so in the near future; secondly, to analyse the legal acts of Ukraine that regulate the activities of public organisations and their participation in political processes, as well as ensuring the formation and implementation of public policy of national memory; and thirdly, to review the instruments of public participation in the public policy of national memory that ensure the interaction of civil society organisations and public authorities. The case of the Reanimation Package of Reforms Coalition, which unites prominent Ukrainian civil society organisations and experts, will be used to illustrate the activities of civil society organisations in the field of national memory through the lens of partnership and networking.

The involvement of the public in Ukraine's national memory policy has been a topic of discussion among scholars since the late 1980s. This was a period of significant social change, characterised by the formation of civil society and the advent of specific democratic processes. The conceptual foundations for public policy on national memory were established through the active participation of citizens in the socio-political life of the country and the activities of newly formed civic associations for the revival and preservation of the historical memory of the Ukrainian people (Vlasenko, 2023c). As Kyrton (2015) posits, transformative shifts in Ukrainian consciousness facilitated this outcome. This was initiated by a growing interest in the past and the discovery of previously unknown facts pertaining to Ukrainian history.

It is important to consider the specific characteristics of the development of civil society in order to understand the role of civil society in public policy on national memory in Ukraine. In a noteworthy contribution to the field, Worschech (2017) offered a compelling characterisation of Ukrainian civil society. The subject was described as having developed in a dynamic manner. The strengths and weaknesses of the subject were identified. The capacity to undertake campaigns and mobilise support was identified as a key strength. However, the absence of robust structures to facilitate transformational processes in politics, economics, and culture was identified as a significant challenge. Hornostai (2022) espouses a similar perspective, acknowledging the positive aspect of Ukrainian civil society's high capacity for self-organisation but identifying a negative aspect in its lack of institutionalisation. The positive indicators in the development of civil society in Ukraine include the growing number and variety of civil organisations, their expanding spheres of activity, and their ability to develop organisationally. However, there is still a need to focus on the institutionalisation of civil-political associations while forming public policy (Honiukova, 2015; Honiukova, 2020).

The concept of civil society, as defined by scholars in various academic disciplines, requires further elucidation, according to the Razumkov Center (2023). In recent years, there have been positive developments in the evolution of civil

society in Ukraine, including an increase in citizen initiative and the involvement of civil society organisations in public policy, including the sphere of national memory. The Institute of Analysis and Advocacy in Ukraine has observed a range of activities within the contemporary Ukrainian civil society (Development of civil society in times of war: recommendations for international partners, 2023). Such activities include the facilitation of communication between the government and citizens, the advancement of legislative processes, the endorsement of proposed legislation, and the provision of assistance in the implementation of enacted laws. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to implement further measures to institutionalise this policy. In their 2022 study, scholars Soroka and Lizakowska define institutionalisation in public administration as the process of establishing social norms, standards, and rules, as well as organising and formalising stable relationships between components of public administration. This is achieved by establishing a system, comprising laws, social norms, or established procedures, which meets society's essential needs. The process of institutionalisation has the potential to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of public administration. It is therefore imperative to institutionalise the interaction between government bodies and civil society, particularly at the local self-government level. In particular, the development of measures to ensure transparency, openness, and accountability in public administration is essential, and this cannot be achieved without cooperation with civil society.

As posited by Rudenko and Shturhetskyi (2014), civil society is receptive to rational arguments, alternative positions, other cultures and worldviews. It is therefore incumbent upon us to affirm the principles of civil society and to seek out opportunities for tolerance, which form the basis of cooperation. In the writings of political philosophers, there is a view that tolerance should be a virtue of the modern state. In his analysis of the phenomenon of "repressive tolerance," scholar Marcuse (1969) examines the form of tolerance employed by modern societies in response to opposition that does not threaten the existing political and economic system. The formation and development of civil society in Ukraine are associated with significant difficulties and are specific to the processes of globalisation. The country's midlands have experienced disruptions to their social development. In order to achieve social harmony and peace, and to ensure Ukraine's national integrity, it is necessary to revive the national idea that can unite the public. A fully-fledged civil society can be established (Rudenko, 2014).

Kornievskyy and Rozumnyi (2019) examine the influence of civil society organisations on the formation of the Ukrainian people's national memory. Following an examination of three Ukrainian civil organisations operating within the field of national memory (namely, the Center for the Study of the Liberation Movement, the Ukrainian Institute for the Study of the Holocaust "TKUMA", and the Babyn Yar Holocaust Memorial Center), the authors put forth a proposal to categorise the methods of activity of civil institutions into two distinct types. The first type of activity directly influences the historical memory of society (for example, through the dissemination of information through campaigns and exhibitions, the establishment of museums and archives, the publication of materials, and other similar activities). The second method of activity is interaction with state institutions responsible for implementing memory policy. This may entail establishing cooperation, securing state support for civil organisation projects, or enabling representatives of civil organisations to participate in relevant government bodies or structures.

## 2. Materials and Methods

The interdisciplinary nature of the article necessitated the utilisation of an appropriate research methodology, which permitted the integration and interaction of diverse scientific approaches, methods and tools. Accordingly, a variety of research methods and techniques were employed throughout the study, reflecting the intrinsic nature of scientific knowledge in public administration and other fields, particularly in the social sciences and humanities. To illustrate, the synthesis method permitted the determination of the general features and properties of the phenomena and processes observed in the society under study.

The application of the dialectical method facilitated a comprehensive examination of the activities of civil society organisations engaged in the formulation of national memory policies. The specification method proved instrumental in identifying the specific features and interrelationships of events and consequences associated with the activities of civil society organisations. The principle of general connection enabled the essential features of the problem under study to be elucidated. The axiological approach permitted the activities of civic organisations to be considered from the perspective of recognising the generally accepted social, national and European values.

A comparative and structural-functional analysis was employed to examine the activities and functioning of public organisations. The systematisation, networking, and cooperation methods used by individual civil society organisations, as well as the structural and organisational features of their activities in national memory, allow for the tracking of partnerships, networking, and the application of logical and dialectical methods.

Furthermore, general scientific methods of cognition, such as inductive and deductive reasoning, were employed during the course of the study. The induction method was utilised to evaluate the efficacy of non-governmental organisations' activities in the domain of national memory, while the deduction method facilitated the examination of their actions and occurrences.

### 3. Results and Discussion

The present-day public policy of national memory in Ukraine is a subject of considerable attention at the hands of both the state and society. There are a number of reasons for this, but two in particular can be identified as being of particular significance. The initial impetus for this can be attributed to the robust demand for a national memory policy within Ukrainian society. This can be attributed to the existence of a mature and developed Ukrainian civic nation with a collective memory. The Ukrainian people perceive themselves as representatives of the Ukrainian nation and as an integral part of the European multinational community. The national memory of the Ukrainian people constitutes an integral component of both Ukrainian and European identity. In May 2023, the Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies, named after Oleksandr Razumkov, conducted an intriguing survey of Ukrainian citizens, inquiring as to which cultural tradition they primarily identify with. The majority of respondents (80.8%) indicated that they identify with the Ukrainian cultural tradition, which represents a significant increase from the 2015 figure of 65.5%. Additionally, when asked whether they feel like a European, a total of 50.6% of respondents indicated a positive response, representing a significant increase from the 29% recorded in 2015. The second reason (external) is the Russian aggression against Ukraine, which has been ongoing since 2014 in the form of a hybrid war and since 2022 in the form of full-scale warfare. The component of this phenomenon is informational warfare, manifested in the form of contemporary disinformation and historical revisionism disseminated by Russian propaganda in Ukraine and globally. This is conducted with the objective of undermining and eroding the foundations of Ukrainian national identity. Consequently, the state and society are engaged in efforts to neutralise the threat to Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to safeguard and preserve the Ukrainian nation. One of the key factors in this confrontation is public policy on national memory, which plays a significant role in determining Ukraine's national security.

In this article, the terms "civil society organisations" and "civil organisations" are used interchangeably. In accordance with Ukrainian legislation, particularly the Law of Ukraine "On Public Associations" (dated 22 March 2012, No. 4572-VI), civil organisations are defined as public associations whose founders and members (participants) are individuals. Such organisations are voluntary, non-profit, and independent of public authorities, having been established with the objective of satisfying social interests. Civil society organisations serve to protect the interests of citizens, acting as intermediaries between the citizenry and the state.

The formulation of public policy on national memory in Ukraine is informed by the distinctive historical trajectory of the Ukrainian state and the contemporary challenges posed by the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. First and foremost, this encompasses the long-term imperial colonisation and Soviet occupation of Ukrainian territories, during which a deliberate policy of eradicating Ukrainian national identity was pursued (late 18th century – late 20th century). Consequently, following Ukraine's restoration of independence in 1991, the state and society were compelled to address the challenge of reviving national culture, traditions, and customs, restoring national symbols and the Ukrainian language, and elucidating the historical record of Ukrainian statehood and the unwavering struggle of the Ukrainian people for the right to exist as the Ukrainian nation (Zhurzhenko, 2022). Concurrently, one of the hallmarks of Ukraine's national memory policy is the pervasive influence of the post-Soviet era, a phenomenon also discernible in the states of Central and Eastern Europe that were part of the Warsaw Pact (Vlasenko, 2023b). Today, the public policy of national memory in Ukraine has three main vectors:

- 1) the formation of the fundamental foundations of Ukrainian national identity, which plays a vital role in nation-building and state-building (these processes began in the late 1980s);
- 2) overcoming the colonial past, which took place constantly with certain waves of upsurge – de-Sovietisation of the late 1980s and early 1990s; the so-called "Lenin's fall" and decommunisation of 2013-2016; de-Russification, decommunisation and decolonisation of 2022-2024;
- 3) shaping the collective memory of the Ukrainian people about the Russian-Ukrainian War of 2014-2024 and countering the historical myths of Russian propaganda.

The relevant legal acts regulate the participation of civil society in political processes related to national memory. In particular, the Constitution of Ukraine (1996) enshrines the right of citizens to participate in the management of state affairs (Article 38), to unite in order to exercise and protect their rights and freedoms, and to satisfy their interests (Article 36).

The process of decommunisation and the policy of restoring national memory is also observed in Ukraine's neighbouring states, which have the post-Soviet past in their historical paradigm. At the same time, each country had its own peculiarities in its attitude to the Soviet past, and their policies often depended on the level of influence of communist elites after the collapse of the USSR, which is why decommunisation in the post-Soviet countries neighbouring Ukraine has different forms and levels of implementation, depending on historical and political conditions. For example, in Poland, decommunisation began in the 1990s and included lustration (the removal of former communist officials from power) and significant reform of public space, including the renaming of streets and the removal of monuments. The adoption of these laws was based on anti-communist sentiment in society. In addition, Poland established the Institute of National Remembrance, whose main function was to research the crimes of the communist regime. Similarly, in Hungary, the process of decommunisation included lustration, but it was less moderate than in Poland (Shevel, 2016). First, legislation was adopted to regulate access to the archives of the

security services, but there were few real prosecutions for actions during the communist era. Secondly, the architectural and cultural elements of communism are partially preserved to this day. The process of decommunisation in Moldova has also been inconsistent, as a significant part of society retains nostalgia for the Soviet past, especially in Transnistria. For example, in 2012, a law banning communist symbols was passed, but its implementation faced some resistance in society and among political forces. Romania's decommunisation policy was more radical, as it included investigations into the crimes of the Ceausescu regime and the dismantling of communist monuments. At the same time, the lustration policy was limited, and some former officials retained influence. Decommunisation in Slovakia went hand in hand with democratic reforms and mainly consisted of opening access to the archives of the security services (Nedelsky, 2004). In Belarus, however, there has been virtually no decommunisation due to the policies of Alexander Lukashenko, who supports the Soviet legacy. Communist symbols remain part of the state ideology, and there have been no overt changes in this area.

The formation and activities of civil society organisations are guided by the Laws of Ukraine "On Public Associations" and "On State Registration of Legal Entities, Individual Entrepreneurs and Public Formations". The interaction between civil society organisations and public authorities is regulated by several legal acts, including the Laws of Ukraine "On Citizens' Appeals", "On Information", "On Access to Public Information", "On Local Self-Government in Ukraine", as well as resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "On Approval of the Procedure for Facilitating Public Expertise of the Activities of Executive Authorities". The aforementioned legal acts include the Law of Ukraine "On Ensuring Public Participation in the Formation and Implementation of State Policy" and its approved "Procedure for Conducting Consultations with the Public on Issues of Forming and Implementing State Policy," as well as the Law of Ukraine "On Approval of the Procedure for Conducting Consultations of Executive Authorities with Representative Bodies of Indigenous Peoples of Ukraine." They facilitate public participation in the management of state and public affairs, thereby enabling the protection of rights and interests while also facilitating improvements in the performance of public authorities.

Currently, Ukraine is engaged in a process of comprehensive reform across a range of policy areas, which are integral to its journey towards European Union membership. From the perspective of democratic development, the emergence of a sustainable civil society is of critical importance. The affirmation of civil society as a guarantee of democratic state development is identified as one of the main principles of Ukraine's internal policy. In this area, public policy is conducted in accordance with the "National Strategy for the Development of Civil Society for 2021–2026." The strategy outlines the creation of favourable conditions for the development of civic initiative and self-organisation in society, the formation and activities of civil society organisations, and the establishment of partnership interaction between them and state authorities and local self-government bodies. The overarching objective of the Strategy is to foster a collaborative relationship between society and the state, whereby decisions pertaining to civil society are made in a joint decision-making process. This process entails the involvement of civil society organisations and citizens at all stages of public policy, including the analysis of policy implementation status, the identification of trends, the identification of problems and the development of solutions, the drafting of decision projects and their implementation, the monitoring of policy implementation, and the evaluation of policy effectiveness. Therefore, the conditions for partnership relations between the state and society at the national, regional, and local levels are met, which is a crucial aspect of democracy.

The majority of researchers (Babka, 2015; Vitryak, 2018) concur that despite Ukraine's declaration of independence, Soviet traditions and narratives persisted in the realm of political memory, and that communist symbols remained prevalent in public spaces. However, certain measures were implemented during this period to address and re-examine the legacy of the communist era. This situation persisted into the future, and it was only in the second half of the 2010s that systemic changes began. Currently, in consideration of the legal and institutional framework, it is possible to speak of significant achievements in the policy of national memory and its important role in the consolidation of Ukrainian society (Bondar, 2013; Gotra, 2015). In general, the public policy of national memory in the initial years of Ukraine's restoration of independence is characterised by a paucity of a systematic approach to its formation and implementation. During this period, the government's response to the most pressing demands of society was notable, yet there was a lack of clear conceptualisation and narrative development regarding national memory. In the initial stages of the restoration of state independence, the public policy of national memory was oriented towards two distinct yet interrelated objectives: the restoration and preservation of national memory, and the continued support for Soviet traditions. The policy of the Ukrainian authorities during the presidency of Leonid Kuchma was the subject of considerable controversy and even contradictory interpretations (Vitryak, 2018).

On 10 December 1991, the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine approved the hryvnia as the state's currency, with portraits of princes Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, as well as hetmans Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Mazepa, on its obverse side (On Approval of the Name, 1991).

A review of the legal instruments reveals that the initial legislative measures pertaining to the national memory policy were primarily focused on the revitalisation of national history and culture. Consequently, one of the inaugural decrees was that of the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, dated 19 September 1991, entitled 'On the Revival of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy'. This decree symbolised the restoration of Ukrainian national educational traditions. The document made reference to the significant role played by the Academy as 'the first higher education institution in Eastern Europe' (Babka, 2015).

The public policy on national memory, in which civil society organisations participate in both the shaping and implementation of, is regulated by the Laws of Ukraine "On the Rehabilitation of Victims of Communist Totalitarian Regime Repression 1917–1991" and "On the Holodomor of 1932–1933 in Ukraine". The aforementioned laws include the "On the Legal Status and Commemoration of Fighters for Independence of Ukraine in the 20th Century", "On Condemnation of Communist and National Socialist (Nazi) Totalitarian Regimes in Ukraine and Prohibition of Propaganda of their Symbols", and "On Prohibition of Propaganda of the Russian Nazi Totalitarian Regime". The armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine constitutes a terrorist state act, as evidenced by the symbols of the military invasion of the Russian Nazi totalitarian regime in Ukraine. Furthermore, the aforementioned aggression is condemned and prohibited by the aforementioned legislative act, which also forbids the propagation of Russian imperial policy in Ukraine and the decolonization of toponymy. "On the Basic Principles of State Policy in the Sphere of Affirmation of Ukrainian National and Civil Identity" and other legislative acts of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the President of Ukraine, and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (Törnquist-Plewa & Yurchuk, 2019).

The so-called "decommunisation laws" of 9 April 2015 had a particularly resonant impact on society. The adoption of these laws was linked to the events of the Revolution of Dignity and is often seen as a response by public authorities to a solid societal demand. A comparable scenario unfolded during the enactment of the Ukrainian Law "On Condemnation and Prohibition of Propaganda of Russian Imperial Policy in Ukraine and Decolonization of Toponymy" in 2023. This legislation was shaped by the Ukrainian people's aspiration to disassociate themselves from their Russian colonial legacy, particularly in the wake of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian conflict that commenced on 24 February 2022. It is noteworthy that the "decommunisation laws" have been the subject of considerable criticism from both Ukrainian and international experts. For example, Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk (2019) identified elements of Ukrainian 'postcolonial hybridity' in memory politics, characterising their symbolic nature as 'rhetorical, almost poetic'. In a comparative analysis of Ukraine's legislative approach to national memory up to 2015, researcher Zhurzhenko (2022) identified the "decommunization laws" as a significantly more ambitious and comprehensive legislative framework. It is our contention that, despite their symbolic nature, these laws played an indispensable role in the institutionalisation of the policy of national memory in Ukraine. Such initiatives demonstrated the capacity of civil society organisations and state authorities to collaborate in the legislative process.

It is noteworthy that these decommunisation laws constituted the legal foundation for regulating memory policy and addressing critical issues pertaining to Ukraine's history in the 20th century (Vlasenko, 2024). The principal achievements of these laws can be summarised as follows: firstly, the establishment of effective mechanisms for overcoming the legacy of communist totalitarianism; secondly, the development of mechanisms for the formation of this memory; thirdly, the legitimisation of opposition to Russian historical myths; fourthly, the initiation of the process of restoring historical justice, which significantly consolidated Ukrainian society. Moreover, the enactment of these laws evidenced collaboration between state authorities and civil society organisations in the legislative process (Vlasenko, 2024).

Civil society organisations exert a direct or indirect influence on the formation and implementation of public policy on national memory in Ukraine. They are entitled to address state authorities and local self-government bodies independently or in collaboration with other stakeholders, presenting proposals, observations, statements, or petitions. They are also permitted to participate in the legislative process, including the adoption of acts by these authorities. Additionally, they may engage in the work of advisory, consultative, and other auxiliary bodies established by state authorities and local self-government bodies. Furthermore, they may engage in signature collection campaigns on their websites in support of electronic petitions to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the President of Ukraine, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, or local self-government bodies on matters of significant public concern. They may also monitor the activities of public authorities with regard to the implementation of national memory policy and their overall performance, or that of specific officials, and so on. Such organisations may engage in activities directed towards both society and public authorities. The efficacy of civil participation in this policy hinges on the establishment of collaborative relationships between the actors of the political process representing civil society and the state.

It is evident that Ukraine's legislative framework governs the interactions between civil society organisations and public authorities. It encompasses instruments for the direct involvement of civil society organisations in the formulation of legislative acts and the adoption of managerial decisions pertaining to the creation and implementation of public policy on national memory. Such bodies include those of an advisory, consultative, and auxiliary nature. These collegial bodies are constituted by central and local executive authorities and local self-government bodies for the coordinated resolution of issues pertaining to the implementation of public policy in a specific area or sector (Soroka & Lizakowska, 2021). Such bodies may operate on a permanent or temporary basis, facilitating public participation in the shaping and implementation of public policy. An analysis of the activities of executive authorities responsible for the formation and implementation of public policy on national memory has revealed the participation of civil society organisations in a variety of collegial bodies, including public councils, expert councils, and expert commissions. Furthermore, it has been determined that the degree of civil involvement in these entities exhibits variability.

In particular, collegial bodies are permanent advisory bodies that may include representatives from civil society. Such bodies are constituted within the framework of ministries and central and local executive authorities. The remit of collegial

bodies is to discuss and make decisions regarding the perspectives and most essential directions of the authorities' activities. They also consider proposals for improving legislation, shaping and implementing state policy in a particular field, and improving the performance of relevant authorities. In addition, they analyse the results of the work of these bodies. To illustrate, the Collegium of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, a central executive authority, comprises representatives from civil society organisations, including the Centre for Civil Liberties, the Ukrainian Centre of the International PEN Club, and Democratic Initiatives named after Ilko Kucheriv.

Expert councils are constituted within executive authorities with the objective of providing recommendations and proposals on matters falling within their respective competence. Furthermore, representatives of civil institutions are invited to participate in these bodies. To illustrate, in the domain of national memory, the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine has established an Expert Council on matters pertaining to decommunisation and derussification. Civil society organisations, such as the Centre for Political Values Research and the Centre for Urban History of Central and Eastern Europe, represent the public interest. The Expert Council, acting independently and in collaboration with the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, has prepared a series of recommendations addressing issues related to overcoming the consequences of russification and totalitarianism.

Thus, the interaction of state authorities, local governments and civil society organisations in the public policy of national memory is carried out at the state, regional and local levels. It is aimed at:

- ensuring the legal conditions for the functioning and development of civil society organisations and their participation in the formation and implementation of the national memory policy;
- establishing a dialogue between the public and public authorities;
- informing citizens about the results of the policy and the participation of civil society organisations and public authorities in it.

The assurance of adherence to the principles of openness and transparency represents a fundamental aspect of the collaborative relationship between civil society and the state. Civil society organisations and public authorities disseminate information regarding their activities on their official websites, thereby informing the public about their participation in political processes and the results of such participation. To illustrate, in 2023, the collective of central and local executive authorities held 1,296 events involving public participation. One hundred and one meetings of advisory bodies, one hundred and six forums, conferences, and round tables, two hundred meetings and consultations, seven hundred and fifty electronic consultations, and one hundred and twenty-nine other events. A total of 1,185 issues of significant societal importance were discussed in public, including 691 draft legislative acts.

The efficacy of public policy can be enhanced through the formation of partnerships and networks among civil society organisations. The pooling of efforts allows for the utilisation of a greater number of tools and mechanisms, the involvement of a greater number of experts in various fields, the engagement of a greater number of stakeholders, and the application of a greater variety of forms of participation in political processes. Partnerships may be either ongoing or situational, depending on whether they are being formed to implement specific projects or initiatives. They may address a multitude of areas within public life or a specific field, and they may be long-term or short-term. Additionally, they may involve a vast number of civil society organisations or just a few. Partnerships may operate at the local and regional levels, at the national level, or even at the international level. The establishment of public policy concerning national memories in Ukraine was inextricably linked with the emergence of civil society. The formation of national ideas based on the activities of public associations constituted a fundamental element in the consolidation of Ukrainian society and the development of national consciousness, national traditions, culture, and language. The emergence of public associations and their activities for the revival and preservation of the national memory of the Ukrainian people played a significant role in the establishment of the public policy of national memory. In particular, it demonstrated the active position of public organisations in this area, stimulated the relevant governmental decisions, and laid the foundation for the further formation of the conceptual foundations of the public policy of national memories in Ukraine (Vlasenko, 2023b).

One illustrative example of a long-standing and efficacious partnership among civil society organisations in Ukraine is the Civil Society Coalition's "Reanimation Package of Reforms" (RPR). Initiated by a coalition of civic activists, journalists, scholars, and experts in 2014 in the aftermath of the Revolution of Dignity, the initiative aimed to implement reforms in Ukraine. In accordance with the Charter (Statute) of the Resuscitation Package of Reforms, adopted on 15 March 2016, the status of the coalition was defined as a public platform that brings together leading non-governmental organisations and experts, acting as a coordination centre for developing and implementing key reforms in Ukraine. On 8 May 2019, the organisation was registered as the Civil Society Coalition "Reanimation Package of Reforms", founded by 25 civil society organisations. One of the initiative's co-founders and then-co-chairman of the Council (a permanently operating governing body), Taras Shevchenko, observed that "An additional crucial factor for the long-term viability of the Coalition is the capacity to establish equitable and efficient operational guidelines. The game's rules constitute the governance and decision-making model within the Coalition. "It is imperative that we devise our own model, rather than merely emulate the experiences of others" (Povzyk, 2017).

The Reanimation Package of Reforms is comprised of 28 civil society organisations, a network of regional partners, and experts. The Research Center for Liberation Movement (which has coordinated this area since 2014), the Centre for Democracy and Rule of Law (which has done so since 2018), and the Ukrainian Independent Centre for Political Studies (which has done so since 2019) are the leading organisations operating in the field of national memory.

In its activities related to public policy on national memory, the Reanimation Package of Reforms applies various tools of public participation: development and publication of analytical products, participation in the development of draft laws, publication of statements, communication with stakeholders, involvement of experts, and publication of their research (infographics, articles), media work, and more.

The Coalition has developed three Roadmaps for Reforms with step-by-step plans for implementing changes in various areas and draft laws (for 2015, 2016–2017, 2019–2023). In particular, from 2014 to 2015, civil society organisations and Coalition experts contributed to preparing draft laws known as the “decommunisation package” (adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on April 9, 2015).

In the Roadmaps for Reforms for 2016–2017 and 2019–2023, the national memory policy was defined as one of the critical tasks of democratic transformation in Ukraine. In particular, specific goals and actions of public authorities were proposed for their implementation:

- free, sustainable and open access to archives, including documents of Soviet repressive bodies. It was supposed to create and ensure the work of the Sectoral State Archive of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory (implemented); transfer documents of repressive bodies to this Archive (not implemented); update general archival legislation by the Law on Access to Archives adopted in April 2015. The Law of Ukraine “On Access to Archives of Repressive Bodies of the Communist Totalitarian Regime of 1917–1991” was adopted in April 2015 (implemented);
- preserving the memory of totalitarianism and the struggle against it. It was planned to create and ensure the operation of the Museum of the Revolution of Dignity (completed); build the National Memorial Complex of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes (not completed); create a Museum of Totalitarianism / Museum of Occupation (not completed); develop a concept for the National Pantheon and places of honorary military burials (partially completed);
- restoring the rights of victims of repression by the communist totalitarian regime. It was planned to update the legislation on rehabilitation of victims of political repression (implemented), to form and ensure the activities of rehabilitation commissions (implemented);
- defining a comprehensive policy on public holidays and commemoration practices, and legislative regulation of this issue (not implemented).

The task concerning national memory policy for the period 2019–2023 was of particular significance. It aimed to incorporate national memory policy as an integral and mandatory element of state policy, on a par with economic, educational and security policies. It is our contention that the initial steps towards the successful implementation of this task have been taken. The Ukrainian Institute of National Memory and representatives of civil society have prepared a draft law of Ukraine, entitled “On the Principles of State Policy of the National Memory of the Ukrainian People”.

In the period between 2022 and 2024, the full-scale war initiated by the Russian Federation against Ukraine led to the re-emergence of issues pertaining to de-Russification within the context of national memory policy. Civil society organisations, including members of the Reanimation Package of Reforms Coalition and its regional representatives, participated in the processes of de-Russification at the national, regional, and local levels.

In early 2023, the Reanimation Package of Reforms Coalition and its partners presented a document entitled “Vision of Ukraine”. “Reforming and Restoring the Social-Humanitarian Sphere in Perspective to 2030”. It offers detailed recommendations for addressing pivotal concerns in the domain of national memory between 2024 and 2030, while also delineating the principal stakeholders in this policy, including civil society organisations. The key issues include the overcoming of the fragmentation of societal perceptions of Ukrainian history, the preservation of an inclusive approach to the shaping of Ukrainian historical narratives (which should integrate the history of the Ukrainian diaspora, Crimean Tatars, Jews, and Roma), the construction and restoration of memory infrastructure, the consideration of societal demands, the formulation of social protection and rehabilitation policy for victims of political repression and social support for independence fighters, the reinforcement of integration with the European memory space, and more.

In addition, representatives of civil society organisations that are part of the Reanimation Package of Reforms Coalition serve as members of advisory and unique bodies attached to public authorities, either permanently or temporarily, and contribute to the formation and implementation of national memory policy. To illustrate, a representative of the Civil Society Organisation, the Research Center for the Liberation Movement, serves as a member of the National Rehabilitation Commission at the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, acting in the capacity of commission secretary. Over the course of the National Rehabilitation Commission's tenure, from 2019 to 2023, 28 meetings were held, during which nearly 2918 proposals from regional rehabilitation commissions were considered and 2370 individuals were recognised as rehabilitated or victims of repression.

An illustrative example of an efficacious partnership at the regional level is the Coalition of Civil Society Organisations "Experts Council" (Kropyvnytskyi city). This partnership is aimed at participating in public national memory policy and vertical networking of civil society organizations. The organisation was established in early 2016 by a group of civic activists and officially registered in April 2017. Subsequently, it has served as the regional representative of the Reanimation Package of Reforms Coalition. In accordance with the Charter, which was approved on 10 April 2017, the Coalition of Civil Society Organizations "Experts Council" is a public platform that unites non-governmental organisations with the objective of promoting the reform of the governance system in the Kirovohrad region. In the field of national memory policy, the Coalition develops concepts of memorial and toponymic policies; participates in commission work; challenges the inaction of local authorities and private institutions regarding the implementation of laws in the field of national memory; conducts educational and informational work among the population; contributes to decommunisation processes in the region (including creating registries of monuments, memorial plaques, memorials that need dismantling, registries of toponyms requiring renaming), and more.

It is evident that developing partnerships, establishing robust networks of civil society organisations, and engaging as many non-governmental organisations as possible are effective strategies for influencing the government. The formation of partnerships and networks within the civil sector facilitates the implementation of diverse tools of civic participation in political processes concerning socially pivotal issues in the domain of national memory. This includes the mobilisation of local interests, the expansion of access to information, the exchange of work experience, and other related activities. Moreover, it enhances the efficacy of non-governmental organisation activities, encourages greater citizen engagement, and strengthens public trust. Concurrently, in Ukraine, the establishment of collaborative and interconnecting relationships within civil society is a relatively nascent phenomenon. In order to facilitate its growth and enhance its efficacy, it is essential to garner recognition and support from a multitude of stakeholders, including citizens, the state, and businesses. Furthermore, there is a pressing need for extensive information dissemination and an in-depth examination of the European experience.

We concur with the viewpoint of Ukrainian scholars who highlight the robust interconnection between the policy of national memory and the consciousness of national identity (Gotra, 2015). Historical memory serves as the foundation for national identity. The shared recollection of the past, experienced by millions of individuals, enables the identification with the victories and defeats of previous generations, the collective heroes, the sacred sites of national memory, and the achievements of the nation's culture. Conversely, historical memory is not so much a mass phenomenon concerning the past, but rather the perception of the past as a heritage that becomes an instrumental value. When memory is integrated into the process of identity formation, concerns about objectivity tend to become less prominent. It seems probable that memory will be misused or even transformed into a weapon of ideological conflict. It is therefore necessary to consider the politics of memory from both an epistemological and an ethical point of view (Nagorna, 2012). Since its independence, Ukraine has often limited the cultivation of its local 'historical memory' to the cultivation of local variants. However, these should be united under a common roof: the 'historical memory' of the Ukrainian people as a political unit. This people did not become a single entity under the Aryans, Trypillians or Cossacks. Rather, it did so in the vicissitudes of the turbulent twentieth century (Yakovenko, 2005). It is a matter of debate as to whether the defining feature of Ukrainian historical memory, and of Ukrainian society in general, is a pervasive sense of social pessimism. This phenomenon can be observed in a range of historical contexts, from the history of military defeats in the distant past to the economic and political troubles of the present (Kozlovets, 2009). The formation of a national memory policy is contingent upon the activities of civil society and its representation in public organisations, as well as the national and ethnic self-identification of the individual and the state of individual self-awareness. The relationship between national memory and these concepts remains a topic of contention, necessitating further interdisciplinary investigation.

Another point of contention is the relationship between the preservation of national memory and the trends associated with globalisation. The process of globalisation inevitably results in the blurring of national identity, with the dissolution of traditional boundaries in the context of global economic, communication, migration, information technology, cultural standardisation and value universalisation (Kozlovets, 2009). Conversely, Robertson and Knondker (1999) posit that globalisation furnishes a global framework (matrix) within which civilisations, regions, nation-states and ethnic communities are able to reconstruct their history and identity.

In accordance with the legislation of Ukraine, specifically the Law of Ukraine "On Public Associations," non-governmental organisations are permitted to engage in collaborative activities with foreign non-governmental and international governmental organizations. An illustrative example of fruitful and long-term cooperation between Ukrainian non-governmental organisations and the broader European civil society community is the international non-governmental organisation "Platform of European Memory and Conscience". This organisation comprises 72 members from 24 European and North American countries. Two Ukrainian civil society organisations, the Center for Research on the Liberation Movement (which joined in June 2012) and the Foundation for the Preservation of Maidan History (which joined in November 2016), are members of the Platform. The Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People, and two state institutions (for a total of six institutions from Ukraine) are part of the Platform. The Platform is responsible for the organisation of a number of events, including international conferences, meetings, seminars, exhibitions, public memorials and other

educational and informational events. The organisation's principal activities are focused on the study, documentation and dissemination of information regarding totalitarian regimes in Europe during the 20th century, with a particular emphasis on communist regimes in Central and Eastern European countries. To illustrate, Mälksoo (2014) posits that the existence of the Platform presents an opportunity to shift the focus from historical to criminal justice issues in recognising crimes perpetrated by totalitarian communist regimes in Europe. This shift would move beyond general condemnation to a more specific acknowledgement of crimes with tangible legal consequences.

Members of Ukrainian civil society organisations are invited to participate in the Platform's annual Council meetings, international scientific conferences, and other events organised by the Platform. To illustrate, at the International Conference, "100 Years of Communism: History and Memory," held in November 2017 in Paris, a distinct panel discussion on "Ukraine and Communism 1917–2017" was represented by a junior analyst from the Center for Research on the Liberation Movement, Anna Olynyk. She presented a report entitled "From Communism to Decommunisation: Fighting the Totalitarian Past in Ukraine".

Furthermore, Ukrainian civil society organisations engage in bilateral international projects. One such project was a seminar entitled "Hybrid Threats from the Perspective of the Czech Republic and Ukraine", which took place in May 2019. The event was organised by the Documentation Center of Totalitarian Regimes from the Czech Republic (which took the initiative) and the Center for Research on the Liberation Movement from Ukraine (Vlasenko, 2023a). In October 2019, the Center for Research on the Liberation Movement (Ukraine), the Ukrainian office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the International Renaissance Foundation convened the International Conference, entitled "How to Relate to the Past? Memory in the Post-Truth World", was held in Kyiv. The conference addressed matters pertaining to national memory policy, media standards, and accountability in historical discourse. Among the invited participants was Łukasz Kamiński, president of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience.

It is of paramount importance that Ukrainian civil society organisations participate in the Platform of European Memory and Conscience, as this will facilitate the shaping and implementation of public policy on national memory in Ukraine. Firstly, it permits the acquisition of constructive experience in the implementation of memory policies derived from European countries. The experience of Central and Eastern European states with a communist past is of great value. As scholars of international relations, Klymenko and Siddi (2022) observe that collective memory influences state security and foreign, intergovernmental, and global policies. Secondly, such participation serves to integrate Ukraine's national memory into the broader European collective memory. This issue has become particularly pertinent in light of Ukraine's attainment of candidate status for membership in the European Union. Cooperation between the Ukrainian civil sector and non-governmental organisations from EU member states is conducive to the implementation of requisite adaptive measures for Ukraine within the context of European integration. In this context, the words of Volodymyr Viatrovych, the then chairman of the Scientific Council of the Center for Research on the Liberation Movement, in connection with the Center's accession to the Platform, remain pertinent: Muzychenko (2012) posits that Ukraine will remain within the orbit of European policy.

A hallmark of a legal democratic state is the existence of a robust civil society. This is characterised by active and engaged citizens who collectively strive to defend societal interests and achieve socially essential needs. The formation and affirmation of national identity are of particular significance for the Ukrainian people. Smith (2004) posits that national identity is constituted by the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of characteristic values, symbols, memories, and myths that constitute the personal heritage of a nation. It is evident that national memory constitutes an integral component of national identity. As Assmann (2008) argues, the act of remembering enables individuals to participate in collective endeavours, and the very act of inhabiting a group or community facilitates the formation of collective memory. It is therefore unsurprising that public policy on national memory in Ukraine receives considerable attention from both society and the state.

It is of particular importance to establish developed, multi-vector, and equal partnership relations between civil society and public administration in order to facilitate the aforementioned processes. The efficacy of policy is contingent upon the establishment of practical cooperation and constructive dialogue between the actors of public policy representing society and the state. Ukrainian researcher Seheda (2014) identifies the most critical functions of public policy, which are realised through the interaction of civil society organisations and public authorities. These functions include the articulation of societal interests, public control over the activities of power and the state of affairs in society, the state, economy, and socio-cultural sphere, the influencing of the formation of state policy, and the political education of citizens.

The involvement of civil society in public policy concerning national memory is also affected by socio-political transformations associated with European integration processes, which have been particularly active since Ukraine was granted candidate status for membership in the European Union (in June 2022) and the opening of negotiations on Ukraine's accession to the EU (in December 2023). To illustrate, the ongoing decentralisation reform in Ukraine, which commenced in 2014, has facilitated the growth of civil society at the local level, the formation of connections between civil society organisations and local self-government bodies, and public involvement in the creation of significant decisions for territorial communities. These include the erection or dismantling of monuments and memorials, the naming or renaming of public spaces, the commemoration of pivotal events, and the honouring and commemoration of distinguished citizens.

In this context, international cooperation is considered a valid approach, with Ukraine (state and civil society sectors) represented in international memory organisations and institutions. The issues pertaining to the overcoming of the communist

past remain pertinent, necessitating the establishment of relations in the domain of memory policy, primarily with post-socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, and the expansion of Ukraine's presence in transnational memory politics. The European Memory and Conscience Platform offers such opportunities, uniting national memory institutions and civil research organisations from European and North American countries. As Neumayer (2020) asserts, the participants of the Platform cultivate a specific interconnection that contributes to their mutual recognition. This is achieved by the construction of figures of "victim", "hero" and "criminal" of communist crimes, which are combined with humanitarian principles and political logic.

The Russo-Ukrainian War has also resulted in notable shifts within Ukrainian civil society. In particular, civil society organisations have intensified their information policy activities in order to counter Russian aggression. In light of the aforementioned developments, an expert from the National Institute for Strategic Studies, Opalko (2016), put forth a proposed classification of the activities of civil society organisations: The provision of advisory and scientific-analytical assistance to state authorities responsible for conducting state information policy; the implementation of counter-propaganda and information-educational activities; the collection, analysis, and dissemination of data on subjects of external aggression (including informational) against Ukraine. The sociological and scientific-analytical study of the state of mass consciousness and information space, the impact of information aggression on them, and the development of scientific-methodological recommendations for countering it; research and educational work; the collection of data, documentation, summarisation, analysis, and publication of information on systemic human rights violations and crimes against humanity in temporarily occupied territories.

The question of whether to expand the legislative framework in the field of national memory in Ukraine remains a topic of debate. In this context, it is evident that the discussion requires improvement and legislative consolidation of the policy of national memory, which is archivally essential for the national security of the Ukrainian state. It is therefore imperative that a law be adopted with minimal delay in order to regulate this policy. At the beginning of 2024, the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance submitted a draft of such a law for public discussion (the Law of Ukraine "On the Principles of State Policy Regarding the National Memory of the Ukrainian People") and submitted it to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for consideration. However, the law has not yet been adopted. The objective of this project is to reinforce the Ukrainian national and civic identity, defining national memory as the foundation of our nation and national security.

The purpose of this discussion is to examine the role and fundamental foundations of the Law of Ukraine "On the Holodomor of 1932-1933 in Ukraine" (Resolution No. 258-IV) as a preliminary step towards the formal recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide at the international level. This legislation serves as an invaluable instrument for the consolidation of the collective national memory of Ukrainians across the globe (Coulson, 2021), as well as the formulation of state policies pertaining to national memory. The role of President Viktor Yushchenko in the adoption of this law is a topic worthy of further examination, as it was largely driven by his personal political convictions. In this context, another question that is open to debate is the role of an individual, particularly the president, in the formation of policy regarding national memory (Hrytsenko, 2017). In consequence, the action of the Ukrainian legislators had a global impact, with parliaments in numerous countries subsequently adopting legislative measures recognising the Holodomor as genocide. Furthermore, an evaluation of the national tragedy was conducted, several scientific studies were undertaken, and memorials were established in Ukraine and internationally. Additionally, a multitude of oral and written testimonies were gathered, the majority of which are yet to be published. Further discussion is required in Ukrainian society regarding the rehabilitation of victims of totalitarianism, a process that began in the last century (Demianchuk, 2023). Additionally, there is a need to consolidate legislation that counters information warfare, which has intensified significantly with the onset of the Russian-Ukrainian war (Ivanenko & Kryvoshein, 2022).

This study considers the positive interaction between civil society organisations and public authorities in Ukraine. It demonstrates the necessity of the requisite tools for civic participation in the formation and implementation of public policy on national memory, the efficacy of partnership and networking among civil organisations, and their participation in international memory institutions. The examples provided for consideration allow us to conclude that civil society organisations participate in the adoption of regulatory acts and the making of managerial decisions. Furthermore, there is evidence of a high level of civic initiative and the existence of public control over the activities of public authorities and their implementation of national memory policy.

#### 4. Conclusion

An analysis of the activities of civil organisations in Ukraine has revealed a gradual and positive development in civil society over the past decade. The involvement of citizens in political processes and their interest in the actions of public authorities facilitate this, as does their willingness to participate in addressing socially significant issues. Concurrently, the state has adopted a policy of promoting the development of civil society in Ukraine, with the objective of supporting civic initiative and establishing partnership relations between civil society organisations and public authorities at all levels of governance. In order to implement such a policy in Ukraine, a legal framework has been established and is continually being adapted to reflect the evolving socio-political challenges and needs. The state implements the National Strategy for the Development of Civil

Society (2021), adopts international norms and standards, fulfils international obligations, and so forth. A range of legislative and regulatory instruments guarantee the public's involvement in political processes across all areas of public life. Furthermore, this is also the case with regard to the policy of national memory, where the level of activity of the civil sector and its influence on the authorities is particularly pronounced. The process of formulating the legal framework for the policy of national memory in Ukraine is ongoing. In particular, the adoption of a specific legislative act is required in order to regulate the issues of the formation and implementation of state policy on national memory, define its main principles and tasks, and establish the powers and main directions of activity of all actors of this policy. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the draft law of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory was put up for public discussion in January 2024.

The favourable experience of civil organisations' involvement in Ukraine's public policy of national memory does not preclude the existence of issues in this domain. In particular, some civil organisations require institutional and professional staffing according to the profile of their activities, activation of social work and cooperation with other civil organisations, dialogue with public authorities (especially at the local level), expansion of the use of public participation tools provided for by legislation in the political process; exercising monitoring functions regarding the activities of public authorities; adherence to principles of transparency and openness in their activities; reaching the international level, expansion of ties with non-governmental organisations of other countries and international institutions, study and utilisation of European experience within European integration, and so forth. Concurrently, the state must persist in its endeavours to facilitate the sustainable development of civil society and encourage the formation of collaborative relationships between public authorities and civil society organisations, with a view to ensuring the effective implementation of the policy of national memory.

Subsequent scientific research will concentrate on examining the involvement of civil society organisations in the implementation of particular aspects of the policy of national memory in Ukraine. In addition, it will investigate the issues of organisational work, institutional support and staffing of civil organisations operating in the field of national memory.

### Ethical Considerations

Not applicable.

### Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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