The Securitization of Entangled Historical Identity? Local and National History Discourses in Dnipro During the Poroshenko Presidency

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Introduction

This paper considers the construction of local and national historical narratives associated with the identity of the city of Dnipro from 2014 to 2019. The historical tropes, narratives and approaches in the primary sources, it is argued, indicate the 'securitization' of a complex, historicized 'Dnipro identity', responding to the 'Russkiy Mir' securitization of identity constructed by the Russian government and influencing wider perceptions of the war in the Donbas nearby. The paper examines the different historical identity discourses recurring in interacting primary sources. It analyzes recurring tropes in recent popular history and academic history on Dnipro, alongside historical tropes used in the discourse and demonstrated in the public history initiatives of influential local actors and institutions, and historical narratives of Dnipro supplied externally by the national content providers Istorychna Pravda and the Ukrainian Institute for National Memory (UINM).

The paper initiates an investigation of what is achieved by the use of historical tropes in discourse, in public history and in commemorative practices in terms of identity securitization and the consolidation of new institutions of society and state on the basis of a civic, rather than an ethno-nationalist, political vision. It focuses on the period following the Revolution of Dignity which led to a re-evaluation of different identity-markers in Ukraine and the increasing salience of historical memory as a marker of identity and as an instrument in the imposition of identity, because of the practices of information war on the part of the Russian government which were then beginning to be revealed more widely (Matychak: 2017: 40).[1] The highly-politicized recurrent use of historical tropes in what was now interpreted by the Ukrainian government and its allies as information war required the drawing of new distinctions between shared, separate or conflicting narratives of events in the past and their often imperceptible impact on the political or social allegiances to which they might superficially bear no immediate relation (Orlova: 2018). It has been argued elsewhere that there is a connection between adherence to a particular set of historical narratives, from either a Ukrainian or

[1] It is argued that much of the impact of Russian government 'information war' derived from the much longer-term history of the dominance, locally and internationally, of Russian discourse over Ukrainian discourse in narratives of Ukraine.

a Russian perspective, and allegiance to one side or the other in the war in the Donbas (Stiazhkina: 2016: 71; Plokhy: 2018: Map 5).

This study of the construction of historical identity in and of Dnipro during 2014-19 forms part of a broader piece of research aiming to discover how the discursive construction of historical identity in conditions of war impacted on and was impacted by a spectrum of post-Soviet Ukrainian aspirations for self-determination and a separate but closely-intertwined spectrum of aspirations to understand the collective past. It is argued that the aspirations to research and write history freed from the hitherto constraining prevailing ideology of Soviet communism and to commemorate events, the public memory of which had been entirely suppressed, were central ambitions of post-communist experience. Iaroslav Hrytsak has maintained, synthesizing these points, that shared historical memory is more important for Ukrainian state-building than borders or institutional reform (Hrytsak: 2013: 231).

Hrytsak's perception about the relationship between shared historical memory and successful statebuilding introduces in other disciplinary terms ideas concerning the use of history in the securitization of identity. Maria Mälksoo in a recent paper has introduced the concept of 'mnemonical security' as a way of linking ideas about the societal role of public history with ideas about the security implications of the political capacity to influence perceptions of identity (Mälksoo: 2015). She implicitly combines a perception of Russian government instrumentalization of identity with an extension of ideas about the societal operation of memory politics proposed by Etkind and Blacker and also with an extension of the concept of securitization of identity proposed by Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (Mälksoo: 2015: 222; Blacker and Etkind: 2013; Buzan, Waever and de Wilde: 1998). Iuriy Opal'ko, in a 2008 policy paper for the Ukrainian National Institute for Strategic Studies, explored what was in effect a practical policy version of these ideas in relation to the development of the work of the UINM (Opal'ko: 2008). The Ukrainian Decommunization legislation was, it is argued, a response to Russian government securitization of contested historical narratives and constituted in itself the partial securitization of key parts of the Ukrainian ethno-national historical narrative. In this respect the concepts of securitization and desecuritization of societal and national identity help to conceptualize recent historical policy and historical politics in Ukraine.

This paper divides into the following parts. First, it reviews the discursive contributions of different influential actors (mostly institutional, some individual) and high-profile physical public history initiatives to current historical identity in Dnipro. Secondly, it investigates the intersubjectivity between local and national discourses during the period in question and partly arising from the implementation of the Decommunization legislation. Thirdly, it reviews a number of key tropes in the historical narrative of Dnipro to investigate the modified values which have been attached to them, partly as a consequence of the work of the initiatives and the actors in the first two sections and considers the consequences of these discursive modifications.

Local Actors and Public History Initiatives

The contribution of local political actors to the moulding of emphases in the local historical narrative has often been by their physical association with, or distancing from, the historical initiatives of others. During the decade preceding 2014, local and regional administrations in the city had been in the hands of Yanukovych's Party of Regions (and, latterly, the OpoBlok grouping which superseded it) and local politicians selectively dissociated themselves from commemorative initiatives instigated from Kyiv. They were conspicuous by their absence from the public events for Holodomor Remembrance Day, for example, in the year of Yanukovych's election to the presidency (Istorychna Pravda: 27 November 2010). Also conspicuous has been their willingness to associate publicly with the Moscow Patriarchate wing of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Bezpalov: 2016: 30; Murakha: 29 January 2013; Murakha: 19 October 2015: para.: 4). With the growing emphasis in Russian government propaganda on a particular state narrative of WWII as a Soviet victory over (western European) fascists, overlaid on the direct local experience of Nazi occupation, competing emphases in interpretations and commemorations of the war have often dominated the local historical script, with the Ukrop Party and the Party of Regions vying for overlapping voting demographics by deploying modulated versions of the local war narrative (Gorod.dp.ua: 21 October 2015; Vilkul: 9 May 2017). The weight of the big local factories and associated professional organizations and personal networks, especially Interpipe, DMZ (the Dnipro Metallurgical Factory), KBP (the Pivdenmash Design Bureau) and Pivdenmash itself, is also significant in giving public emphasis to particular local historical narratives, with the high-profile celebrations of the 60th anniversary of Pivdenmash and KBP in 2014 a case in point (Haidai et al.: 2018: 48-49; Bohuts'ka: 10 April 2014: para. 1; Uanews.dp.ua: 11 April 2014; Eparhia.dp.ua: 26 May 2014).

The notable contribution of the Dnipro Historical Museum is in its open-access library of local historical sources, from texts of key works by Iavornyts'kyy to work influencing local political narratives today (http://www.museum.dp.ua/library.html). The Tkuma Institute, the Ukrainian Institute for the Study of the Holocaust, provides the research capacity informing the content of the Museum of Jewish Memory at the Menorah Centre discussed below and is the largest and most significant contributor to scholarship, publication and public engagement on Jewish history in Ukraine, advocating for and raising the profile of pluralistic, especially Ukrainian and Jewish, historicization (www.tkuma.dp.ua; Ukrinform: 30 September 2018: para.: 8). The Institute of Dnipro History, existing at the time as a department of the Dnipro Development Agency, advocates for the historicization of urban regeneration projects: it raises the profile of elements of local history generally more associated with a Ukrainian ethnonational historical narrative and at the same time seeks to improve public awareness of the political motivations behind public history projects (Dnipro Development Agency: http://dda.dp.ua/; Instytut Istorii Dnipra, https://www.facebook.com/iid.dp.ua/; Dniprovs'ka mis'ka rada: 28 Sept 2017; Chyruk: 2017).

The earlier contrasting and complementary cultural constructions of the historian-ethnographer and museum director Dmytro Iavornyts'kyy, the novelist Oles' Honchar and the academic Mykola Kovals'kyy figure significantly in the pre-existing historical

identity landscape. It is argued that the value of historicization they each represent has been influential in enabling the articulation by local political and cultural actors during the period in question of a local historical identity which defied divisive political instrumentalization. Emblematizing iterations of retellings of local history by local cultural actors, Honchar popularized the image of Iavornyts'kyy as a historian-leader for the sixties generation; while two influential expatriate historians, Andriy Portnov and Serhii Plokhy, raised the profile of Kovals'kyy (and, in Portnov's case, Iavornyts'kyy also) for the current generation (Honchar: 2018 (4th ed.): 187-202; Plokhy: 2006; Portnov: 2011: 15-38).

The figure of Iavornyts'kyy unites an emphasis on pride in Ukrainian heritage and Cossack past with a commitment to local scholarship and public history which is also important to the self-image of the city (Portnov: 2011: 18; Bezpalov: 2016: 16; Tymoshenko: 2018: para.: 1). He wrote a widely-read local history of the Cossacks (Istoriia Zaporoz'kykh Kozakiv), taught history at the first Katerynoslav commercial college and established, with the backing of the funding and the collections of the local industrialist Oleksandr Pol', a museum to preserve local Cossack heritage (Portnov: 2011: 16). His promotion of Ukrainian Cossack identity was important to the Ukrainian national movement at the turn of the 19th-20th century and until his death in 1940 and he still looms large as a guiding spirit of the city's Ukrainian identity today (Portnov: 2011: 18; Bezpalov: 2016: 15-17). Two stories about him represent a popularized version of the similar stories of political fine judgement told about Kovals'kyy by his pupils (see below). When the last Tsar visited the new Katerynoslav historical museum, Iavornyts'kyy gave him a tour entirely in Ukrainian, which the Tsar, uncomprehending but undeterred, duly complimented him on in the visitors' book (Bezpalov: 2016: 16). In the second story, during the civil war of 1917-21, Makhno's anarchists entered the city twice and on one occasion proclaimed it the capital of their own republic (Bezpalov: 2016: 15). Their marauding also took them to the museum, but Iavornyts'kyy so inspired them with his story of the Cossack heritage it preserved that he persuaded them not to harm it as a result (Bezpalov: 2016: 16). So he represents a responsibility towards the local past as part of preserving its centrality to local identity, but also an association with icons of Russian imperial culture (he was proud of being the model for the scribe in Repin's famous painting, Zaporizhian Cossacks Writing a Letter to the Turkish Sultan) and an accommodation with the new Soviet regime: although his pro-Ukrainian approach was criticized at the height of Stalin's terror he was not arrested and was incorporated into the public Soviet representation of Ukrainian history after WWII (Portnov: 2011: 26-7).

Oles' Honchar's dramatization of the relationship between Makhno and Iavornyts'kyy in his influential novel Sobor extended the reach of this image of Iavornyts'kyy as the conduit of Ukrainian culture and wisdom (Zhulyns'kyy: 2018: para.: 2-4) With its central message of historical memory as the foundation of decency in human relationships, it was significant in the formation of a shared Ukrainian historical and cultural narrative about and projection of the Dnipropetrovs'k region both for Honchar's local contemporaries in the confident but isolated closed 'Rocket City' and elsewhere in the country (Honchar: 2018 (1968): 193; Bezpalov: 2016: 16; Zhuk: 2010: 53-8).

Some years after the publication and subsequent banning of Sobor, the history department of the local university came to be led by Mykola Kovals'kyy, another figure central to the creation of the local narrative, and to the approach to the local narrative of influential historians today (Portnov and Portnova: 2017: 270). The status of the department was a result largely of his work, highlighted in recent years by alumni of the department assessing his contribution to history in Ukraine (Plokhy: 2006; Portnov and Portnova: 2017: 266). They narrate his protection and development of Ukrainian scholarship and publication on Ukrainian subjects, and the academic and personal compromises he made and risks he took in order to do this, as crucial to preserving the possibility of deriving elements of positivity from an examination of the Soviet period, and reflecting the more general local sense of the post-Soviet need both to cherish self-esteem and to properly confront the past at the same time (Portnov and Portnova: 2017: 284-5; Plokhy: 2006: para.: 4; Plokhy: 2015: 302; Bezpalov: 2016: 199). Because of its closed status, the city at the time was allowed to bypass Communist Party political structures in Kyiv and deal directly with Moscow and this direct line appeared to hold good, as maintained by Kovals'kyy, in matters of academic research as well as in matters relating to the defence industry (Plokhy: 2006: paras.: 10-14). Whereas the Ukrainian political apparatus in Kyiv was more attuned to the nuances of Ukrainian patriotic discourse in Ukrainian scholarship and also more aware of their responsibility for keeping it under control, academic leadership in Moscow was less attuned, less interested and more distant, with beneficial consequences for the research quality and independent institutional development of the history department (Portnov and Portnova: 2017: 279-80). The story mirrors local narratives of the power over and freedom from Moscow wielded by the structures and networks of Pivdenmash at the same time and both define the putative political and cultural confidence of the city (Bezpalov: 2016: 69; Zhuk: 2010: 24-6).

Four Major Public History Initiatives

One intention underlying the 2015 Decommunization legislation was to change the physical commemorative landscape in Ukraine as part of a strategic redirection away from the Moscow-led focus on the role of the Soviet Union in WWII as a unifying historical memory for the 'Russian World' (Stukanov: 1 November 2015: para.: 4). The stories and profiles of four broadly contemporaneous local museum initiatives show how local historical identity priorities supported or modified that intention.

The Menorah Centre, the 'biggest Jewish community centre in Europe, or even the world' was founded in 2012 and the Museum of Jewish Memory and of the Holocaust in Ukraine as an integral part of the centre was opened at the same time (Friedman and Lichfield: 2015: para.: 6; Jewish News: 2015: paras.: 18-19). The size and location of the Menorah Centre symbolize the significance of Judaism today and historically to the city (Woolley: 2019: c, f). The upper floor of the museum, in presenting the Jewish experience of the genocidal anti-semitism of the Holocaust as central to the representation of the local experience of WWII, provides an alternative deideologizing narrative to the current Russian government propaganda narrative of the 'Great Patriotic War', prevalent in Russian language discourse on the subject (Zhurzhenko:

2014: 264). The lower (pre-WWII) floor, in representing contextualized narratives of imperial government anti-semitism, Jewish and Ukrainian pre-revolutionary political collaboration and Jewish suffering during collectivization and the Holodomor, contrasts in a different way with the 'anti-west - anti-fascist' tropes deployed by the Russian government (Woolley: 2019: a, b, c, d, e).

Plans for the Rocket Park, using the academic and curatorial expertise of the city's museums and higher education institutions to display the historic technical prowess of Pivdenmash, were announced in 2013 (Istorychna Pravda: 25 January 2013: para.: 4). It would project, physically and publicly, a reputational pedigree intellectually superior to that of the Donets'k network of Yanukovych in power at the time (Istorychna Pravda: 17 January 2013: para.: 3). It would simultaneously celebrate publicly the city's recent Soviet industrial and defence heritage in contrast to the commemoration of Cossackdom at Khortytsia in neighbouring Zaporizhzhia promoted by President Yushchenko (Hrytsenko: 2017: 530-1). The striking presence of the Rocket Park display within a stone's throw of the late-Soviet offices of the regional administration has since been eclipsed spatially and in terms of size by the memorials to local lives lost during the Revolution of Dignity and the war in the Donbas in the immediate precincts of the administration building (Woolley: 2019: i). The recurring themes of pride in local industrial heritage and local investment in public history, notwithstanding and partly because of associations with Soviet Russia, have in this arena been superseded by the narratives of local courage and sacrifice in the conduct of a new war.

The plan for a new out-of-town heritage centre on the site of the local Cossack settlement at Stara Samar' was intended to put a physical manifestation of the roots of the city back in public view and answer the implicitly more Russian-leaning identity politics of those who continued to insist that the city only began with the arrival of the Russian Empire (Instytut suspil'nykh doslidzhen': 15 August 2016: slide 9; Panchenko: 2017: para.: 15). But it has to date remained on paper (Dniprorada.gov.ua: 22 February 2018: para.: 3). When President Yushchenko had prioritized the restoration of Khortytsia there was nothing on a comparable scale in Dnipro, which at the time was in the hands of his political opponents (Hrytsenko: 2017: 530-1; Portnov: 2015: 67). The reconstructed cottages of Kodak and Staryy Kodak had been part of the cityscape of Dnipro for some time and had been woven successfully into the Soviet narrative of Cossacks as fighters on behalf of the peasantry (Portnov and Portnova: 2015: 225). The media coverage given to the plans for the commemoration and commercialization of the Cossack history of the city through the redevelopment of the Stara Samar' site gave new opportunities for the recommunication of the significance of this history to local Ukrainian identity with each iteration of the local political and planning process and in the heightened circumstances of 'information war' this opportunity for the articulation of this particular narrative perhaps compensated somewhat for the significance of delays to the actual execution of the project (www.dniprorada.gov.ua: 22 February 2018).

The ATO (Anti-Terrorist Operation) Museum, opened in 2016, presenting the ongoing war in the Donbas, is co-located with the local WWII Diorama of the Battle of the Dnipro River (Pershyy Muzey ATO Dnipro,

https://www.facebook.com/UkrainesFirstATOMuseum/?rf=1635789670075000). The surround video screens recreating the Donbas war experience of members of a Ukrainian volunteer battalion (with voiceover narrating their experience and resisting identity securitization as part of the narrative) and the battlefield memorabilia outside (bullet-marked signposts, munitions, banners, bombed-out vehicles) arranged as walk-through art installations, sit like a study in presentational contrasts with the archetypal late-Soviet hemispherical diorama of the WWII Battle of the Dnipro River on the first floor upstairs (Ukrinform: 4 May 2018; http://www.museum.dp.ua/dioramaevents.html). The display on the ground floor frames, or is the point of entry to, the display commemorating WWII on the upper floor, which was refurbished in time for the 8 May celebrations in 2018 (Ukrinform: 4 May 2018: para.: 1). The walk-through installation in the space outside takes the in-coming visitor off the main road on a journey past road signs commemorating recent battles in the war in the Donbas and arranged west to east; the diorama in the hall upstairs, on the chronological journey of historical memory back into the past, faces in the opposite direction: here the city is defending itself against invasion from the west and this opposition is underscored by the physical positioning of the two contrasting displays (Woolley: 2019: g, h). In the ground floor hall of video-walls between them which explores visually the experience of war, rather than a particular verbal narrative of it, through these floor-to-ceiling surround film projections, it is hard to tell directionally where the threat may come from next.

So a re-emphasis on, and an investment in the communication of, the significant Jewish history of the city, is one factor which characterizes and influences local emphases in public history over the period in question. The political imperative of articulating a unifying civic, rather than ethno-national, response to the nearby war in the Donbas is another. The continuing presence of discourse emanating from Moscow on the central shared experience of WWII re-enacted for the next generation in the Donbas is another, amplified by the discourse of significant numbers of more Russia-leaning local politicians. The emphasis on an inheritance of industrial, scientific, economic and political power is another. In practice, the large quantities but different balances of financial and social impetus behind the projects which came to fruition (the Museum of Jewish Memory, the Rocket Park and the ATO Museum) meant that, in terms of physical manifestation, local Cossack history remains relatively invisible; the Rocket Park and the ATO Museum are centre stage and although the scale of the Menorah Centre gives it physical prominence, the scholarly, liberal, carefully multi-ethnic approach of the Museum of Jewish Memory is public, but hidden from immediate view.

A Common Historical Narrative: National-Local Intersubjectivity

A number of less widely-known tropes about Dnipro in public and academic discourse were used and developed by national content providers, in particular Istorychna Pravda, in the domain of historical politics over the period in question, to build certain elements of the story of Dnipro, and the messages associated with them, more overtly into the public national narrative.

The Dnipro region as the centre of activity of the anarchist leader Makhno during 1917-21 was the first of the tropes which had not figured largely in widely-shared historical narratives, with the important exception of the (fictionalized) image in Honchar's Sobor of Makhno's band of anarchists being brought to a consciousness of their Ukrainian Cossack inheritance and prevented from looting by Dmytro Iavornyts'kyy in the abandoned wooden Cossack cathedral (Honchar: 2018 (1968): 191). Developing this theme, and to counteract the prevailing Soviet emphases in depictions of Makhno's anarchists as perpetrators of random destruction and anti-semitic violence, Istorychna Pravda promoted a perspective showing them as organized and egalitarian fighters for the rights and livelihoods of ordinary people (Borovyk: 26 October 2013: paras.: 33-4).

For the WWII period, coverage of the 'Ukrainian Katyn list', involving mass-shootings in 1940 by the Soviet state of Polish prisoners of war, including ethnic Ukrainians and Jews as well as Poles, in various Ukrainian regional centres including Dnipropetrovs'k, contributed to the subversion of the central Russian trope of unalloyed heroism (Istorychna Pravda: 14 February 2013, 1 May 2017). During the war, Dnipropetrovs'k was also the centre of the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) for central and eastern Ukraine. Istorychna Pravda communicated this narrative, emphasizing the historical antecedents for Dnipro as the 'Heart of Ukraine': contacts between OUN activists and Dnipro-based anti-Nazi partisans; the OUN hero Vasyl' Kuk marrying a Dnipro girl; the network hub in Dnipro allowing OUN activists to extend their reach and their message over the whole region (Solodk'o: 2013: para. 20; Bihun: 2017: para.: 150).

Following WWII, high-profile political narratives pertaining to Dnipro related to the establishment and growth of Pivdenmash and Pivdenne Konstruktors'ke B'iuro, the ascent of Leonid Brezhnev, and the associated relative prosperity and status enjoyed as a result (Svitlenko and Repan: 2012: 6). Istorychna Pravda emphasized contrasting stories, of new research on the notorious Dnipropetrovs'k Soviet psychiatric 'hospital' for political dissidents (Istorychna Pravda: 31 August 2017); on the time in the Gulag of a local member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Vitaliy Kalynychenko (Istorychna Pravda: 1 May 2017); and on Dnipro as the home in adulthood of Vasyl' Makukh, the 'Smoloskyp' (human firebrand) whose public suicide by self-immolation in Kyiv in 1968 was carried out to demonstrate Ukrainian solidarity with the victims of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia (Iezers'ka: 22 March 2013: para.: 30).

More prosaically during the period in question, the City Council reported rigorously on its effectiveness and cooperativeness in respect of Decommunization and Istorychna Pravda relayed this as an exhortatory demonstration of the alignment with Kyiv of the big, eastern frontline city with a national reputation built on Soviet political and industrial power (Dniprovs'ka mis'ka rada: 24 November 2015, 30 August 2017; Gorod.dp.ua: 17 December 2014, 11 February 2016; Istorychna Pravda: 24 November 2015). Correspondingly, the impact of the opening of the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine in Dnipro meant that the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory (UINM) was able to communicate its support for Holocaust Remembrance Day and publicly associate itself with some of the commemorative activities of the Menorah Centre to answer the criticism, stoked by Russian government narratives, of Ukraine as

a place of abiding anti-semitism (www.memory.gov.ua: 23 September 2016, 2 February 2018; Istorychna Pravda: 22 January 2015). After the Revolution of Dignity it was important for national media to talk about Dnipro confidence, that trope which is traced locally back both to its nineteenth century industrial heyday and its Soviet power, as belonging more universally to Ukraine and to draw on the 'Dnipro talent pool' trope to reinforce the idea of Dnipro's capacity for political leadership (Portnov: 2015: 64, 70).

Historical Politics: Focuses of Dispute

The three most high-profile debates which were a focus for displays of disagreement and tests of strength over political power during the period in question were on the public commemoration of Leonid Brezhnev; on the city's 'official' foundation date; and on the renaming of the city and the region.

The attachment in Dnipro to Leonid Brezhnev was given additional public legitimacy, from a certain perspective, by polling from the Levada Centre in Moscow in 2011, which found that he was considered by the public in the Russian Federation to have been 'the most successful Russian leader of all time', more so even than Stalin (Istorychna Pravda: 22 May 2013: para.: 3). Plans for a memorial museum in his birthplace, the town of Dniprodzerzhyns'k (now Kamens'ke), were publicized under Yanukovych and the political reign in Dnipro of his Party of Regions (Istorychna Pravda: 19 February 2013). Brezhnev's likeness had already been included in a new late-Soviet-style display of granite-mounted bronze bas-reliefs of local dignitaries and historical figures, alongside Shcherbits'kyy and Kuchma, opened outside the regional administration buildings in central Dnipro in 2012 (Radio Svoboda: 9 September 2012). While this last Brezhnev likeness was removed from its mount during the legislated Decommunization implementation period in 2015-16, the bronze bas-relief head at the door of a house he had lived in elsewhere in central Dnipro remains, though out of the news, in place at the time of writing (www.gorod.dp.ua: 28 October 2016). Supporters of the memorial museum in Kamens'ke suggested that the new Brezhnev bust erected by them in the nearby park was actually an outpost of the museum itself and therefore (legally) constituted cultural heritage, rather than a contravention of the Decommunization legislation: the monument was then mysteriously vandalized: the local council, in the face of vociferous public criticism from the UINM, voted to apportion part of the local budget to restoring it (Gorod.dp.ua: 27 February 2017: para.: 12). The public commemoration of local historical memory, beyond the most egregious high-profile instances in the city itself, remained sometimes, in contravention of the spirit of the national legislation, within the purview of more local centres of power.

The public dispute over the foundation date of the city had been sporadically a local focus of historical politics since soon after independence and has regained profile more recently as one strand of the post-colonial - post-imperial identity debates defining difference between the Ukrainian national historical narrative and the Russian and Soviet imperial and neo-imperial versions (Portnov and Portnova: 2015: 238). The rationalization for the city foundation date in use at the end of the Soviet period was connected with the initiative of the Communist authorities to commemorate the

foundation of the city as a way of expanding and consolidating the celebration of a significant Brezhnev birthday (Haidai et al.: 2018: 54). The Russian imperial centenary anniversary of the founding of Katerynoslav in 1887 had been chosen following a similar rationale in support of an overarching political narrative to mark the centenary of Catherine II's first visit (Portnov and Portnova: 2015: 223). The local public historian Maksym Kavun, who wrote his kandydat dissertation on the early years of the imperial development of Katerynoslav, has argued throughout the period that the city was predominantly an imperial creation as a way of resisting changes to the official foundation date. During Perestroika and later, Ukrainian historians, led by Iuriy Mytsyk, sought to highlight the earlier origins of the city in order to associate it with the pre-imperial Cossack trading posts which had existed on the site before Russian imperial expansion (Portnov and Portnova: 2015: 238; Mytsyk: 1997: 128-153). In the spring of 2019, with presidential elections imminent and the fortunes of the Kyiv government waning, Kavun returned to the subject in an interview with Depo.ua, taking issue once again with Volodymyr V'iatrovych and the UINM for attempting to set the foundation date of the city on the basis of Cossack, rather than imperial, beginnings (Dnipro.depo.ua: 18 March 2019: para.: 2).

The debate over renaming the city in its latest iteration had started some years before the Decommunization laws were passed in 2015. Calls to rename it 'Sicheslav' ('city of glory', by implication of Cossack glory) and the surrounding region 'Sicheslavs'kyy' had been voiced publicly some years earlier, when national legislation passed in 2007 under President Yushchenko required the removal from the local toponymy of the names of individuals associated with repressions under Stalin, although in Dnipro this requirement had been voted down by the city council (Gulyaeva: 2009: para.: 21). The city had been called 'Sicheslav' briefly during the period of the Skoropads'kyy Hetmanate almost a century earlier, as proposed by Dmytro Iavornyts'kyy and decreed by the National Rada: locals noted that whereas Katerynoslav had been a name imposed during the period of Russian control of the city, Sicheslav had been used while it was, via Hetman Skoropads'kyy, 'under the control of the Austrians' (Bezpalov: 2016: 15; Ukrinform: 1 March 2018: para.: 3). Petrovs'kyy (for whom the city was named Dnipropetrovs'k in 1926) had been part of the local Bolshevik apparatus which had gradually wrested control of Ukrainian territory for Moscow during the Civil War and the first years of Soviet rule; had subsequently become leader of the Ukrainian SSR through the structure known at the time as the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee; had advocated during Ukrainianization in the 1920s for Ukrainian language legislation; and been instrumental locally in coordinating the grain expropriations and dekulakization ('dekurkulizatsiia' in Ukrainian) which led to the Holodomor (Shatrov: 1969: 74; Gulyaeva and Dinets: 2009: paras.: 4-11).

When in 2015 the UINM on behalf of the government in Kyiv had insisted that the name of the city be changed, the city council had at first responded by saying that the city would keep the name but change the relevant documentation to explain that it was now named on behalf of St Peter (Istorychna Pravda: 3 December 2015). For those who argued that '-petrovs'k' no longer retained an association with Petrovs'kyy himself, it was suggested, factually incorrectly but perhaps plausibly, that it would imply a connection with Peter the Great of Russia, who was associated by some Ukrainians with

the death and suffering of Ukrainian serfs during the building of St Petersburg. Or '-petrovs'k' would suggest an excessive readiness on the part of the Dnipropetrovs'k authorities to resort to saints' names as uncontentious, when in different quarters what they represented was the strength of the relationship between the Moscow Patriarchate branch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Dnipropetrovs'k and the local 'OpoBlok' politicians who made up the majority on the city council (Dnipro.depo.ua: 3 December 2015).

A public vote on various options under consideration for a new name for the city was held in 2015, with retention of the existing name the clear favourite, the short form of 'Dnipro', widely used informally in any case, coming a strong but distant second, 'Sicheslav' polling less than ten percent, and the arguably more historically accurate original names of Kodak and Novyy Kodak polling one per cent and under one per cent respectively (www.gorod.dp.ua: 28 July 2015). Activists and local backers of the 'Sicheslav' option, undeterred when their preferred option was not approved for the city itself, were still campaigning for the region to be renamed 'Sicheslavs'kyy' in 2018 (Ukrains'ka Pravda: 11 February 2018; www.gorod.dp.ua: 26 January 2018). Although the Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian parliament) approved the name change on 3 April 2019 the regional government website to date retains the previous name, and the possibility of revisiting the legislation was voiced after the election of the new president (Radio Svoboda: 3 April 2019; https://oblrada.dp.gov.ua/; Ukrains'ka Pravda: 14 July 2019).

The current Mayor of Dnipro, Borys Filatov, in speaking about his response to the 2015 Decommunization legislation and the naming debates discussed above, has consistently articulated, and more or less simultaneously, local misgivings about Kyiv's initially oblique and then increasingly overt decolonization strategy and a readiness nonetheless to comply with the national government for the sake of national unity (Gorod.dp.ua: 3 December 2015: paras.: 1-7). Over the course of the period under investigation he started cautiously, expressing, on behalf of the apparently OpoBlok-leaning population, mild misgivings about changing the city's name (Dnipro.depo.ua: 3 December 2015: paras.: 3-4). During the first years of fighting in the Donbas and of the implementation of the Decommunization legislation he was conspicuously 'on-message' for the Poroshenko government on matters of public history (Istorychna Pravda: 24 November 2015: para.: 9). By the last months of the Poroshenko presidency, as polling showed increasingly clearly against it, he had reverted to a more even-handed position, coming out firmly, at the time of the debate in the Rada, against the proposal to change the name of the oblast' to 'Sicheslavs'ka' and not stinting his criticism of Iuliia Tymoshenko for equivocating on the same subject (Kvitka: 7 February 2019: para.: 12).

Competing Modifications of Key Historical Tropes

This section reviews a number of important tropes in the Dnipro historical narrative and how they were modified by the different actors and processes discussed above. During the period under consideration, local actors drew in particular on the following six broad historical tropes as emblematic of the local identity narrative, though with different degrees of political profile: the 'Cossack heritage' trope; the 'southern capital of

the (Russian) Empire'; the 'Manchester of Ukraine'; 'victors of WWII'; 'Rocket City' and the 'Talent Pool'.

The Dnipro Cossack heritage trope, underpinned by the idea that there had been more Cossack siches on the territory of what is now the wider Dnipro region even than in neighbouring Zaporizhzhia, was initially given profile in local historiography by Dmytro Iavornyts'kyy in his history of the Cossack Siches, Istoriia i topohrafiia vos'my Zaporiz'kykh sichey and it underlaid the campaign for the 'Sicheslav' name discussed above (Iavornyts'kyy: 1990 (1892); Shatalov: 2017: 217-8). The post-1991 re-emphasis on the pre-imperial history of the trading centre at Stara Samar' highlights the 'entrepreneurial success' strand in the Cossack story (Panchenko: 2017: para.: 11). This trope remains more a favourite of pro-Ukrainian voices, with the city council during the period under consideration adroitly giving it 'air-time', but generally attributing it to others (civic organizations or less pro-Russian historians), rather than choosing to own it (Dniprovs'ka mis'ka rada: 15 November 2017; 22 February 2018).

The imperial policy trope of the city which was to be a 'southern capital of the Russian Empire' was associated in the case of Dnipro during the period in question with the idea of the city as a southern centre of the Russian Orthodox faith, partly because of a perception of the Russian Church as an institution of state and instrument of government (Bezpalov: 2016: 30; Sukhodol's'kyy: 19 November 2018: para.: 2). Over recent years, the idea of Dnipro as a centre of Orthodoxy had been revived, with saints' names and names from the church calendar figuring largely in the lists of revised street names adopted under the Decommunization legislation, and saints' days and church rededications providing an opportunity for local OpoBlok politicians to signal simultaneously and with helpful ambiguity an implied Orthodox faith and an implied allegiance to the Russkiy Mir Russian Orthodoxy project (Sukhodols'kyy: 19 November 2018: para.: 6; Bezpalov: 2016: 30; Haidai et al.: 2018: 46-7; www.dniprorada.gov.ua: 24 November 2015: 3-4). The ideas of faith in opposition to Communism and Cossack orthodoxy in opposition to Russian imperial orthodoxy as one of the themes of Honchar's Sobor discussed above exemplifies in literary form this contestation over the interpretation and designation of focuses of identity (Honchar: 2018 (4th ed.): 194, 293). Expressions of adherence to Orthodoxy during the period in question were a nicely ambiguous means of implying allegiance simultaneously both to the popular post-Soviet enthusiasm for religious ritual; and to the twentieth-century Ukrainian pattern of adherence to faith in defiance of Soviet atheism; and to the Russkiy Mir promotion of the Russian Orthodox Church as a means of keeping Ukraine closer to Moscow (Kohtiants: 26 December 2014: para.: 6; Lo: 2015: 34). This ambiguity and the potentially contradictory allegiances it concealed was one reason that the dispute over the renaming of the city, discussed in the previous section above, was so heated (Haidai et al.: 2018: 46-7).

Local historians now trace a narrative thread between the commercial hub of the first local Cossack trading-posts, the nineteenth-century entrepreneurship of Oleksandr Pol' depending likewise on the city as a commercial centre in different circumstances, and its status as the defence industry capital of the Soviet Union a hundred years later (Bezpalov: 2016: 13; Kavun: http://www.mkavun.narod.ru/persons.html). Stories of

Pol' combine tropes of local initiative with impressive commercial results, skilful handling of Russian centres of power and commitment to local cultural causes strengthening local identity, though by tradition it was Iavornyts'kyy who proposed the 'Manchester of Ukraine' trope (Bezpalov: 2016: 13-14).[2] The idea of the possibility of vast wealth-creation in Dnipro symbolized by Pol' is also used by Filatov to historicize municipal entrepreneurship initiatives (Bohdanova: 8 September 2016: paras.: 35, 38, 47). This trope of recurrent periods of formidable economic power has mutated to encompass the putative trading success of the Cossack palankas and the post-Soviet economic renaissance symbolized by PrivatBank, uniting political actors, civic activists and academic voices across a broad spectrum of attitudes to Russia (Bezpalov: 2016: 22-23).

The attributed suffering and heroism, and experience of violence and loss, involved under occupation in WWII in Dnipro was drawn on extensively by local OpoBlok politicians during the period in question (Vilkul.ua: 9 May 2017; Zhurzhenko: 2014: 264). It remained central to the discourse imposed by the Moscow-orchestrated administrations in Donets'k and Luhans'k throughout the period under investigation and initially at least, that meant it was also widely broadcast in neighbouring Dnipro (Stiazhkina: 2016: 74). For this reason the broadly synchronous reinvestment in and focus on the communication of the city's important Jewish heritage and in particular the experience in Ukraine of the Holocaust as part of WWII was a skilful counterweight, as discussed above (Deutsche Welle: 16 October 2012: para.: 7; http://menorah-center.com/about/siritual-life/jewish-memory-holocaust-ukraine/).

The science and engineering universities created to support and develop the city's industrial and, subsequently, defence industrial capacity reinforce the 'Rocket City' trope of industrial success in their active promotion of the history of the city and their role in it (Haidai et al.: 2018: 48-9; Istorychna Pravda: 18 June 2013; Istorychna Pravda: 24 July 2014). For the spring and summer of 2014, the 'Rocket City' trope combined a sense of international military power with cutting-edge scientific and intellectual capacity and, critically in the circumstances of intensifying Russian military and information aggression pertaining at the time, the combined notional access to Moscow, understanding of Moscow and power to force Moscow to back down which was so narratively powerful in the circumstances of the war in the Donbas (Portnov: 2015 (b): 63-5; Plokhy: 2006: para.: 14). A return, after the implementation of Decommunization, to the 'Rocket City' trope which had been boosted during the Yanukovych presidency seemed like a rebalancing towards a different electoral demographic, with the 'Cosmos tours' of the city in 2017 contrasting with the push for the regeneration of Cossack heritage sites under way at the same time (Ukrinform: 2 November 2017; Panchenko: 2017: para.: 14).

The 'talent pool' trope, a weak translation of the more visual and more apposite 'blacksmith's forge' of (Communist Party) political leadership cadres in Ukrainian and

[2] Oleksandr Pol' was the local nobleman who discovered iron ore deposits at Kryviy Rih in the mid-nineteenth century and obtained the licences from the imperial government in St Petersburg to link the mines he developed there by railway with the city, then Katerynoslav, and with the coal mines of Donets'k, then Iuzivka (Bezpalov: 2016).

Russian ('kuznia kadriv'/ 'kuznya kadrov'), is used widely (Bezpalov: 2016). It was coined during the Soviet period to refer to the ascent of Brezhnev and his contemporaries, 'forged' in the literal and figurative smelters of Dnipro and then promoted, to Moscow and to Kyiv. But it was a felicitous image for local identity and self-image and was applied retrospectively to the imperial period by Maksym Kavun, who noted, perhaps stretching a point, that a number of senior appointees to the last pre-revolutionary governments in St Petersburg had also started life in Katerynoslav, thereby uniting narratively the imperial and the Soviet periods with a trope of Dnipro political confidence and success (Bezpalov: 2016: 23-4; Kavun: http://www.mkavun.narod.ru/persons.html: undated). The same 'talent pool' term was used, with different doses of irony from different perspectives, to refer to the variously powerful, high-profile and notorious local protégés and associates of Leonid Kuchma (Bezpalov: 2016: 23; Portnov: 2015: 64;). The term brought with it a set of ideological connotations more pro-imperial, whether Russian or Soviet, than the tropes of individual entrepreneurship and independent self-government associated with others in the city's repertoire of available historical narratives. Superficially a term only suggesting superior local ability, it also carries connotations of the talent to work within the type of political institution often perceived in Ukraine as imposed from elsewhere and without the best interests of Ukraine at its heart.

Conclusion

So in terms of the securitization of a Ukrainian civic national identity, among these locally popular tropes, the 'location of more Cossack siches even than neighbouring Zaporizhzhia' remained an unambiguous signifier and notably, perhaps because of the lack of ambiguity it offered, it was apparently avoided by the Mayor. The 'Manchester of Ukraine' trope partly disaggregated the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century economic success of the region from the Russia-led imperial narrative of the same period. The underlying historical idea of Katerynoslav as a future southern capital of the Russian empire enjoyed more success during the period in question as a foundation for the local promotion of the Russian Orthodox Church, and a post-colonial lens would frame this success as evidence of an incomplete journey towards decolonization. The more generalized Katerynoslav imperial narrative was also partly disaggregated during the period in question, with Filatov at the beginning of 2019 in a speech about 'built heritage' referring both to the refurbishment of an imperial period Church (not mentioning particular claims on it either by the post-Tomos Orthodox Church of Ukraine or by the lingering Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate)) and to the former imperial-period local Duma chamber, which was to be refurbished for the current City Rada and stand as a 'symbol of local self-government', another trope which had emerged over the period as a popular Filatov theme, underpinned by local historians (Petrovs'kyy: 23 January 2019: paras.: 5-6; Markova: 2009). 'Rocket City' and the 'Talent Pool', originally part of the narrative of the role of Dnipropetrovs'k in implicitly pro-Moscow Soviet success, were also partially disaggregated from this storyline by being more locally historicized. The narrative of suffering and valour in the 'Great Patriotic War' remained axiomatic to the securitization of pro-Russian identity.

All the tropes discussed above, despite the different interpretations and associated political narratives adhering to them, have sustained their importance in local historical memory over the long term. The phrase 'entangled history' has been used to describe more precisely and arguably less politically than 'transnational history' the irreducible mesh of interwoven historical narratives and identity narratives of which history, and archetypally the history of Ukraine, is comprised (Portnov: 2015: 731; Kappeler: 2009: 66). The physical public history projects of Dnipro over the period under investigation are a manifestation of different perspectives on the history of the city, relating to different identities and different time periods in contiguous physical spaces, although physical proximity does not necessarily fully embody or incorporate the qualities of multivectoral intersubjectivity which 'entanglement' implies. Borys Filatov began his campaigning for public office in Dnipro with the launch of a local history 'full of the tales of ordinary people' and gave free voice to advocates of plans for Cossack heritage regeneration but it was the creative commemoration and communication of the ongoing war, contextualized by the last in the form of the WWII diorama, which was elevated in importance at the end of the period under investigation (Ukrop Party: 2 November 2015; http://www.museum.dp.ua/dioramaevents.html). Where Poroshenko and the UINM had become more explicit in their decolonizing intentions towards the end of the presidential term, the city deflected them, preferring to emphasize its own, carefully historicized, capacity for self-government instead (Ukrinform: 2018: para. 4; Markova: 2009). It was the interpretation of the multi-ethnic history of the city from a Jewish perspective in the displays at the Museum of Jewish Memory, highlighting interactions, whether collaborative, productive, destructive or violent, over time, which embodied 'entangled history' most clearly in the form of its narration (Woolley: 2019: a, b, d, e). In fact both the Museum of Jewish Memory and the ATO Museum constitute, in the mode of representation they have chosen, a situationally pro-Ukrainian response without involving the securitization of a Ukrainian ethno-national identity.

Haidai et al. described the current approach to public history in Dnipro as 'a way of rethinking local culture rather than as an investigation into the past for its own sake', whereas the research discussed in this paper suggests this is perhaps to oversimplify the intersubjectivity between historiography, commemoration and historical politics it has involved (Haidai et al.: 2018: 35). Mälksoo in her article on 'mnemonical security' points to the 'security dilemmas' created by the securitization of history and memory and explores the difficulties in addressing these dilemmas caused by opposing and sometimes apparently irreconcilable policy approaches to the political instrumentalization of identity (Mälksoo: 2015: 222, 232). Discursive contributors to historical politics in and on the subject of Dnipro have deployed a form of instrumentalization of local historical narratives which has sustained a complex, evolving equilibrium, rather than achieving a securitization of local or national identity according to any narrow definition of the term.

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Woolley, U., Photograph of Beilis Case Display at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine: View of Left-Hand Panels, 15 June 2019 (a), author's personal collection.

Woolley, U., Photograph of Beilis Case Display at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine: View of Right-Hand Panels, 15 June 2019 (b), author's personal collection.

Woolley, U., Photograph of Cityscapes of C19 and present-day central Dnipro at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine, 15 June 2019 (c), author's personal collection.

Woolley, U., Photograph of Display Describing Anti-Ukrainian Policies During the First Five-Year Plan in the Years Preceding the Holodomor at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine, 15 June 2019 (d), author's personal collection.

Woolley, U., Photograph of Display Describing Bolshevik and White Anti-Semitic Violence During the 1917-21 Civil War at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine, 15 June 2019 (e), author's personal collection.

Woolley, U., Photograph of Dnipro Cityscape with Towers of the Menorah Centre, 15 June 2019 (f), author's personal collection.

Woolley, U., Photograph of Floor Plan of ATO Museum at the Diorama of the WWII Battle of the Dnipro River, 15 June 2019 (g), author's personal collection.

Woolley, U., Photograph of Part of the Outside Display at the ATO Museum in Central Dnipro, 15 June 2019 (h), author's personal collection.

Woolley, U., Photograph of Rocket Park Installations in Central Dnipro, 15 June 2019 (i), author's personal collection.

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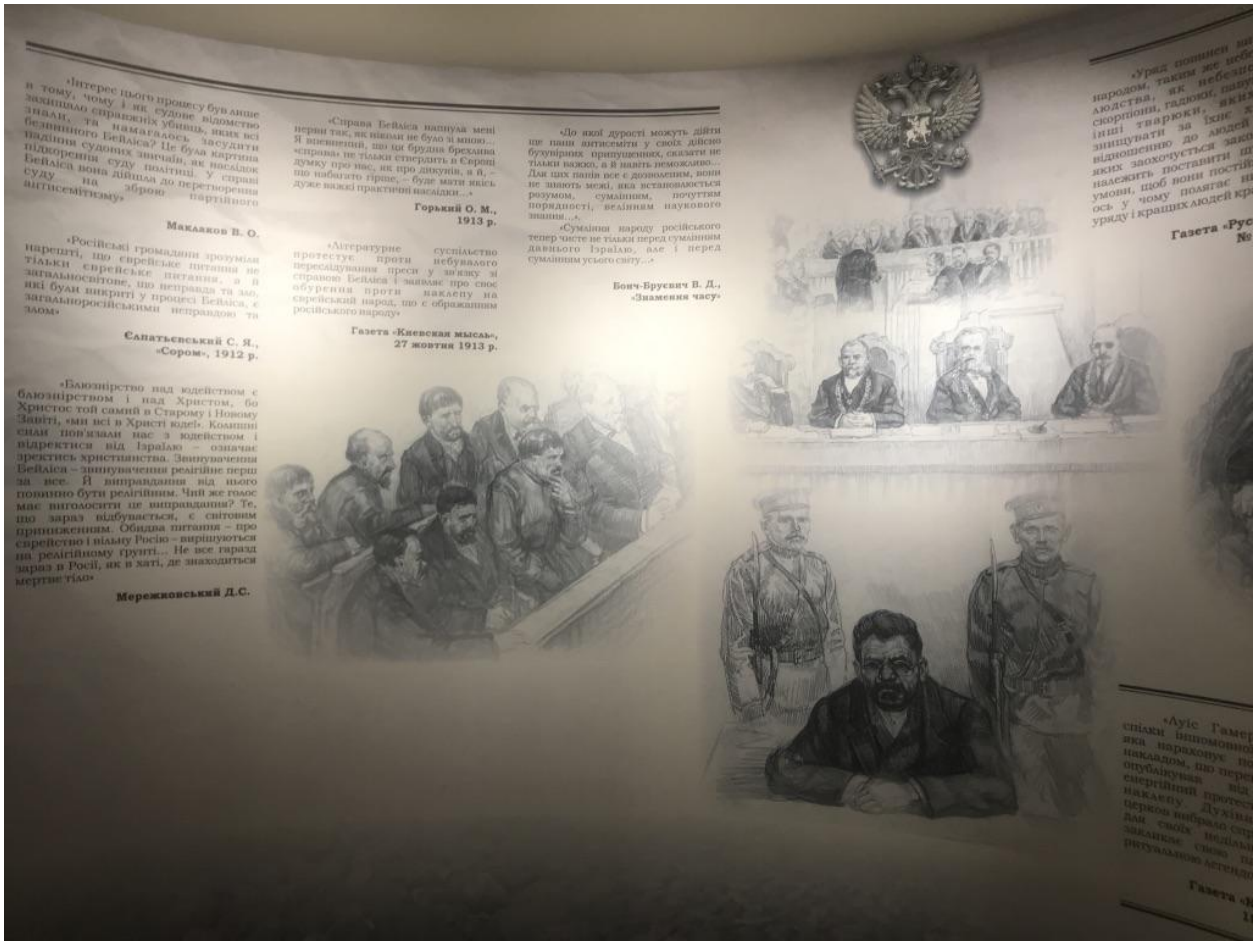
Appendix 1: Images Referred to in the Research Paper

Dnipro Cityscape with Towers of the Menorah Centre

Rocket Park Installations in Central Dnipro

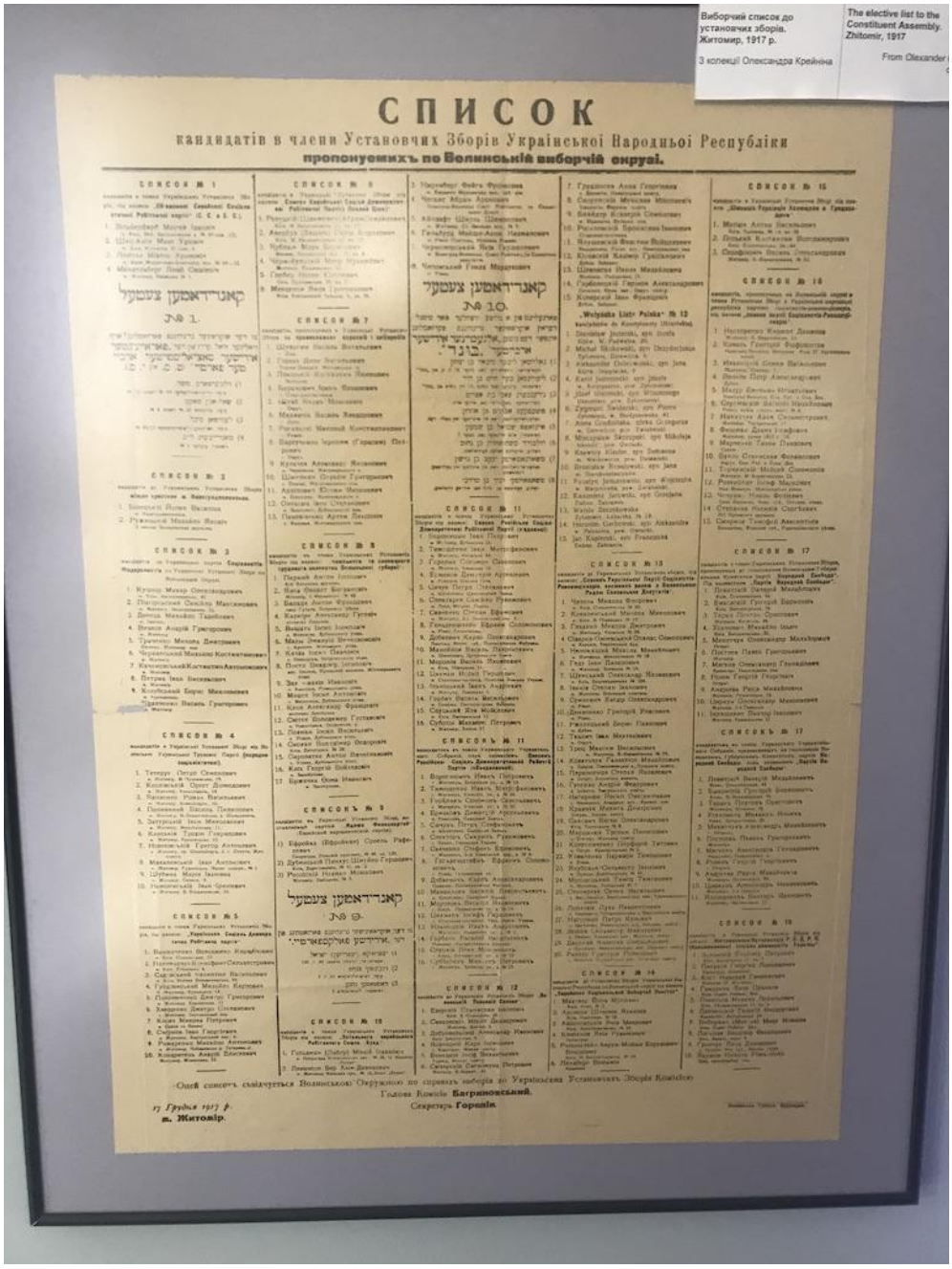
Floor Plan of ATO Museum at the Diorama of the WWII Battle of the Dnipro River

Cityscapes of C19 and present-day central Dnipro at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine

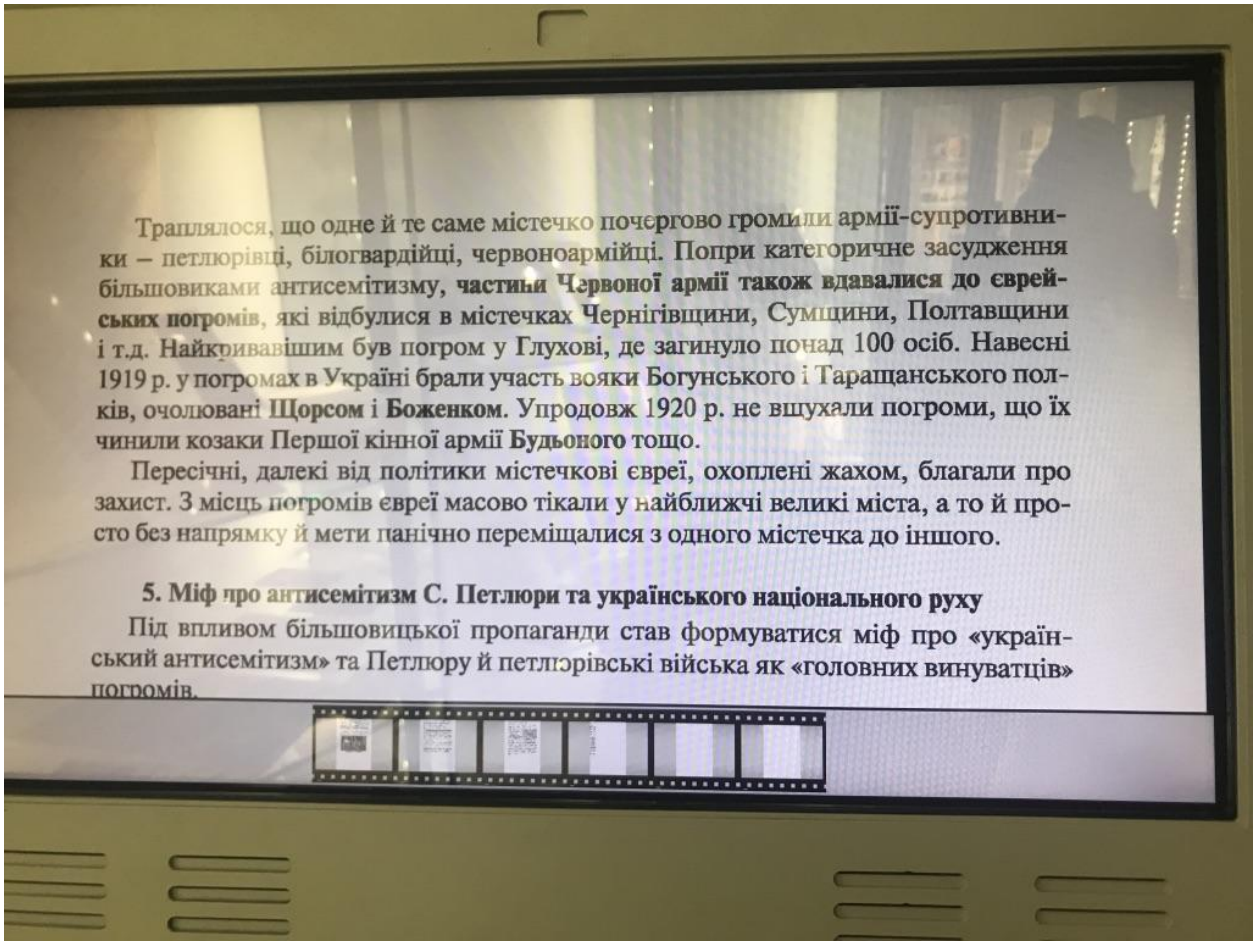


Beilis Case Display at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine: View of Left-Hand Panels

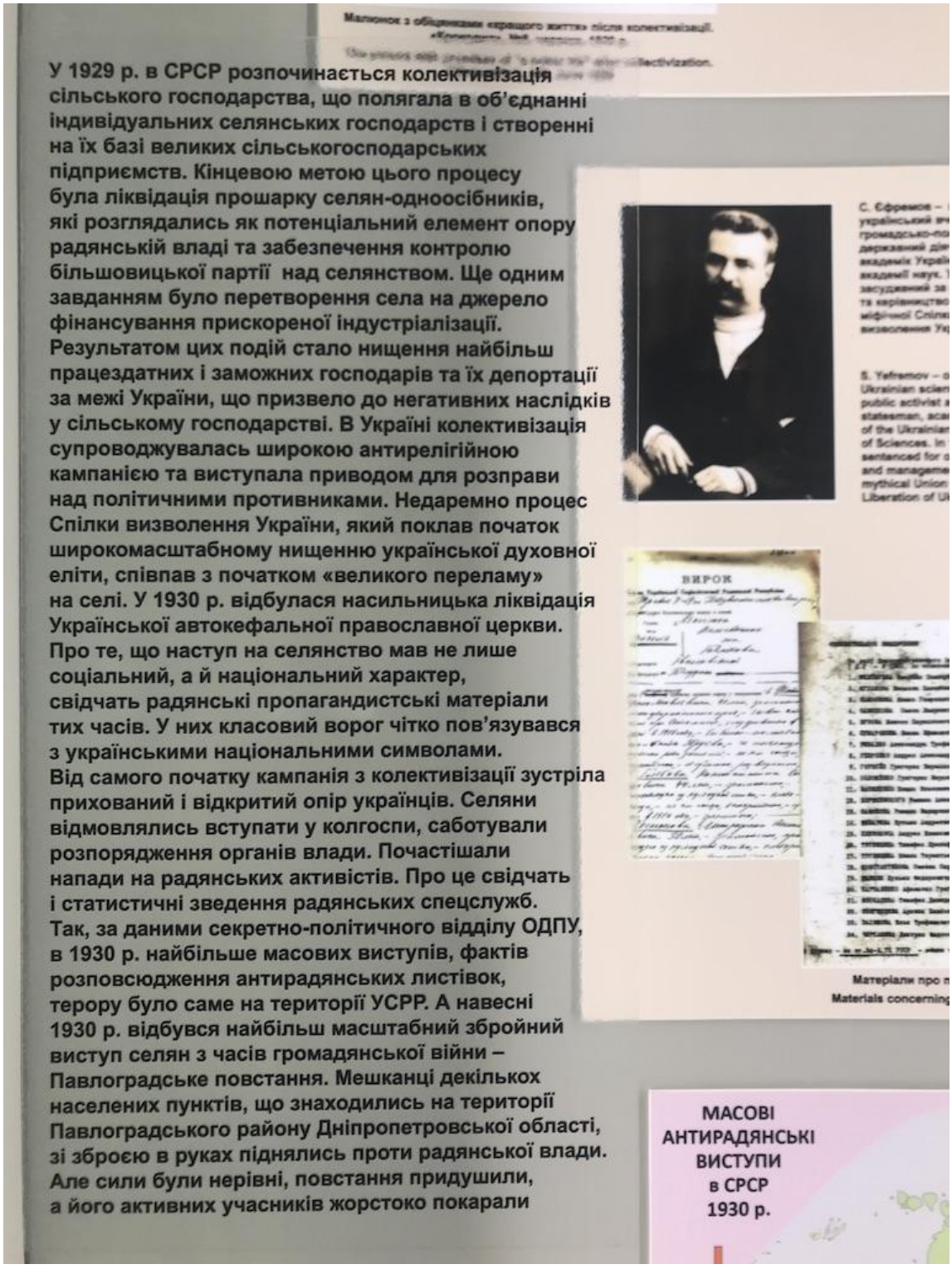
Beilis Case Display at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine: View of Right-Hand Panels



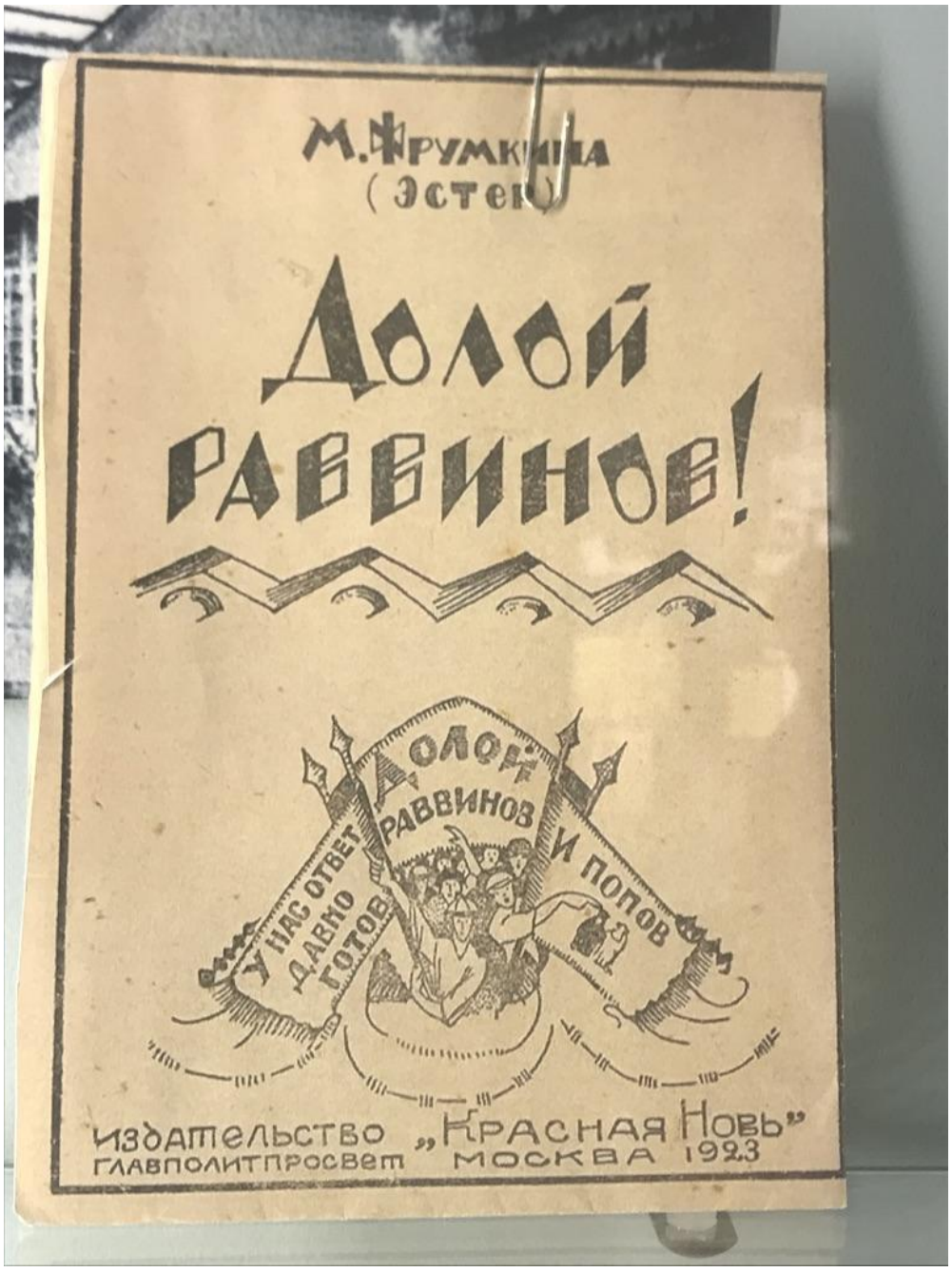
Zhytomyr Candidates' List for Elections to the Constituent Assembly of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1917, Showing Jewish and Ukrainian Names Representing the Same Political Parties, at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine



Display Describing Bolshevik and White Anti-Semitic Violence During the 1917-21 Civil War at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine



Display Describing Anti-Ukrainian Policies Implemented at the Time of the First Five-Year Plan in the Years Preceding the Holodomor at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine



"Down with Rabbis" (and Priests) Pamphlet on Display at the Museum of Jewish Memory and the Holocaust in Ukraine

Part of the Outside Display at the ATO Museum in Central Dnipro