Master of Arts Thesis

Euroculture

Georg-August Universität Göttingen , Germany

Palacký University in Olomouc , Czech Republic

March 2011

Role of Memory Policy in Constructing National Identity

Case Study: Ukraine

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March 21, 2011

MA Programme Euroculture

Declaration

I, Oresta Ohorchak, hereby declare that this thesis, entitled "Role of Memory Policy in Constructing Memory Identity. Case Study: Ukraine", submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the List of References. I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The history of mankind is characterized by many conflicts rooted in differences, be they ethnic, religious, economic or political. Probably the most extensive manifestation of these difference occured in 20th century Europe, which saw two World Wars, genocides, deportations, revolutions, repressions and led to the loss of millions of human lives, and intensified alienation and hostility for the years to come. The future peaceful coexistence of the continent was made possible by uniting the nations with one goal, shared values and the common past, especially the trauma of WWII.

Post-war academia experienced a new outbreak of research and studies about collective memory after Maurice Halbwachs' founding masterwork in the 1920s. Nowadays "memory" is one of the most popular topics in the fields of history, sociology, cultural studies, and philosophy. The main focus shifted from memory as an individual's characteristic to memory as a group feature; the cornerstone of collective identity. The field has been expanding rapidly, encompassing new disciplines, enriching the theoretical and terminological basis and enlarging its geographical reach.

In recent years, the topics of *remembering* and respectively *forgetting* became among the most discussed in Ukrainian academia. During recent years, newspaper articles as well as radio and television broadcastings are abound in materials about historical memory and forgetting, museums and monuments, places of memory, history schoolbooks, heroes and deheroization, victims and victors. Memory policy is discussed on different levels, from political authorities who frame it, to schoolchildren who constitute one of the youngest groups of receptors of these policies. A similar flux of memory-related themes was already witnessed in Ukraine two decades ago.

At the end of the 20th century, the European geopolitical map changed and new countries appeared, Ukraine being one of them. Like other post-totalitarian states, Ukraine faced the task of restoring national memory. However, unlike other European

countries, Ukraine had not managed to form a nation in the 19th century. The newly (re)born republic faced the bitter reality that can be compared with the unification of Italy in the 19th century , well characterized by Massimo d'Azeglio: "Italy has been made; now it remains to make Italians." Hence, Ukraine acquired independence, but it lacked most attributes of a state, including national unity. How is the Ukrainian government "making Ukrainians"? Or an alternative question: whom is Ukrainian government making? To answer either of these, one should address the topics of historical memory and national identity.

In accordance with the delineated background, the **aim** of this thesis is to investigate how memories about Ukrainian history, promoted on the state level after obtaining independence in 1991, influence national integration in the country. In this context the term "official memory policy" must be introduced, which can be defined as the control over the construction of collective beliefs about the past by the dominating power. Among the commonly used methods of control are: interpretation of history, organization of mass historical education (printing manuals that propagate the official version of history), establishing museums and monuments, inventing commemorative practices, linguistic transformations (e.g., renaming streets), and the influence of the mass media. .[1]

It has been empirically proven that memories of the past form the basis for self-identification. Sociological and psychological theories speak about the same interrelation between collective memories and collective identity. Taking this into consideration, the **hypothesis** of the research assumes that the incoherent and undeveloped official memory policy, created by the Ukrainian ruling elites, causes discord and separation of the population instead of overall consolidation of the Ukrainian nation. The concept of "ruling elites" is used to distinguish the group of state officials in the executive branch of the parliament, meaning the president and his administration, as well as the Cabinet of Ministers and heads of regional administrations who are appointed by the president.

To disprove the counter-argument that the shift in memory policy was only encountered after the recent presidential elections in 2010, the official memory practices

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[1]Konyk, Anastasiya. "Istorychna pamyat" ta "polityka pamyati" v epokhu mediakultury. Visnyk Lviv University. Ser.Journ. 2009. Is. 32. P. 153–163. P. 158.

are analyzed in a diachronic perception, according to the presidents in office, summarizing the dominant tendencies during each period.

The periodization according to presidency is justified because, according to the Constitution of Ukraine (Article 116), the social and cultural development of the country (to which memory policy belongs), is supported by the Cabinet of Ministers who are, in turn, appointed by the president. .[2] The influence of the general public on the decision-making process in memory policy is not regarded as influential because the dubious nature of Ukrainian legislation grants officials with almost unlimited power.[3]

The main **objectives** of the thesis involve the following:

- to reveal the complex nature of *memory* and *identity*, as well as the intertwined connection between them;

- to scrutinize the historical causes of multiple conflicting identities in Ukraine;

- to critically analyze prevailing tendencies in the Ukrainian official memory policy of the last two decades and their probable impact on the consolidation of Ukrainian citizens.

This can be achieved by answering the following **research questions**:

- How are the concepts of memory, identity and political power linked with each other?

- What are the reasons behind the identity conflicts in Ukraine?

- What might the effect of the official memory policy be on the self-identification of Ukrainians?

For the purpose of investigating the thesis arguments, qualitative research methods are applied, based on the scrupulous examination of the official memory policy strategies, as well as identifying the history canon in post-Soviet Ukraine.

To accomplish the tasks, arange of general research methods are used. Owing to the predominantly descriptive character of the research, the analysis of secondary

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[2] Constitution of Ukraine. http://www.rada.gov.ua/const/conengl.htm#r6.
[3] Wolczuk, Kataryna. History, Europe and the "National Idea": the "official" narrative of national identity in Ukraine. Nationalities Papers, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2000, p. 671-694. P. 677.

literature is most often utilized. First of all this involves a contrastive examination of the arguments presented in scholarly literature as well as in scientific journals, and Ukrainian and foreign mass media.

In addition, reactions in the different regions of Ukraine to the official memory policy are illustrated on the basis of news and reports, as well as the results of official public opinion polls. Due to the popularity of tailored surveys in support of a political party, an attempt was made to include the results of several think-tanks to ensure the unbiased character of information. This material is also used for a comparative analysis of people's responses according to the regions.

It is necessary to indicate that the regional division used in *Chapter 3* is based on the one accepted by the Razunkov Center think-tank.[4] The following subdivision of Ukrainian regions is applied: South – Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Odesa, Kherson, Mykolayiv regions; Center – Kyiv City, Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Poltava, Sumy, Khmelnytsk, Cherkasy, Chernihiv regions; West – Volhynia, Trans-Carpathian, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil, Chernivtsi regions; East – Ddnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporizhia, Luhansk, Kharkiv regions.

The analysis of official memory policy is also grounded within a content analysis of the presidential speeches dedicated to commemorative practices, as well as in legal acts available on the webpage of the President of Ukraine[5] and the electronic collection of Ukrainian laws.[6]

As the attention of this researched is focused on the ruling elites and their ways of constructing shared memories for Ukrainian citizens, the presentist memory approach is adhered to. Unlike the popular memory approach, which assumes a bottom-up direction of memory construction, the presentist perspective regards it as a top-down, deterministic, instrumental process that presupposes manipulation and control. According to this state-centered viewpoint, attention will predominantly be paid to the dominant narratives under the rule of different presidents.

Generally speaking, memory studies, as well as identity studies, developed on the intersections of several disciplines and correspondingly developed approaches on

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[4] Official web page of the Razumkov Centre http://www.uceps.org/eng/pro_centr.php.
[5] Official web page of the President of Ukraine. http://www.president.gov.ua/.
[6] Laws of Ukraine. Legal portal. http://uazakon.com/.

their theoretical bases. The study *On Collective Memory,* by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, became the first systematic analysis of the notion of collective memory. According to him, memory has an exclusively social nature and the process of remembering depends on the use of proper techniques.

The follower of Halbwachs, Pierre Nora, in his project *Realms of memory* (the history of France's collective memory), assumes that collective memory accumulates and is represented in the so called realms of memory that are not only geographical places, but become to a certain extent the crossing points where the memory of society is commemorated (these can be material as well as non-material phenomena, such as song, for example).

An important development in memory studies is Barbara Misztal's book *Theories of Social Remembering.* As well as summarizing the existing theories of remembering, she develops her own understanding of collective memories as "intersubjectively constituted results of shared experience, ideas, knowledge and cultural practices through which people construct a relationship to the past".[7] Moreover, Misztal traces the history of memory policy back to Ancient Greece noting that the idea of power over memory is not a new one. Moreover, in her book, the contested boundaries of memory are investigated (e.g., memory and history, memory and imagination) and the current trends in memory studies are presented.

Despite the fact that issues such as memory policy and national identity are currently highly debated in Ukraine, research in the field of memory policy is only just starting to emerge in Ukraine. One of the most prominent academics in this area is Yulia Zerniy who, in her monograph *State Memory Policy as a Factor of National Ukrainian Identity Establishment,* speaks about the role of official memory policy in state security and the development of national identity.

A larger contribution has been made by Ukrainian scholars in the field of national identity. Among the most authoritative writers is Yaroslav Hrytsak who is a follower of cosmopolitanism and considers that the national question is not the most decisive in Ukraine's future, as the country has a sufficient level of nationalism for survival, but it is an important shelter for politicians. The book *Suffering for*

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[7] Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social remembering*, (McGraw-Hill Education, 2003), x

Nationalism gives a balanced explanation of Ukrainian problems from a new perspective.

In terms of other studies on identity and memory in Ukraine, Taras Kuzio's *Ukraine: State and Nation Building must be mentioned. This study* provides extensive research into Ukraine's transition from a Soviet to a democratic state. As far as the topics relevance to the current research project are concerned, the first years after independence outlined, including the issues of history and myth-making, language, and the national idea.

Finally, a general research on the Ukrainian mass media was accomplished by a Ukrainian sociologist Volodymyr Kulyk in his book entitled *Discourse of Ukrainian Media: identity, ideology, authority relations*. Based on the analysis of various media (television, radio, press), the study reveals the development and changes in the Ukrainian mass media after the 1990s, however, more importantly, it depicts the influence of the media on the memories and identities of the citizens.

Chapter 1 provides the theoretical framework of the thesis and familiarizes the reader with the notions of *memory* and *identity*. Taking into account that one of the objectives of the research is policy, preference is given to the presentist and constructivist schools of sociology, which will link the topics of memory identity and policy.

First of all, the notion of identity is discussed with an emphasis on the difference between regional, ethnic and national identities. This clarification will help to distinguish between ethnic and civic Ukrainian identities discussed in the following chapters.

Next, the concepts of memory and history are introduced. This subchapter summarizes the works on collective and historic memory by western scholars (Halbwachs, Langenbacher, Roediger III, A. Assmann, Astrid, Rusen, Misztal) as well as Ukrainian (Zerniy, Kulyk, Konyk). Revealing the complex interrelation of memory and identity (one of the objectives of this research project) equips the researcher with a supporting argument for the hypothesis.

Finally, the topic of memory policy is investigated, assuming that the close relation of memory and identity may turn it into a useful as well a dangerous tool of

power. In developing this idea, the main instruments of 'constructed' remembering and forgetting are briefly described. Furthermore, as the elites alone are not able to reach the wider public to introduce their invented traditions, the mass media becomes the leading agent between the authorities and society, acquiring more influence than the government itself.

Chapter 2 discusses the notion of historic memory and collective identity in the Ukrainian context. The first part concentrates on the question of regional identity in Ukraine as the most vivid among the multiple types of observed identities. Its distinguished nature may be explained by the essential differences in understanding national values. Thus, an attempt is made to envision the development of the modern Ukrainian nation from the Middle Ages until Independence. This chronological overview allows the long-lasting process of collective identity shifts to be grasped. Nevertheless, the historical reasons for regional conflicts in Ukraine can be traced. This analysis is primarily built on a critical review of the studies on Ukraine by foreign scholars (Kuzio, Motyl, Rogers, Wolczuk) as well as by Ukrainian scholars (Hrytsak, Riabchuk, Nahorna, Stepanenko, Sereda). The multiplicity of identities is explored through linguistic and political examples.

A further section raises the question of the Ukrainian national idea which is believed to be a leading element of memory policy. The main task here is to examine the official discourse concerning the national idea as it must be automatically at the heart of official memory policy. This also provides the groundwork for a comparison of the real actions of the ruling elites with the declared strategy.

Chapter 3 comprises of a critical analysis in a diachronic perspective of the official memory policy in Ukraine during the last two decades. After a short review of the memory policy tendencies in Soviet times, the approach to memory in the independent Ukraine is investigated. The research is structured according to two spheres of influence: school education and national ritual system. The latter involves all types of invented traditions and symbols connected with history. In turn, each sphere of influence is studied according to presidents. Afterwards, the public attitude to memory policy is inspected and explained.

The third chapter also provides information on the role of Ukrainian media in memory policy. As twenty years is a relatively short time period for a new wind of

memories to develop, the most probable influence of the official memory policy of nation building is predicted in the conclusions.

For the reader's convenience, the *Appendix* contains a contemporary map of Ukraine's administrative division and the map of historic (ethnic) areas.

It is important to mention that the author is of Ukrainian origin and therefore has personal interest in the topic.

The transliteration used in this work is based on the official Ukrainian-English transliteration system that was adopted by the Ukrainian Legal Terminology Commission on 19 April 1996 (Decision N 9). The decision states that transliteration should be made directly between Ukrainian and English, without the use of any intermediary languages, which means that Ukrainian names are not translated from Russian into English. However, an exception is made for ethnic regions (e.g., "Galicia" not "Halychyna") or symbolic names (e.g., "Chernobyl" not "Chornobyl").

2   ON THE QUESTIONS OF MEMORY AND IDENTITY

Nowadays identity and memory are widely used terms; not only in the field of psychology or sociology, but also history and political studies. Since the 1950s, scholars have exerted themselves to explicate the "notoriously elusive"[8] nature of both terms. The rapid development of the new approaches to the issues of memory and identity are geared by the policy of the European Union and its concerns about European identity.

While the leaders of the EU are trying to solve the puzzle of supranational European identity, a common historical past and shared memories, the post-Communist countries are in search of their national identity which was either suppressed or eradicated in embryo. In quest of identity, of unifying categories, communities often turn to their shared experience, a common past.

Having the past as a unifying force may become a useful tool or dangerous weapon when used in political context. Individual and collectivity, memory and identity, remembering and forgetting, the power of the state and mass media and finally the ethical responsibility for "games with memory" - these are the topics covered in this chapter. Moving from the more general notion of identity and its types to one of the most important components of identity-building, this outlook reveals the complex nature of the two notions which results in even more sophisticated interconnection between them.

1. An everlasting discussion about identity

Sociologists joke that a person starts to think about his/her identity when he/she is asked about it. In sociology and social psychology identity is considered one of the most important mechanisms of socialization which is reflected in attributing oneself to a certain group or community. Though not always externally manifested, identification takes place during every social contact. A similar statement may be addressed with regard to collective identities. A group does not realize its unifying elements before they are highlighted and explained. Neither individual nor group identity is a recent invention; however, the growing interest in the notion in the post-war and post-colonial

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[8] Margaret Wetherell. "The Field of Identity Studies," in *The SAGE Handbook of Identities*. ed. Margaret Wetherell and Chandra T. Mohanty. (SAGE, 2010), 3.

age turned it into one of the most speculated, the most marketed and hence the most turbid of topics.

1.1. Defining identity

In everyday life the word "identity" is used to denote a distinctive defined complex of features which a person, a place or a group could have. Since the word entered academic discourse it was from the onset applied in two independent senses – to draw the individual properties of a person and describe the uniting elements of the members of a group. However, the researchers who were following these two lines, despite different theoretic preferences, often had a shared understanding of the core determinant of identity, i.e. a feeling of sameness.[9]

The father of personal identity research, Erik Erikson, understood identity as a never-ending project that involves constant development and the search for personal coherence which, if not reached, will lead to a crisis. For him a sense of community, a role in the society and recognizing what was shared with others was essential in the evolution of one's own identity.[10] Hence, from the very beginning identity is defined as a social characteristic as it cannot be observed outside the society.

The emergence of any type of social or personal identification requires the image of the "other" to serve as a benchmark for self-identification based on the Aristotle's principle of negation ("Omnis affirmatio est negatio").[11] On the other hand, as was noticed by Richard Jenkins, by differentiation alone one cannot establish an identity because every comparison involves two criteria – similarity and difference, agreeing and disagreeing, we and them. This shows that the process of identification is bipolar and indissoluble at the same time: classifying of others and attaching oneself to something or someone.[12]

Another socially entailed peculiarity of identification was stressed by post-modernists who claim that a personality always comprises multiple roles, thus self-determines on various grounds (gender, family, profession, ethnicity, culture). The complexity of the self is a manifestation of the differentiation of society. In different

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[9] Ibid., 6-7.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Mykola Kozlovets. *Fenomen natsionalnoyi identychnosti: vyklyky hlobalizatsiyi.* (Zhytomyr: ZhDU im.I.Franka, 2009), 39.
[12] Richard Jenkins. *Social Identity.* (London: Routledge, 2008), 17-22

socio-cultural contexts identities may have various levels of prominence and control, and occupy higher or lower hierarchical stances.[13] A Ukrainian researcher, Mykola Kozlovets, discussing identity in the modern age, points out that globalization shifts the accent from personal to group or mass identification as more dominant.[14]

Many researchers in the field of identity underline the eternal necessity of any person to belong to socium, to feel contact with a society and to realize a unity with its representatives (Erikson, Maslow, Smith, Fromm). However, as was rightfully observed by Jenkins, unlike individuals embodied in human beings, collectives are a more difficult notion to grasp. Generally, sociologists understand collectives as "a plurality of individuals who either see themselves as similar or have in common similar behavior and circumstances."[15]

Collective identification combines two interactional processes: group identification – internal definition of the very collectivity, and categorization – external definition by the others.[16] Thus, categorization is a prediction always true only in the eye of the beholder, whereas internal feeling of the collectivity means having some common features, real or imagined. Unless it is a vis-à-vis group, fellow-members do not know each other, thus, having no chance to discover their similarities. Hence, it is widely believed that communities are constructed and are the products of symbolism (Anthony Cohen), imagination (Benedict Anderson), institutionalization (Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann) but whatever the process of construction is it involves shared belonging.

1.2. National, ethnic and regional identities

Out of all types of communities the national is the most contested and as a result the most widely discussed in academia. The controversial character of "national identity" is greatly connected with the challenging task of defining the "nation" first of all due to its close similarity to "ethnie." as well as the dubious usage of the word in everyday context. To differentiate between the two, this research to a great extent relies on the works by Anthony Smith, who understands "nation" as:

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[13] Peter Burke and Jan Stets, *Identity theory* (New York : Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), 131-136.
[14] Kozlovets, *Fenomen natsionalnoyi identychnosti, :*43.
[15] Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 103.
[16] Jenkins, *Social Identitity*, 105.

> A named human population occupying a historic territory or homeland and sharing common myths and memories; a mass public culture; a single economy; and common rights and duties for all members.[17]

Whereas "ethnie" according to him is:

> A named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of shared culture, a link with a homeland, and measure of solidarity, at least among the elites.[18]

The comparison of the two definitions demonstrates that the main differentiating premises of a nation are a common economy and legal system, which presupposes sovereignty unlike ethnie. The territory is also of greater importance for the representatives of the nation rather than ethnie, as the emotional and political bond between the people and the land become the mobilizing factor,[19] especially when threatened by the "other."

The problem of clear distinction between "nation" and "ethnie" is largely connected with the ethnic bases of nations or "ethnic cores", described by Smith as "dominant populations united by presumed ties of common descent and vernacular culture which in certain cases, gradually expanded to incorporate outlying regions and their ethnies as well as lower classes."[20] In line with this idea, a prominent British historian, Eric Hobsbawm, listed three dominant criteria that formed the basis for national identification in previous centuries: association of the new state with a common historical heritage, cultural traditions usually represented by national literature and language, applied in administration and the capacity of conquest (typical of empires).[21]

An American scholar, Liah Greenfeld, regards national identity as one's belonging to a people considered a nation. According to her, there are five important existential aspects of a nation: the desire of fellow-members to live together, common

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[17] Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in history: historiographical debates about ethnicity and nationalism* (Hanover: Historical Society of Israel, 2000), 3.

[18] Ibid.,65.

[19] Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and modernism: a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism* (London: Routledge, 2006), 83.

[20] Smith, *The Nation in history.*,71.

[21] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 37-38.

historical past, common duties and future plans, common actions, continuous residence in one country and common features also called "national character".[22]

Coming back to the problematic dichotomy of national and ethnic identity, it is worth mentioning that the challenge of differentiation was solved by previously mentioned identity theorist Anthony Smith. He assumes that national identity comprises cultural (ethnic) and political (civic) elements that may manifest in different proportions.[23] The author stresses the importance of the political component, which means that an attempt to mould national identity is not deprived of political colouring and thus brings political consequences on a domestic as well as international scale.[24]

Another type of identity that can overlap with ethnicity is regional identity. Local or regional identity is defined by Smith as connecting oneself to a certain space of territory. According to the researcher this type of identity is more typical in the pre-modern era and is easily fragmented into localities and settlements. This identity rarely leads to powerful and cohesive movements; moreover a region's borders and centres are unstable.[25]

The opposite understanding of regional identity is presented by Anssi Paasi who demonstrates that this type of belonging has recently actualized due to several probable reasons: globalization, nationalization by the state or "forced" individualization (being left to themselves, people opt for smaller categories rather than more inclusive ones). Regardless of cause, regional identity may be based on various factors: landscape, culture/ethnicity, dialect, economic characteristics, periphery vs. centre relations, historical background, stereotypical images and others. As with any other type of identity, belonging to a region requires association with a particular territory, symbolism and institutions.[26]

In all types of identity, history and memory seem to be necessary components for community self-determination. Historical memory and its relation to national identity is the focus of attention in the next part of this work.

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[22] Liah Greenfeld,, *Nationalism : five roads to modernity* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London : Harvard Univ. Press, 1992), 34-36.

[23] Smyth ,*The Nation in History*, 15-20.

[24] Smith, *National identity*, (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 99.

[25] Smith, *National identity*., 4.

[26] Anssi Paasi, "Region and place: regional identity in question," *Prog Hum Geogr* 27 (2003): 477-478, http://phg.sagepub.com/content/27/4/475.full.pdf (access 15 February 2011).

2. We are what we remember: Memory, history and the link to identity

In the opening article of the first issue of *Memory Studies* Henry Roediger and James Wertsch mention that contemporary memory studies is a multidisciplinary field that unites scholars from different disciplines. However, that also leads to the "bewildering diversity of uses of the term" which may result in "miscommunication and frustration"[27] It is hard to disagree with the authors that the word "memory" should not be used on its own, but specified by a modifier.[28] And even when narrowed "memory" remains one of the most vague terms. Speaking about the past and present of the term in a semi-serious manner, Endel Tulving managed to list 256 kinds of memory. In innovative works by Ebbinghaus (1885), Richard Semon (1904), Frederic Bartlett (1932) "memory was memory", but as the 20th century came to a close its polysemous and fuzzy meaning was revealed.[29] It is important to mention that memories in both theoretical and practical terms may have a complicated matrioshka-like structure.[30] Thus, to avoid any possible misconception the following chapters provide explanation of how the notion of memory is approached, distinguish between history and memory as well as give insight into memory policy and its instruments.

2.1. Memory and its types

As the research may be located on the intersection of two disciplines – political sciences and history – the word *memory* is applied according to the tendencies observed in the respective fields. Most specialists frame memory as a social phenomenon, which indicates that it is created by people, maintained by them and perishes when there are no supporters left. The review of the literature on memory studies shows that there is a general tendency to differentiate between two types of memory: individual and collective. All disciplines that find memory as the object of their research deal with both types in different proportions. Richard Lebow adds a third one that he calls institutional memory and defines as "efforts by political elites, their supporters and opponents, to construct meanings of the past and propagate them more widely or impose on other

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[27] Henry L. Roediger III and James V. Wertsch, „Creating a new discipline of memory studies**,**" *Memory Studies* 1 (2008): 9, http://mss.sagepub.com/content/1/1/9 (accessed 17 February 2011).
[28] Ibid.
[29] Endel Tulving, "Are There 256 Different Kinds of Memory?", in *The Foundations of Remembering: Essays in Honor of Henry L. Roediger, III* ed. J.S. Nairne, pp. 39–52. (New York: Psychology Press, 2007), 39-52, http://alicekim.ca/Roediger07_39.pdf (accessed on 12 February 2011).
[30] Ibid., 42.

members of society."[31] This subdivision, though justified, simplifies the complex structure of the notion and may be misleading. According to his approach, individual memory encompasses everything that individual people think they remember, whereas collective falls within the classical definition of Maurice Halbwachs who understands it as the memory attributed to the group[32].

It is not that easy however to differentiate between the two forms as individual memory includes more than just reflections from personal experience. Groups that a person is attached to influence individual memory, and the latter, in its turn, builds on to the shared memories of a group be that a family, a village, a generation, a national or transnational community. The sociologist and memory theoretician Maurice Halbswach believed that memories are formed as a result of social interactions with others and a person in complete isolation would not build up memories. A solitary hunter-gatherer isolated from human society would still build up memories of good hunting grounds, plants that are safe or poisonous to eat, etc. Memory has a function as an aid to daily survival and comfort quite apart from social considerations.

Unlike Lebow, Aleida Assmann regards types of memory not only in terms of its subjects and objects but also considers its durability, coherence, completeness, idiosyncrasy and originality (by this first-hand experience is meant). According to her, individual as well as social memories will be more fragmented, random, plastic and connected with primary experience than political and cultural memories. Social memory, to a great extent, means intergenerational memory which, while becoming transgenerational, transforms into long-lasting institutionalized political and cultural memories. With time these may be substituted by a myth which due to its weak or non-existing empirical bond lies beyond the mnemonic sphere.[33] The graphic representation of memory transition into myth was offered by Eric Langenbacher who believes that at least four memory types precede mythologization[34]:

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[31] Richard N. Lebow. "The Memory of Politics in Postwar Europe," in *The politics of memory in postwar Europe*, ed. Richard N. Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner, Claudio Fogu, (US: Duke University Press, 2006),1-39.
[32] Maurice Halbwachs. *On Collective memory*, ed. Lewis A. Coser, (Chicago and London:The University of Chicago Press, ,1992), 54.
[33] Eric Langenbacher, "Memory Regimes in Contemporary Germany" (paper prepared for ECPR Joint Sessions, Edinburgh, April 2003), 9.
[34] Ibid., 4.

Figure 1: Types of Memories according to Langenbacher

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I------------------------I----------------------I-----------------------I----------------------I
Communicative Generational      Collective              Cultural              Myth
Memory                          Memory         Memory                 Memory


Low                        Degree of Generality and Acceptance                    High
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Viewing memory within political framework, he views it as "a way of packaging and operationalizing shared history" that then becomes "an influential conditioning or causal force."[35] As political memories usually rely on a past that has no live witnesses, they will be located on the spectrum between collective and cultural forms - thus, having an average degree of generality and acceptance that makes them proper material for "memory editors".

The process of memory establishment may go in two directions: bottom-up and top-down.[36] The latter is indispensable for constructing political memories which, as it may be concluded from Assmann's ideas, program collective identities for expected political actions and may even lay the foundation of ideologies.[37] This type of memory is crucial for institutions and larger social groups to transform them into "imagined communities" (Anderson) as it performs the function of "glue" that holds people together and links individual and collective memories. Whatever type of group memory is discussed it always has the past (empirical or not) as its source, hence it originates from history. With the growing popularity of memory studies more and more researchers face the dilemma of memory versus history.

2.2. Historical memory vs. history

Memories about the collective past date back to the origin of human society. However the development of literacy gave birth to a written form of memory preservation: history, which with time transformed into an autonomous discipline. Though sharing one object, the past, historical memory and history are not interchangeable. Historical memory is understood to be the ability of people to keep in

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[35] Ibid.
[36] Aleida Assmann. "Memory, Individual and Collective," in *Contextual Political Analysis*, ed. Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 216.
[37] Ibid., 218.

their consciousness the main historical events of their past.[38] History, on the other hand, is expected to "reconstruct or portray past events, behaviours, thoughts, and institutions as they once existed."[39] However, neither history nor memory can preserve every detail about the past; moreover, it is not required and may even be dangerous.

Nevertheless, some researchers (Hobsbawm) view history as the reservoir of truth due to its critically distanced research and its unitary, universal and impersonal character; other critics postulate that since history crossed the borders of public sphere it started to approach the realm of memory.[40] The paradox of the continuum between the two was well expressed by Jan-Werner Müller, who said that "historians cannot discount memory but they cannot count on it either."[41]

Memory is very often based on historical facts; nevertheless, taking into account its selective character, historical memory may be adapted to fit into the framework of current needs. The process of identity building involves historical memory as well as history; and in case of the inconsistency and inaccuracy of memory policy historians may have the duty of explaining what never happened and "awaken us from the nightmare of memory."[42] Memory and history have a certain value-selective character which is dictated by the values and judgments that are fundamental for a society. They are the main criteria for choosing what must be preserved and how it should be framed.

The task of defining "historical memory" is not an easy one. There are several approaches to understanding the term. For Maurice Halbswachs it means traces of events that are crucial for the group's continuous identity through time and opposes history that reflects "the truth."[43] Pierre Nora agrees with Foucault's idea of history being a discourse of power. For him memory corrects the evil of history as it becomes

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[38] Yuliya Zernij, "State Memory Policy as a Factor of National Ukrainian Identity Establishment," (Cand. diss.,National Institute of Strategic Research, 2009)

[39] Berkhofer, Jr. Robert F. Beyond the Great Story. History as Text and Discourse. Harvard University Press, 1998.p. 28.

[40] Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social remembering*, 101-103.

[41] Jan-Werner Müller, "Introduction: the power of memory, the memory of power and the power over memory," in *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe. Studies in the Presence of the Past,* ed.Jan-Werner Müller, (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 23.

[42] Ibid.,

[43] Jeffrey K. Olick, "From Collective Memory tot he Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products," in *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. (Berlin, NY:Walter de Gruyter,, 2008), 156.

the history of those deprived of the right to history.[44] This approach may lead to several dangerous results: firstly, disregard of the official history and secondly, memory and history may interchange with a regime's alteration. Not being tolerant of either extreme position and supporting the existence of Müller's "shadowy area between memory and history,"[45] I would like to take a middle way and apply a solution to the memory-history dilemma that was once proposed by Erll. As both phenomena are artificially created they may be viewed as modes of remembering of the past, i.e. what is remembered and how it is remembered.[46]

A Ukrainian researcher Zernij declares that history is generally associated with durability, value neutrality and chronology of events. Based on research, analysis of original sources and retrospection, history is believed to be unbiased and just.[47] This can be disputed, as most histories even at present are used for ideological, educational or other purpose including nation-building. And in such a case they are in the first place the combinations of master narrations that are called to legitimize the nation through the myths of its origin, dynasty, resistance to others (victories and defeats), alongside with key personalities and events. This task is also assigned to memory, which turns into the core building block of common identity. Due to its social determination, historical memory contains the elements that dominate in a given historical period and which are crucial here and now. This indicates the dynamic character of historical memory, which in its turn triggers the dynamic character of collective identity.

Moreover, historical memory does not look for scientific veracity; hence it is not obliged to provide exact facts and explanations. Reflecting on the past, memory is constructed to serve the present and must cross the prism of perception of each individual. This is how the past becomes privatized. In order to achieve this, the nature of memory asks for simple methods - it looks for symbolic elements that through their standardized form will help "not to forget", will be easy to save and transmit.[48]

Though important for identity building, history lacks spheres of influence which are prerogative of historical memory. Owing to memory's emotional colouring "history

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[44] Andzhej Novak. "Istoryk na poli bytvy za pamiat," *Ukrayina Moderna. Pamiat jak pole zmahan,* (Kyiv: Krytyka. 2009) , 99.
[45] Müller, "Introduction: the power of memory," 24.
[46] Astrid Erll, "Cultural Memory Studies: an introduction," in *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe. Studies in the Presence of the Past,* ed.Jan-Werner Müller, (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 7.
[47] Zernij, "State Memory Policy"
[48] Ibid.

in general" becomes privatized and turns into "our history", i.e. transforms into memory that forms a basis for collective identity.[49]

2.3. A vicious circle of memory and identity

The link between memory and identity was in the focus of memory theorists' research. Among scholars their interdependence was discussed starting with John Locke, who presented the idea that remembering self in the past leads to necessary reconstructions of identity in the present.[50]

A contemporary researcher, Jörn Rüsen, emphasizes the threshold nature of identity enclosed by past and future that should be achieved by means of memory. When past experience and future expectations merge into the overall harmonious picture, the self is powered by continuity, consistency and inner coherence, a stable core that is protected in the face of changes. Thus, memory supports the temporal component of identity:

> It is only by this dimension of time that the location of the self becomes fixed as the cultural habitat of groups and individuals. In situating themselves, subjects draw borderlines to others and their otherness within the locality and temporality of a common world, in which they meet. [51]

Thus memories help people to place themselves in the world, providing a starting point, a feeling of continuity and rootedness. Understanding the past teaches us about the present and helps make choices for the future, but it also helps to identify oneself in space and time. This process is valid for individuals as well as for communities, which means that group memory influences group identity.

Moreover, it is supposed that the process is mutual and dynamic because it involves constant interaction of the two phenomena. According to Schmidt, identity is a "product of successful attribution"[52] and memories provide collectively shared schemata that limit the transformations of identity, determining the level of acceptability. On the other hand, changes in identity initiate reviews of the collective memory frames and

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[49] Assmann. "Memory, Individual and Collective," 216.
[50] Erll, "Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction," 6.
[51] Jörn Rüsen. "How to make sense of the past – salient issues of Metahistory," *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, Vol. 3, no. 1, (July 2007), p.180-181.
[52] Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance : A Constructivist Approach," in *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. (Berlin, NY:Walter de Gruyter,, 2008), 193.

restructure them after current needs. This intimate link was well phrased by Langenbacher: "History through collective memory influences present values, which in turn, reinforce and re-package memory within the limits of the historical record."[53].As is generally known, interpretation of the past takes place in the present, which settles the rules of deconstruction.

Jan Assman rightfully calls memory "knowledge with an identity index" as the awareness of the past transforms into memory when related to identity or in other words when reminiscences are selected to match the values of identity. Unlike knowledge, which tends to be generalized and standardized, memory has smaller distribution due to its value-relevancy.[54]

As it was shown, the link between memory and identity has complicated and intertwined nature. This explains why memories so often become the object of manipulations effectively used by elites to manage the collective identity(s) of the masses, as well as to justify political decisions.

3. Memory as an instrument of state policy

While researching the establishment of collective identity and collective memory scholars paid attention to the involvement of power and politics in this process. They started to approach memory as a means of state policy that is used or abused in the form of commemorations for pure political aims. Thus, as Anastasia Konyk remarked, in the historical works on the problems of historical memory, the topic memory policy is one of the most developed, examining political projects aimed at moulding and strengthening certain values and knowledge about the past with a specific social and political purpose.[55]

3.1. Memory policy as a means of state influence

Generated from the definitions proposed by Zernij and de Brito, memory policy means a complex of the representations (narrations, commemorative practices) that are oriented toward the construction of common memory about the past of a community. The actors of this policy may be official bodies that have direct power: governments, political parties, leaders of the institutions and mass media as well as unofficial bodies

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[53] Langenbacher, "Memory Regimes in Contemporary Germany," 5.
[54] Assmann, Jan. Communicative and Cultural Memory. P. 113-114.
[55] Anastasiya Konyk "'Istorychna pamyat' ta 'polityka pamyati' v epokhu mediakultury," *Visnyk Lviv University. Ser.Journ*. Is. 32. (2009.) P. 153–163. P. 157.

coming from within a society: churches, NGOs or groups of individuals. However, whenever the word policy or politics is mentioned the power is implied and the first group of actors is more likely to take active positions as memory-builders. This explains why some scholars do not differentiate between official or state-led memory policy and memory policy in general.[56] This is also due to the fact that practical realization of memory policy is tightly connected to the "business of remembering,"[57] i.e. financial and legal sides of the memory-construction process. Thus, in most cases bottom-up initiatives turn into actions after being approved by the ruling top. For governing elites control of collective memory is a means for generating desired behavior in a group and in every individual. This process was described by Lebow:

> Individual memories are shaped through interaction with other people and reflect and often reinforce dominant discourses of society. Those discourses and their contents, in turn, are generally created by elites and counter-elites to justify themselves and to advance their political, economic and social goal. Top-down and bottom up processes at once. In both directions and at every level, the construction of memory is infused by politics. Memories and the policy lessons they generate or sustain shape our responses to the present.[58]

The idea proves that the nature of memory policy, meaning the methods and instruments of constructing collective memory, is determined by the political regime. In this respect, Langenbacher observes the reverse influence of the degree of power on the heterogeneity of memory models in a community. Hence, higher degrees of dominance will result in greater unanimity and homogeneity of collective memory with people's wider and deeper attachment to it.[59]

Ideally, in a democratic society "lessons" from the past must evolve from debates among the public, ruling elites and the "critical community" interested in political issues. Shifts of balance give rise to counter-memories or alternative models which, if used wisely by the opposition, may lead to the overturn of the regime. Every power should treat memory policy prudently as there is not enough research so far into the actual affect memory policy would have on a small scale. In this respect Misztal agrees with Osiel that disregarding any group's memory may lead to discreditation of

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[56] See for example definitions by Ukrainian scholars Zernij and Konyk.
[57] Jay Winter, "Sites of Memory and the Shadow of War," in *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.*,ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, (Berlin, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 65.
[58] Lebow. "The Memory of Politics ," 5.
[59] Langenbacher, "Memory Regimes in Contemporary Germany," 11.

the leaders. People tend to view accounts about the past through their own value system and benchmark with individual memories, taking what *they* remember as a true story.[60] Moreover, history has proved that violent destruction of memories may give rise to "noisy silence,"[61] the metaphor used by Charlotte Linde to describe a past that is not saliently presented but remains understood and secretly discussed by members of a group. An example of this phenomenon may be the circulation of binary discourses in Soviet countries, where ideology silenced the events but they were preserved by underground movements.

Power gives access to collective memories, but on the other hand, power belongs to those who know how to manage memories[62] and exploit them in order to legitimize present actions and decisions. The policy employed in memory control moves along two vectors: "socially organized forgetting" or "censorship" and "socially organized remembering" or "celebration."[63] Both methods are often used for deliberate invention of traditions, as rituals ensure long-term memories and durable effect.

According to Eric Hobsbawm, an invented tradition means "a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past."[64] One of the main tasks of traditions is to combine history with the modern age in this way showing "continuity with a suitable historic past" amidst constant change in everyday life. Hobsbawm stresses that nation building demonstrates the most explicit invention of tradition, due to the fact that if the memories were not preserved by populations they were made for them. Traditions, whether existing or invented, are invariants as the history that stands behind them requires certain procedures which are often characterized by repetition. As a rule (re)-invented traditions follow rapid transformation of society, collapse of social patterns and the loss of a person's or institution's authority.[65] This may be exemplified by the "tradition boom" in post-Soviet countries which is still relevant to some of them.

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[60] Ibid., 10.
[61] Charlotte Linde. *Working the Past. Narrative and institutional Memory*, (Oxfors University Press, 2009), 197.
[62] Le Goff, Histoire et mémoire   (Paris: Gallimard, 1988), 109.
[63] Misztal, *Theories of Social remembering*, 56.
[64] Erik Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.
[65] Ibid., 1-14.

3.2. The power of mass media

The efforts of memory reformers are ineffective if they do not reach their target audience, the masses. However, there is a mediator that can in one or another form arrive at every household in a short time. By this I imply the mass media that occupy a special place in the life of a modern person. Media has become such an integral part of everyone that some researchers refer to modern society as a "media society".

These days media is one of the main agents of human socialization. Whether printed (newspapers and magazines) or electronic (radio, television, the Internet), mass media sell us products that in their turn considerably influence our values, norms, beliefs and finally identity (individual or collective). Speaking in line with Anderson's theory of imagined communities[66], the printing press was substituted by radio, television and finally the Internet which leads to wider globalization and enlarged the borders of the community.

As highlighted by Volodymyr Kulyk, the size of its audience and the intensive level of interaction endow mass media with the symbolic power or ideological influence that allows shaping recipients' worldview.[67] Thus, the role of media in a democratic society is two-sided, called to link the governors and the governed: the rulers rely on media to communicate their message (especially before the elections) and it is media that forms their image for the masses who do not have the possibility of acquiring such knowledge from direct experience; on the other hand, citizens expect to be updated with unbiased information from multiple viewpoints, and may state their political position (e.g., participating in political talk-shows) or express criticism.

In an attempt to grasp the diverse functions of media products, Norman Fairclough mentions that mass media may entertain people, support the level of social and political knowledge, bring aesthetic delight and through all this may transform cultural values and identities which they reflect and create.[68] Identity-building appears among the top three factors of mass media ideological influence indicated by Kulyk (the other two being demonstration of objectivity and status quo). Media recreate the idea about a community and about belonging to it common to most members of the audience

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[66] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Verso: London, 1991), 36-46.
[67] Volodymyr Kulyk. *Dyskurs ukrayinskyh mediy: identychnosti, ideolohiyi, vladni stosunky* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2010), 85.
[68] Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1995), 47-48.

and additionally they largely foist upon the population a positive perception of this belonging. Through simple informing and entertainment, media products support not radical but a so-called 'commonplace' nationalism, and widely broadcast national rituals also support the feeling of belonging, creating a shared experience for the whole community simultaneously.

Researchers mention that the sense of community is to a great extent strengthened by the organization of information (usually local precedes global), by the language and linguistic means, which, for example in the word "we", are so ambivalent as to increase the frame of identity to the whole nation. Frequently media discourse offers the people a chance to identify with the nation; however, in the age of globalization and Americanization of media, this identification might be dubious, discontinuous and unstable.[69] Opposing this, some scholars believe that informational globalization underpins the importance of historical memory as one of the defending instruments of national unity.[70] Nevertheless, even if the task of media in legitimizing the nation declines, it still preserves its role as the creator of "master narrations" and images about the past,[71] thus becoming one of the main instruments of official as well as unofficial memory policy.

3.3. Education and commemoration as the instruments of memory policy

In his study *On Collective Memory* Maurice Halbwachs states that "if a truth is to be settled in the memory of a group it needs to be presented in the concrete form of an event, of a personality, or of a locality."[72] However these forms are empty outside context, which means they need to be accompanied by an interpretation which the state does via two systems: the national educational system and a national ritual system within which memories are institutionalized.[73]

In order to see how significant the role of these systems is, the following text researches the topics of schoolbooks and commemorations. As study manuals are usually approved by state, they may be considered the means of indirect propaganda of the official memory canon. Commemorations, on the other hand, are invented traditions,

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[69] Kulyk, *Dyskurs ukrayinskyh mediy*, 133-142.
[70] Konyk, "'Istorychna pamyat' ta 'polityka pamyati' v epokhu mediakultury," 161.
[71] Misztal, *Theories of Social remembering,* 48.
[72] Halbwachs, *On Collective memor,* 200.
[73] Misztal, *Theories of Social remembering*, 56.

that join people through common symbols and practices. These characteristics of schoolbooks and rituals are to be discussed.

3.3.1. The important role of history schoolbooks for nation-building

School textbooks, especially in national literature, language and history, are important means of promoting ideas of national identity by means of didactic methods. Collective vision of the community about shared past strengthens not in the process of researching history but as a result of just "knowing it", moreover the basis of such knowledge is formed first of all at school. Historical memory is the core of national identity, as owing to the common vision of past, more or less coherent within the country, people associate with victories and defeats of previous generations, common heroes, sacred places and cultural achievements. The responsibility for historic memory of a person relies first of all on the history taught at school.

While underlining the deficit of history schoolbook analysis, Jörn Rüsen justifies the necessity of such research in several ways. First, history schoolbooks belong to one of the main channels of transmitting new historical knowledge to the broader public, as without regular update, history may come into clash with the needs of society. Secondly, as was mentioned earlier, memory, hence historical knowledge, performs the function of social orientation. Finally, Rüsen states that lessons of history are "important authorities of political education."[74] The two final aspects go in line with the process of psychosocial identification (Erikson) that a person faces in adolescence (12-19) and that involves the choice of personal ideologies. In this period historical competence, if used correctly, helps the recipient to identify personally and socially with respect to time dimensions, through realization of the past, its connection with the present and future perspectives. Schools predominantly teach about national histories to provide the "imagined community" with "a functional past, demonstrating the continuity of the nation through particular institutions, symbols, practices of resistance, or cultural, religious, and ethnic characteristics attributed to people."[75] Historical narrations lay out the main principles of subjects' ethnic/national group affiliation, which explains the engagement of state memory policy in national education and school history in particular.

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[74] Jörn Rüsen. *Historisches Lernen: Grundlagen und Paradigmen*, (Köln: Böhlau, 1994), 156-157.
[75] Stefan Berger. "Writing National Histories in Europe: Reflections on the Pasts, Presents, and Futures of a Tradition," in *Conflicting Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger, (Berghahn Books, 2007), 55.

3.3.2. Mnemonic products and practices used for collective remembering

National ritual systems involve various 'mnemonic products and practices' (Jeffrey Olick) that favour the invention or strengthening of collective remembering. Following the author of the term, products will include material objects like books, images, monuments, presentations, speeches and surveys, whereas the practices will involve common participation or co-experience of an event. These may be presented as commemorations, celebrations, regret, acknowledgement or reminiscence.[76]

The classification suggested by Olick overlooks the close link between practices and products, as for example commemorations, which usually are accompanied by speeches, presentations and concerts that are performed in or near a special symbolic place and promoted by visual means. As noted by Schmidt, remembering requires motives and occasions which are not effective without the participation of the community.[77] As events, monuments and pictures are only mediators of memory, the process of remembering shapes collective memory when shared (really or virtually) by the group.

As underscored by Misztal, collective memory encompasses both a commonly shared past as well as a collectively commemorated past.[78] Some scholars even understand modern times to be an "age of commemoration" that compels us to remember or to forget (Misztal, Nora). Supporting Misztal's argument that in today's democratic, diversified and globalized society control of public memory poses a challenge, one must admit that Hobsbawm's theory of inventing traditions is still relevant when official (re)construction of memory in post-totalitarian societies is discussed. In the core of this constructivist theory lies an idea about a "unitary and coherent version of the past" which can be created to "replace a lost sense of community."[79] A sense of belonging is, according to Hobsbawm, achieved by means of "emotionally and symbolically charged signs"[80] which in its turn presupposes that the nation acquires similar views and values.

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[76] Jeffrey, Olick, "From Collective Memory tot he Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products," 158.
[77] Siegfried Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance : A Constructivist Approach," 196.
[78] Misztal, *Theories of Social remembering* 13.
[79] , Ibid., 127.
[80] Hobsbawm. P. 11.

Within the scope of Pierre Nora's theory, mnemonic signs are called realms of memory and may fall within topographic (library, museum), monumental (architecture, cemetery, monument), symbolic (commemoration, emblem) or functional (textbooks, institutions) groups. Instruments of remembering combine the processes of decontextualization and recontextualization of a past event in modernity, which results in privatization of the past, making personal what used to exist on a general level.[81] Ironically this process, at the same time, opposes the so-called "democratization" of the past by means of commemorative practices, in a sense that symbolism grants everyone the possibility to experience belonging to one nation with a common history. It may be rephrased as "ruled democratization," as the right to choose what to remember, what to forget and in which format is most often imposed top-down.

3.4. Forgetting an integral form of memory

There is a danger of memory being narrowed to remembering only, without paying enough attention to its counterpart – forgetting. Forgetting and remembering are the two processes of memory. Society tends to place them on the opposite ends of a spectrum and attach negative connotations to forgetting; there are memory scholars though, who consider things differently. Jan Assman's observation values forgetting above remembering as common identity is supported not so much by what people choose to remember but by what they agree to forget.[82] Paul Connerton mentions that there exist at least seven types of forgetting: [83]

repressive erasure – is implied to deny or to cause abrupt historical changes and is the result of memory policy providers' decision;

prescriptive forgetting – is characterized by the previous agreement between subject and objects of memory policy and it can be publicly acknowledged;

structural amnesia – presupposes remembering only socially important information;

annulment – type of forgetting resulting from information excess;

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[81] Ankersmith, Franklin, "Postmodernistska 'pryvatyzatsiya' mynuloho," *Ukrayina Moderna. Pamiat jak pole zmahan*, (Kyiv: Krytyka. 2009) ,261.
[82] Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. (Berlin, NY:Walter de Gruyter,, 2008), 113.
[83] Paul Connerton, *"Seven types of forgetting," Memory Studies1* (2008), 159-71 http://mss.sagepub.com/content/1/1/59..(accessed 13 January 2011).

planned obsolescence – results from the increased velocity of modern changes and the necessity to adapt to it by restructuring memory and abandoning the memories which are insufficient;

humiliated silence – forgetting that is caused by a shame which triggers a desire to erase the unpleasant memories;

As for the seventh type - *forgetting, which is constitutive in the formation of a new identity,* there are doubts whether it may be considered an equitable unit of typology. If remembering entails changes in identity, then each type of forgetting will also call for an identity reshuffle. Being a part of memory policy, all types of forgetting may be utilized by the state for identity construction; however, only the first two can be fully controlled.

Another typology of memory is based on the level of involvement or how active memory policy subjects and objects are. According to Assmann, active forgetting and remembering is an intentional act, whereas passive she compares with "non-intentional acts such as losing, hiding, dispersing, neglecting, abandoning."[84] Paul Ricoeur stresses the existence of a middle type that he names "fuite" i.e. forgetting by avoidance, by a "wanting-not-to-know"[85] which actualizes when "higher powers take over the narration and impose a canonical narrative by means of intimidation or seduction, fear or flattery" and when the social actors are deprived of "their original power to recount their actions themselves."[86]

Without contradicting the existence of different forms of forgetting and their possible involvement in official memory policy, one can agree with Assmann that in the aftermath of historical traumas "mutual forgetting" changed into "mutual remembering" that is irreplaceable for further peaceful relationships.[87] Being remembered or forgotten, the past presupposes moral responsibility which cannot be avoided by any memory policy.

3.5. Power and the ethics of memory

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[84] Aleida, Assmann, "Canon and Archive," in *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. (Berlin, NY: Walter de Gruyter, ,2008), 98.
[85] Ricoeur, Paul. P.448-449.
[86] Ibid., p. 448.
[87] Aleida Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," 219.

As shown in this chapter, identity and memory continue to preserve their reputation as vague notions comprising various elements and existing on multiple levels. Such character leaves space for different interpretations in the field of academia and to substitution of meanings in politics.

Identification is one of the most important features of every human being and so is the memory that not only links an individual and a group, but also brings order to time, linking past, present and future. Neither identity nor memory exist beyond the society, thus they are crucial for a person to acquire the feeling of belonging, which simultaneously draws the line between us and the other. Memory helps to reinterpret life, to find balance between old and new and to adapt one's identity to the current situation. This explains why memory revision and the search for new meanings usually accompany generational shifts or regime change.

Shared memories and the common identity of the nation are decisive for consolidation of the country and for its harmonious development in the future. However, taking into account that memories and identities on the level of the state are often constructed or even imposed, the modern scientific community pays more and more attention to ethical aspects connected with memory and identity.

Following this tendency, it is reasonable to conclude the chapter with the questions of ethics, which cannot be omitted in the context of power and dominance over collective memory and identity. Who has the right to use, abuse and change the memories of a community? To what extent should memories be manipulated? And which instruments may be applied for that? Unfortunately these and other ethical questions often raised in current memory studies are still unanswered. Researchers in the field agree that remembering and forgetting are equally important but there exist no instruments to measure the proportion of both. The risk of memory being used by the elites for satisfying their personal needs and not for the benefit of the state is always present. Historical knowledge is first of all used for justifying the position of the ones in power. Responsible leaders go further as they utilize memory policy to consolidate the society around common traditions, history, heroes or traumas; irresponsible ones impose their own policy, disregarding its positive or harmful consequences. Their short-term vision may be compared with Pompadour's psychology[88] for they perceive

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[88] Reference to the famous phrase by Madame de Pompadour: "After us, the deluge."

historical knowledge as a toy to play with and manipulate at will. The history of the 20th century has shown how disruptive the results of memory and identity manipulations may be and how long and painful the recovery process is.

Although memory policy is internal and is closely connected with the target community, it is also influenced by external circumstances. When speaking about state memories Lebow distinguishes three types of external factors: international – other countries; transnational – NGOs, religious and professional groups; and cross-national – discussions in foreign media or the opinions of world travelers.[89] He exemplifies external influences on national memory policy by the Polish case of a convent being built in Auschwitz and the strong objection of the world and Jewish communities to it.[90]

The search for truth and history as part of a country's identification was observed on a grand scale in the post-totalitarian states. Rediscovering history and coming to terms with the past was accompanied by truth commissions, trials, amnesties, invention of institutions of memory and remembering that we're called to "clean" history. The search for truth reached discussions on a transnational level, especially in the context of big communities that unite members with contested memories (the EU, Council of Europe) While trying to overcome the discrepancies between its states connected with controversies in national histories, a common approach to history teaching was introduced. Hopefully, further changes in attitudes to memory and history will finally prove the Latin saying that "historia magistra vitae."

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[89] Richard N. Lebow, "The Memory of Politics in Postwar Europe," 25-26.
[90] See also: Huener, Jonathan. Auschwitz, Poland and the politics of commemoration, 1945 - 1979 / Jonathan Huener, Athens : Ohio Univ. Press, 2003.

3 UKRAINIAN MEMORY AND IDENTITY: NATIONAL AT THE COST OF REGIONAL

The discussions of identity and memory in Ukrainian context often focus on the "division of Ukrainian society", "simultaneous orientation on self-excluding values", "clash of two cultures, of two models of social (political, economic and linguistic) behaviours."[91] The history of the modern country gives us no reason to disagree that years of stateless existence in the composition of other - often rival - states would influence its collective identity in the future. Relying on statistical data, Ukrainian publicist Mykola Riabchuk describes what he calls "post-soviet schizophrenia" which is reflected by indecisiveness or simultaneous support of opposite ideas. For example, in a 1996 survey, 13% supported capitalism, 20% socialism, 25% did not support anyone, 22% could not decide and 18% supported both provided there is no conflict.[92] Thus, the present disorientation of society leads to ambivalence and a conflict phobia which may be used for manipulation and result in multiple identifications.

Yet, multiplicity of identities is double-sided and in a democratic world there is a tendency toward peaceful coexistence in diversity for the common benefit; the most conspicuous example so far is India or the EU. Nevertheless, the question of collective identity of the citizens of one state cannot be avoided, especially when speaking of the post-Soviet countries, mainly Ukraine. Rogers Brubaker calls them nationalizing states, meaning that the state is in transition to a nation-state, which is achieved by promoting the language, culture, developing economy or political influence of the "nominally state-bearing nation."[93]

Very often national identity is incorporated into the national idea, which is a kind of business card of a state through which a country is accepted by other communities in the world. On the other hand, not only does it shape the strategy of the country but it also serves as a roadmap for its citizens, explaining the values, national interests, aims and tasks for tomorrow. However, every future originates from the past, and memory of the past builds logical links with former generations and allows a person to feel a sense of belonging to a greater entity.

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[91] Mykola Riabchuk. "Buttia 'Pomizh': paradoksy suspilnoyi ambivalentnosti," http://exlibris.org.ua/riabczuk/r17.html (accessed 5 January 2011).

[92] Mykola Riabchuk. *Ukrayina Moderna. Pamiat jak pole zmahan*, (Kyiv: Krytyka. 2009), 187.

[93] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism reframed : nationhood and the national question in the New Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), 63.

The task of this chapter is to show the historical sources of regional, linguistic, political and other identities in Ukraine. What is meant by the Ukrainian "national idea" and which principles it was founded on in the first years of independence will also be discussed.

3.1 Multiplicity of identities in Ukraine

There is a tendency in local and, even more often in foreign, media to explain the discrepancies in Ukraine and political dissonance as the result of the intra-state regional differences based on the West-East division. In addition, they present the East-West border as a strict geographical parameter – the Dnieper River. The majority of contested topics in the country, such as geopolitical orientation, attitude to state authority, religion, "left" and "right" political preferences, language and history are viewed through this simplistic prism. Recently, more and more researchers object to this simplistic view of the country as overly generalized and needlessly politicized, which only paves the way to new stereotypes about "the nationalistic Ukrainian west" and "the communist Russian east" - this results in greater separatism and negative relations among the representatives of the regions as well as misconception among the world community. The global community then tends to see east-west opposition as the main or sole reason for identity conflicts, a stumbling block on the way to a common national identity.

Nevertheless, the identity issue in Ukraine is not as simple as the media and politicians want it to be. The existence of regional and local ethnic identities in Ukraine is as widespread as in any other European country, but they are multileveled, overlapping and without rigid boundaries. Among the most significant factors of identity stratification in Ukraine are: language, political preferences, the economic character of the area and the ethnic (cultural) background which is tightly connected to history. It is believed that identity, whether individual or collective, is rooted in mentality; thus also in the archetypes inherited across generations. Hence diversity to a great extent originates from the history of Ukraine.

3.1.1   Historical causes of modern Ukrainian mentalities

Before the 14th century.

The territory of modern Ukraine experienced clashes of civilizations already before our era. These were first Scythian and other ancient tribes, followed by Slavic coexistence with the Khazar Empire, and the Golden Horde's dominance over a decayed Kievan Rus'. From the 13th -15th century western and northern territories belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, southern territories were part of the Moldavian Kingdom and later the Ottoman Empire, Transcarpathia belonged to Hungary and Crimea fell under the sway of first Italian city-states such as Genoa and Venice before its conquest by the Ottoman Empire. Divided and stateless, Ukrainian parts of a formerly strong Kievan Rus' came under different political, economic, cultural and religious influences which were mostly inequitable and discriminating, usually in the form of foreign ideologies and a different world view.[94]

14th -18th century.

From the 14th – 18th century Ukraine was forming its identity in a whirlpool of deep social opposition that resulted in a national revolution. The main motive was connected with the idea of liberation of the native occupied territories. Nahorna writes that to live in Ukraine meant to fight constantly and the emergence of Cossacks was the logical reaction of the society. For them freedom was the highest value and the world was divided into us (fellows) and them (different types of occupants).[95] Ukrainian scholar M. Popovych assumes that unlike in other European countries the Ukrainian path from corporate collectivist ethics to individual culture was not through Renaissance individualism or Protestant ethics but through Cossack independence and bravery.[96] And according to political and cultural figure Vyacheslav Lypynskyi, Ukrainian Cossacks launched the "Ukrainian statehood and nation" due to new social stratification, political, military and legal institutes as a result of the revolution.[97]

However, Poland did not want to be ejected from "its" land: the fight over Ukrainian territories involved several countries and finished with more division than

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[94] Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist: ukrayinskyi kontekst,* 140-145.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Popovych. "Ukrayinskyi kshtalt patriotyzmu," *Nova Polshcha*, (Warsaw, 2005), 31-32.
[97] Vyacheslav Lypynskyi, *Ukrayina na perelomi 1657-1659.* (Kyiv, 1997), 59-60.

before. Dnieper became a dividing line between spheres of influence, between Latin Catholicism and Byzantine Orthodoxy. According to international agreements the core of Ukraine, Kyiv region, was to stay unpopulated, which forced migration into the eastern and southern parts of Ukraine previously under Russian and Turkish influence and this affected the mentality and culture of the new migrants.

As poli-feudatory dependence was common in that time in international relations, Cossack elites were constantly looking for a beneficial suzerain. Ultimately they decided to be a protectorate of the expanding Muscovite Russia, which viewed it as a chance to ensure the "collection of Old Rus' territories" and destroyed Cossack autonomy. Hence, in the 17th century the Right-Bank of the Dnieper River territories were controlled by Poland while the Left-Bank was under the "protectorate" of the new Russian state. However, after Poland's 18th century partitions most of Ukraine except the Right-Bank territories belonged to Russia. After becoming the Empire's province, Ukraine lost its 17th century cultural and religious importance and by the end of the 18th century full incorporation into Russia settled its "ambiguous political status."[98]

After the prohibition of Sich, the territories formerly known as a "Wild Field" transformed into a "migration reserve" as Russia encouraged settlements of Ukrainians as well as other nationalities (Greeks, Serbs, Germans) there. In such a way, cleaned of Cossacks, the southeast of modern Ukraine became a Russian imperial "melting pot".[99]

In general, the identity of people that found themselves under the rule of the Russian Empire was influenced by other factors than those under Poland and its monarchy. Social status was stronger than national aspirations and together with cultural diffusion, when Ukrainian culture was actively annexed by Russians, the takeover of the two cultures was not viewed as abnormal.[100] The desires of Ukrainian elites to acquire the rights of the Russian gentry accelerated the assimilation and the transformation of free Cossacks into passive conformists with a complex of inferiority and "small-Russian" feeling. As "Ukrainian-ness" was not defined by social status and the Ukrainian language was marginalized to the sphere of rural dialects, the ethnic factor had no chance to become crucial for self-identification.

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[98] Alexander Motyl, and Krawchenko, Bohdan. "Ukraine: from empire to statehood," in *New states, new politics : building the post-Soviet nations*, ed. Ian Bremmer, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), 237.
[99] Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist: ukrayinskyi kontekst,* 144-145.
[100] Ibid.

The far-western regions did not experience Cossack influence and war was not viewed as a lifestyle there. Their identity was formed as a result of reaction to the Polonization policy by Polish rulers and later by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Due to the unbalanced policy of the Polish administration, the ethnic element of identification became decisive, followed by cultural parameters, especially language. Researchers provide two influential factors of that time: the emergence of radical political culture based on borrowed Western-European models, and a Russophile myth based on a "utopian vision of Russia as an All-Slavic messiah of cultural and religious unity"[101] which was shattered in the First World War and resulted in Russophobia.

Nahorna considers religiosity and high dignity in the West Ukrainian identity as the remnants of Polish influence. In Galicia ethnicity was fundamental for future life and switching into another language or changing religion were viewed as treason, whereas the identity of another West-Ukrainian territory Naddniprianshchyna (areas on the both sides of Dnieper River), was built on an "ethnic coalition between Ukrainians and Russians." This territory also felt strong influence from Polish people, who in the 19th century still considered the territories as their possessions even though its possessions were subsumed in the Prussian, Austrian and Russian empires. Moreover, the region was also famous for a high concentration of Jews, sometimes up to 70-80 percent. The Tsarist Pale of Settlement was responsible for first encouraging, then limiting, the settlement of the Empire's Jews to this circumscribed area.

The western territories of Ukraine are more diverse, as they incorporate the northern Volyn region that was not a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; Bukovina, which unlike Galicia was a multicultural, ethnically tolerant and successful combination of German, Jewish and Romanian cultures; and the Transcarpathian region, whose native inhabitants were influenced during a long Hungarian domination.

Galicia should be mentioned separately as the region with the most marked identity, despite the fact that after World War I the political power in the region was to change eight times. Galicia became part of the myth of the "return to Europe", to "good old grandma Austria."[102]

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[101] Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Dylemy ukrayinskoho naciotvorennia abo shche raz pro stare vyno v novyh mikhah," *Strasti za natsionalizmom*, (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2004), 198.

[102] "At the times of granny Austria" (za babtsi Avstriyi) – the phrase is often used in Galicia nowadays showing the nostalgia for good times.

The 19th century and after.

With the advent of the industrial revolution the difference between rural and urban identities in Ukraine deepened. Originally a mostly-peasant Ukrainian people preferred moving to unsettled territories rather than joining workers at the newly built factories in the towns. The transformation of a peasant into a worker and his severance from the land resulted in paternalistic patterns as the well-being of the employees fully depended on state policy and employers. Because of peasant unwillingness and the Empire's migration policy, the industrial work force in Ukraine largely consisted of non-Ukrainian (predominantly Russian) workers, which changed the character of the cities.[103]

Later, even greater internationalization was caused by the Soviet rotation policy of different nationalities from the USSR. Religion was substituted by atheism; culture was simplified to be understandable to "masses", everything exceeding the limits was labeled "bourgeois" and destroyed. The Soviet system brought up a whole generation who did not experience any other kind of life and who were used to live "as everybody", as "rivets in a system." In Soviet ideology nationality as a pivot of identity was substituted by class, but on the other hand, trying to involve rural territories, it was leading a so called "multinational policy" and encouraging the national development of non-Russian peoples. In Ukraine it led to the "Russian questions" as Russians were labeled a "minority" in Ukraine for the first time in history.[104]

While Soviet influence was spreading in eastern Ukraine, its western part, mainly Galicia, was engrossed by the feeling of social injustice as it was the only Eastern-European nation that could not defend its independence. Enforced by fierce Polish rule in the region, it resulted in radical and sometimes xenophobic activity in defence of national values. After the incorporation of western Ukraine in the USSR, the attempts to impose a non-ethnic Soviet identity failed which was indicated by the national revival in the 1980s.[105]

Another extreme sample of nationalism may be observed in Crimea. The peninsula became a part of Ukraine in 1954, but acquired autonomy in 1991. The region lives in a state of latent conflict between two identities: Russian and Tatar. At the end of

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[103] Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist: ukrayinskyi kontekst,* 164-169.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Strasti po Lvovu," *Strasti za natsionalizmom*, (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2004), 233-235.

the 19th century the majority of the population on the peninsula was Russian (50%), followed by Tatars (25%).[106] However, the proportion changed tremendously after the Soviet cleansing of Tatars in 1944. The majority of Crimea population during Soviet times were Russians, followed by Ukrainians, however after the Independence, the number of Russians and Ukrainians started to decreas, whilst the percent of Crimea Tatars was steadily increasing.[107]

As discussed, due to different historical realities the mentalities of various parts of Ukraine are based on different factors; for example, ethnic belonging in the West and social class in the East. In the Soviet era ethnic Ukrainian territories were united for the first time in many centuries, the population of the country became more homogenous, primarily due to Polish and Jewish emigration after the war. In war years there was the slight matter of the Holocaust, where Einsatzgruppe roved through the occupied USSR shooting roughly 1.1 million Jews, many Ukrainian, at places like Baby Yar. This, combined with post-war Soviet anti-Jewish policy and the active Holocaust collaboration of many Ukrainians, led to a mass exodus to America, Israel and the west in the immediate post-war years. However, despite being united as part of a Soviet project into one country, and experiencing the influence of Soviet policy's orientation toward its Moscow center, the tendency to local and regional identification is very high in Ukraine, though the composition of regions changes with regard to the key factor of identification.

3.1.2   Linguistic identities

Generally language serves as one of the most evident signs for identification. However, in Ukraine linguistic preference may be disconnected from any other type of identity. By "language issue", which is often raised in the context of national identity, we mean of course the discussion about the status of the Russian language in Ukraine. It is believed[108] that the current linguistic situation in Ukraine is the result of anti-Ukrainian policies instituted after 1654 by the Russian Empire.

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[106] Kuzio, Taras. *Ukraine: state and nation building,* (London, NY:Routledge, 1998), 106.
[107] Ibid., 104-105.
[108] Yurij Shapoval, "Istorychni peredumovy I chynnyky vynyknennia movnoho pytannia v Ukrayini," *Movna sytuacija v Ukrayini: mizh konfliktom I konsensuso,*. (Kyiv:IPIED im. I.F.Kurasa, 2008),12.

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As explained in one of the later Russian orders, that separate language would become a reason for the autonomy of the so-called "Small Russia".[109] The situation changed in 1917 for the short period of national independence but after the Sovietization of Ukraine in 1922, linguistic policy varied from strict prohibition to controlled usage while Russian, with its status as a language of international communication in USSR substantially prevailed in all spheres.[110] This short historical digression may explain why the Ukrainian language has a strong connotation with national revival and national identity. That is why, according to the Ukrainian Constitution, Ukrainian is the only official state language, with Russian and other languages having a minority status.

However, this corresponds to a western vision - as already discussed, for western Ukraine the Ukrainian language was bonded with ethnicity and served as a defence during the Austrian and Polish reigns. On the territories that belonged to Russia, and later to the USSR, average Ukrainians (intelligent elites excluded) did not experience discrimination and perceived language simply as a means of communication, not ethnic identification. In the course of history cultural similarity started to weigh more than ethnic;[111] hence those brought up under the sway of Russian culture opt for it rather than their unknown ethnic roots. Despite the fact that popular discourse about "two Ukraines" is mainly grounded on Russian-Ukrainian opposition one cannot agree that it proves the existence of two regional identities. As noted by Viktor Stepanenko, Ukraine has chosen the European model of "one state – one culture – one nation", which may however be unproductive for its multiethnic society[112] as the overlapping of ethnic and linguistic spaces which is so typical for Europe is not reflected in Ukraine.[113]

In the 2001 census almost 78% of the population declared that they were Ukrainians, and 17% that they were Russians,[114] with the majority of the self-labeled Russians inhabiting the eastern and southern parts of the country. However, almost 15% of Ukrainians consider Russian their native language.[115] Nevertheless, only 58,5% of

[109] Ivan Ilyenko, *V pazurah dvohlavoho. Ukrayinstvo pid tsarskym hnitom(1654-1917)*, (Kyiv, 1998), 77.
[110] Shapoval, "Istorychni peredumovy i chynnyky…",,12-15.
[111] Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist: ukrayinskyi kontekst*, 344.
[112] Stepanenko, Viktor. Identities and Language Politics in Ukraine: The Challenges of Nation-state Building, p. 116
[113] Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist: ukrayinskyi kontekst* , 344.
[114] The word "Russian" is used to denote ethnicity and language not the citizenship of Russia.
[115] Census in Ukraine in 2001. http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/ (accessed 15 February 2011).

urban inhabitants consider Ukrainian their native language, and many are bilingual, choosing the language with regard to speech context.[116] Sociolinguists state that the advantage of Russian in urban areas creates the effect of linguistic dictatorship: "Russian is the language of adaptation and Ukrainian – the language of confrontation."[117] Other research shows that the understanding of "native language" differs among Ukrainians and Russian. The majority of the former understands it as the language of nationality (57,4%), whereas the latter consider it the language they can think and speak fluently (52,8%).[118] The survey reveals that most inhabitants of Ukraine understand and can read Russian regardless of their nationality or region, whereas a certain percentage of Russians and Ukrainians from eastern and southern regions might have difficulties with understanding Ukrainian.[119] As to the question of Russian as a potential second state language, in 2007 48,6% were for the proposition, whereas 71,6%[120] supported the status of Ukrainian as the only state language, on condition that the rights of minority languages were guaranteed.[121]

The divergence may also be observed between ethnic and civic identification in Ukraine. Only 58% of adult Ukrainians and 10% of Russians come from mono-ethnic families, whereas 28% of adults belong to hetero-ethnic families, 19% of which are Ukrainian-Russian. As a result of this, Ukrainian sociologists divide the citizens of the country into mono-ethnors (ones that identify themselves with one ethnie) and bi-ethnors (those who to a certain extent identify with two ethnic groups). With this correction the survey depicts a Ukraine populated by 62% mono-ethnic Ukrainians, 23% bi-ethnic Ukrainians, 10% mono-ethnic Russians and 5% members of other ethnic groups.[122]

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[116] Yuliya Tyshchenko and Svitlana Horobchyshyna, *Hromadianske suspilstvo v Ukrayini ta polityka identychnosti,*(Kyiv: Ukrayina, 2010), 23.

[117] Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist: ukrayinskyi kontekst* 345.

[118] O. Vyshniak, "Metodyky sociolohichnyh doslidzhen' funkcionuvannia ta status mov v Ukrajini," Movna sytuatsiya v Ukrayini: mizh konfliktom I konsensusom, ed. Oleksandr Maiboroda, (Kyiv, NASU, 2008), 39.

[119] Olha Shulha, "Funktsionuvannia Ukrayinskoyi ta rosijs'koyi mov v Ukrayini ta yiyi rehionah," Movna sytuatsiya v Ukrayini: mizh konfliktom I konsensusom, ed. Oleksandr Maiboroda, (Kyiv, NASU, 2008),52-53.

[120] The total sum makes up more than 100% the respondents were asked two separate questions with three variants of answers: "yes", "no", "I don't know".

[121] Analytical department, "Public opinion on the granting the Russian language the status of second state language," http://old.niss.gov.ua/Monitor/Monitor15/002.htm (accessed 11 January 2011).

[122] Valeriy Khmelko, "Cherez shcho politykam vdayetsia rozkoliuvaty Ukrayinu," *Dzerkalo tyzhnia*, 24-30 June 2006. http://www.dt.ua/newspaper/articles/47092#article (accessed 3 March 2011).

In summary, ethnic identification in Ukraine does not closely correlate with linguistic preferences; there is a greater number of Russian speakers in urban areas but the myth about "two Ukraines" based on a linguistic divide is too simplistic. If, the divide between Russian- and Ukrainian speaking parts existed as sharply as in stereotypes it would not be along the east-west circumcision of the Dnieper River, but north-west versus east-south instead. The "Linguistic divide" is intensified in political discourse and actually hides deeper socio-cultural and geopolitical confrontations.

3.1.3 Political identities

Political identity and political values, which are commonly believed to be relatively stable, in Ukraine are often substituted by political attitudes (i.e., support of a particular party rather than a political orientation) leading to manipulation. Although the country shows broad support for a number of similar socio-economic political directions, the national and political orientations are opposite which allows elites to use peoples' national feelings in the election campaigns. Political identities as well as political attitudes are represented in the results of the elections in the country and are used by technologists and mass media to speak about eastern and western tendencies, nationalist and communist identities or mentalities. However, an electoral geography that analyzes the results of the elections in a critical way demonstrates that regionalization in Ukraine is not so simple and is largely connected with history and ethnicity.

There is no doubt that common history influences the collective identity of individuals, including political values. When choosing for the future people usually rely on past experience, which can be seen in the example of Ukraine. The results of the first (and last) referendum on the USSR on March 17, 1991 showed that an absolute minority wanted to leave the Union whereas most of the country voted for the preservation of the USSR in another form. The regions that were almost unanimously against the Union were: Lviv, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk. Stanislav Bilychenko believes it was connected with the fact that almost 60 years of repression together with famine "squeezed out of people" not only the feeling that they were Ukrainians but also all human traits,[123] whereas Galicia spent less time in the USSR and had relatively more freedom under Polish or Austro-Hungarian rule. Later the electoral map of Ukraine

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[123] Stanislav Bilychenko. Na shcho shozha elektoralna karta Ukrayiny, Ukrayinska Pravda, 24 February 2010, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/02/24/4805944/ (accessed 16 February 2011).

started to transform and in 1994 nine other regions were infected by the "virus of Ukrainian comeback".[124] In ten years the total amount of pro-democratic, pro-Ukrainian regions equaled 16; that is, a majority out of 25 regions (including the Autonomous Republic of Crimea). Probably there were hopes that the tendency would continue; however, it stopped there: in 2010 the division line was on the same border for a reason. As stated by Ukrainian researcher Mykola Riabchuk, central Ukraine became a part of Russia only at the end of the 18th century and before it belonged to another society.[125] He believes that the south and east cannot separate from Russia or the USSR as they never lived outside it. However, as previously mentioned, before the 18th century south-eastern Ukraine and the Donbass[126] belonged to Cossack territories that were inhabited by different ethnicities out of which Ukrainians composed 74%. Later the population became more mixed due to the industrial character of the region and its role in the Soviet Union's economy.

Similar to Bilychenko, Ivan Katchanovski argues that out of all factors the most influential for political identity is age, followed by the region of origin (other factors being ethnic origin, class, gender, education, religion, income and language). Hence, people with direct experience or long memories of the Soviet/Russian past tend to support pro-Communist/pro-Russian parties as opposed to nationalist/pro-independence parties. The study of aligning patterns in the parliament, which is considered to reflect the diversity of society, also indicates that regional connections exist, but that they are more often based on economic, financial or ideological interests rather than linguistic or ethnic differences.[127]

As shown again, regionalism in Ukraine appears to originate from historical experience, whose difference results in political divide and the stark choice of opposite geopolitical orientations.

3.1.4   Multiplicity and variety of Ukrainian regions

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Mykola Riabchuk, "Dvi Ukrayiny," *Krytyka* 1 (2001), http://www.ji-magazine.lviv.ua/dyskusija/arhiv/ryabchuk.htm   (accessed 6 December 2010).
[126] Historic area of Ukraine that encompasses Donetsk and Luhansk regions.
[127] Paul J. D'Anieri, "Societal Division and the Challenge of Liberal Democracy in Ukraine," *Understanding Ukrainian politics: power, politics, and institutional design.* (US: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2007), 103-124.

The previous examples show the simplified myth about two identities in Ukraine which is often applied by politicians or the media and which does not reflect reality but on the contrary distorts it. It is argued that such division became commonly applied after the 1994 Presidential elections, when Ukrainian-speakers to the west supported Leonid Kravchuk's idea of distancing from Russia, whereas the Russian-speaking east voted for the promise of Leonid Kuchma to increase contacts with Russia.[128] Though the statement about "two Ukraines" is still frequently used, the scholarly community started to pay more attention to the complex nature of Ukrainian regionalism, discussing four (Katchanovski, Mahun and Rudniev), or eight (Barrington and Herron) or even the twenty-two components that were semi-seriously offered by Yaroslav Hrytsak. Riabchuk proposed a compromise of one nation, two languages and three cultures: Ukrainian, Russian and Creole. By the latter he implies the blended assimilation of Ukrainian and Russian cultures during the last two centuries.[129] However, the more factors chosen for identification the bigger balkanization will be observed. As rightfully pointed out by Hrytsak, the problem of Ukrainian identity lies in the fact that in different regions it consists of different values which are not interchangeable.[130] Moreover, in some regions, e.g. Donetsk, local identity is not framed into the national identity and prevails over all other types of self-determination.[131] In the Galicia region local identity overlaps with national identity, as for example coming from Lviv automatically presupposes Ukrainian nationality and Ukrainian language.

Nevertheless, a popular comparison of the extreme western region Galicia (8,2% of the whole territory of Ukraine) composed of three ethno-culturally related oblasts with the extreme eastern region Donbas (8,8% of the whole country) comprising two oblasts based on a common economy and interests is not representative enough - there is a big part of the country that will join the first or the second depending on the circumstances. At first sight it may seem that the eastern regions are more industrialized than the west. Partially this may be true, but the desire of communist rule in the first post-war years to compare Lviv to Donetsk, increased industrialization as well as the number of Russian-speakers in western Ukraine. Having compared values shared by the

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[128] Peter Rodgers, "Understanding Regionalism and the Politics of Identity in Ukraine's Eastern Borderlands," *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 34, No. 2, May 2006, 157.

[129] Hrytsak, Dylemy "Ukrayinskoho natsiyetvorennia," *Strasti za natsionalizmom*, (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2004),199.

[130] Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Bezpeka," *Zhyttia, smert ta inshi nepryyemnosti*, (Kyiv: Hranit, 2010), 39.

[131] Hrytsak, "Dvi Ukrayiny," *Zhyttia, smert ta inshi nepryyemnosti*, (Kyiv: Hranit, 2010), 176.

regions of Ukraine, Hrytsak made the surprising discovery that eastern regions are closer to European values followed by the western regions of the country.[132] Thus, the most ambivalent is a substantial central region that faced most of the traumas in Ukrainian history and nowadays shows the biggest rigidity to change, which explains its status quo mentality and search for stability and safety.[133] Researchers believe that the centre of Ukraine, which was the cultural and historical core of the country, nowadays extinguishes the ambitions of west and east and helps to preserve unity, preventing autonomy and separatism.[134]

Differences in values espoused throughout the country may also depend on religious or economic reasons which are actually connected. As described by Nahorna, lifestyle (chiefly urban in the east and agricultural in the west) occupies the primary position in shaping modern "Ukrainian mosaics". The psychology of the worker, as formed in the group, is more pragmatic than the psychology of the farmer, who is usually leading an individual household that depends on nature. The worker perceives things from a practical perspective, whereas the peasant tends to personalize and demonize everything that surrounds him, which results in the sacralization of everyday life. Moreover, they live according to different rhythms: workers subdued to production cycles, whereas peasants follow the natural cycles of the seasons, paying special attention to workdays and holidays.[135]

The divergence among Ukrainians lies not only in the field of economic interests, such as religion, language and traditions, but is primarily determined by different histories, different collective memories that influence their vision of the future. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the country faced a range of dramatic changes on personal as well as on macro-social levels which covered political, social, ethnic, psychological, historical, cultural, linguistic and religious spheres of life. The state that existed in its present form only for the last fifty years of Soviet rule faced the challenge of finding a unifying idea for the macro-regions of Ukraine with different histories and for all the diverse ethno-cultural groups living on its territory.

3.2 Ukrainian National Idea

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[132] Hrytsak, "Bezpeka," 47.
[133] Hrytsak, "Bezpeka," 44-50.
[134] Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist: ukrayinskyi kontekst*, 74-75.
[135] Ibid.

At the dawn of its independence Ukraine faced multiple challenges which involved not only the transition to democracy and a market economy, but also consolidating the nation by change, which posed even more problems regarding the existence of different ethnic and socio-cultural identities throughout the country. To create the "imagined community" of Ukrainians it was crucial to show them how to underline the traditions, culture, historic roots and memories common for all people, as well as common future aims: in other words, the leaders confronted the task of conjuring up a new collective identity.

The success of a national identity is believed to be unattainable without an effective national idea to form a social worldview, values and way of thinking for each nation. The absence of a national consolidating program brings into question the status and potential of Ukraine.[136] Ukrainian scholars define national identity as a system of philosophical, sociological, socio-psychological, ethical, religious and other views that primarily reflect the concept of the future of the nation, its ways of development and interrelation among nations.[137] Thus, the national idea can be viewed as a form of self-identification of an individual in the society, a perception of unity with the nation, historical coherence and a connection with the rest of the world. However, some theoreticians equate the national idea with the idea of Ukrainian nationalism,[138] whereas others disagree, bearing in mind that any state's (obligatory) ideology inevitably leads to ideological coercion or terror against its own citizens.[139]

Generally speaking, any national idea, including the Ukrainian one, faces the danger of being narrowed to an ethnic context that limits its flexibility and durability. In modern discourse the national idea should embrace first of all the notion of statehood and citizenship. Nevertheless, every succeeding president of Ukraine, even when claiming the primary role of statehood, was still focusing on ethnic grounds.

This is no surprise if we agree with Taras Kuzio, who does not believe in purely civic or ethnic states. He writes that all modern states are to a certain degree

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[136] Mykola Kozlovets. *Fenomen natsionalnoyi identychnosti,* 427.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Oleksandr Shmorhun, "Osnovnyj zmist poniattia "Ukrayinska natsionalna ideya", *Rozbudova derzhavy* 6 (1997), 10.
[139] Ivan Dziuba, "Spilnymy zusylliamy stvorymo novyj obraz Ukrayiny," *Ukrayina v poshukah novoyi identychnosti: statti, vystupy, intervyu, pamflety,* (Kyiv: Ukrayina, 2006), 112.

nationalizing[140] which, according to Brubaker, means "the states of and for particular nations." Kuzio's ideas were opposed by Peter Rogers, who considers that overestimation of the role of national identity on the way to democracy undermines the potential of regional identities.[141] At the beginning of the 1990s, Ukrainian elites were also conscious of ethnic cleavages, thus they were promoting statehood as the main principle of nation building. Ivan Dzuba, for example, speaks about the idea of Ukraine as "the fatherland of all its citizens that connected their fate with the Ukrainian land and participate in society on this land."[142] It is hard to disagree that such a vision makes all people equally responsible for the situation in the country and does not divide into "home" and "host ethnies."

Taking into consideration the historically determined divisions of the linguistic, religious, political and economic sectors of Ukraine, one might support the vision of a national idea presented by two Ukrainian scholars, Andrij Rostovskyi and Yurij Shtepa:

> National idea will become uniting and creative if it will be: firstly, transnational, trans-social and trans-territorial, thus attractive for the absolute majority of the population of the country, disregard of their nationality, social status and domicile; secondly, based on the system of national values and priorities, historical experience of victories and achievements but not defeats and national humiliation; thirdly, correspond to spiritual and material interests of modern society.[143]

According to the authors, Ukraine cannot adopt the Russian model of a powerful aim that all resources are concentrated on, neither can it follow the way of the European nation-states that were formed in the 19th -20th century. The modern globalizing world erases borders, stimulates balkanization and emphasizes regional identities which require new ideas to unite people without humiliating other ethnos, or offending their values.[144]

However, the polemics about Ukraine's "third way", about the implementation of the EU's "united in diversity" motto in Ukrainian reality remains within the theoretical discourse of foreign and local analysts.   Ukrainian Studies scholars

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[140] Kuzio, *Ukraine: state and nation building*, 123-124.
[141] Rodgers, "Understanding regionalism and the politics of identity…", 159.
[142] Dziuba, "Spilnymy zusylliamy stvorymo novyj obraz Ukrayiny," 113.
[143] Andrij Rotovskyi and Yurij Shtepa, "Ukrayinska natsionalna ideya: vid plachu do konstruktyvnoho dialohu,: DDzerkalo tyzhnia, 9 September 2006, http://www.dt.ua/online/articles/47791#article (accessed 7 March 2011).
[144] Ibid.

unanimously state that its national identity is being built on an ethnic principle which makes ethnic Ukrainians *primus inter pares*.

Nevertheless, the nationalistic strategy, though visible, is not that straightforward. In the Preamble to the Constitution Ukrainian people are defined as the citizens of Ukraine of all nationalities; however, from Article 11 it is clear that the Ukrainian nation is also defined in an ethno-cultural way:

> The State promotes the consolidation and development of the Ukrainian nation, of its historical consciousness, traditions and culture, and also the development of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of all indigenous peoples and national minorities of Ukraine.[145]

Thus, there are two parallel paradigms of the civic and ethnic nation, where on the one hand Ukrainians are all the citizens of Ukraine and on the other only those belonging to the titular ethnos. However, as accentuated by Alexander Motyl, in 1991 the Act of Independence was supported not only by ethnic Ukrainians but by 90,92% of adult inhabitants of the country.[146]

Such a two-fold official policy might be the source of troubles with collective self-recognition which in the long run affects all spheres of state life. Such a tendency in the country explains why even after the first years of independence in every region a certain amount of people (in Donetsk 40% of respondents) identified themselves with a non-existing state – the Soviet Union.[147]

The collective identity which has its meaning in the system of symbols and practices common for the community collapses when that symbolic structure disappears. Thus, perestroika brought a complex of transitions: from socialism to democracy, to market economy, civic society, individualism, nation state and, not least, national identity. As already mentioned, the first leaders of Ukraine, though coming from a communist background, opted for the nationalistic platform of a national idea. The discussion of the reasons for such a step falls outside the scope of this paper; nevertheless, it may be assumed that the program of nationalism was previously developed by Ukrainian thinkers - it was "the faith of the most possible and the most

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[145] Constitution of Ukraine http://www.rada.gov.ua/const/conengl.htm (accessed 13 January 2011).
[146] Alexandr Motyl, "The Conceptual President: Leonid Kravchuk and the Politics of Surrealism," *Patterns in post-Soviet leadership,* ed. Timothy J. Colton, Robert C. Tucker (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 105.
[147] Hrytsak, "Pro sensovnist i bezsensovnist natsionalizmu v Ukrayini," 190-193. Kuzio, *Ukraine: State and nation building*, 153.

important minority in the country," as none of the group identities in Ukraine boasts an absolute majority but Ukrainian identity is the most popular on the national level.[148] Moreover, the conflicts with Russia over the Soviet legacy in the first years after independence created favourable conditions for positioning Russia as "the other". It must be underlined that criticism was directed against Russia, but not against Russians or Russian people living in Ukraine.[149] The reality neglected at that time, and proved by further surveys, was that the majority of east and south Ukrainians were neither pro- nor anti-Russian, as Abdelal wrote, they were "not anti-Russian" and had their own understanding of "Ukrainianness."[150]

The official national narrative was based on the ideas of right-wing national democrats, mainly in the Western regions that had experienced the shortest period of Soviet incorporation. They viewed the Ukrainian nation as the prolongation of the Ukrainian ethnos with a thousand year long history. The process of transition into one nation was abrupt by the standards of neighbouring countries and due to a Russia that "separated Ukraine from its European roots."[151]

The early post-independence nation-building in Ukraine concerned most components of the nation as defined by Smith. Most, as the economic factor was overlooked. Thus, the idea of President Kravchuk was to revive (or create) a shared culture, language and memory of people living in their historic homeland, as he believed that Ukraine's lack of unity was the result of all the historical turmoil after the 1654 Pereyaslav Treaty.[152]

For the creation of shared memories a new symbolic and mythological framework was accepted based on the national history of Ukraine-Rus' written by Mykhailo Hrushevskyi in the early twentieth century. His work was banned in the 1930s by the Soviet government, and the author himself was denounced as an "Austrian", "Polish" or "German agent" as well as a "bourgeois nationalist".[153] Soviet historiography treated Ukraine as an integral part of the Russian Empire, and aimed at

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[148] Ibid., 191-193.

[149] Motyl, "The conceptual president," 114-115. And Kuzio, *Ukraine: State and nation building*, 55.

[150] Rawi Abdelal, "Memories of Nations and States: Institutional History and National Identity in Post-Soviet Eurasia." *Nationalities Papers* 30, no. 3 (September 2002), 469.

[151] Wolczuk. "History, Europe and the 'national idea': the 'official' narrative of national identity in Ukraine, *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (2002), 677.

[152] Kuzio, *Ukraine: state and nation building*, 46.

[153] Kuzio, Taras. "History, memory and Nation building in the post-Soviet colonial space," *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2002), , p. 252.

depicting the eternal desire of Ukrainians as reunification with their brother people that came from rhe single cradle of Kyivan Rus, and that the Pereyaslav Treaty and finally the Soviet Union made the reunion possible. The events and figures that did not fit this frame were ousted from collective memory by silence or severe judgment.[154]

Unlike the Soviet canon, Hrushevskyi's concept of national history viewed Kyivan Rus as a proto-Ukrainian state with the Halytsko-Volynske Kingdom as its ancestor. The next important stage was Cossackdom, followed by a long period of disintegration and scattered Ukrainian lands under the rule of neighbours. As noted by Kuzio, Hrushevskyi gave Ukrainian a separate identity as a legal status, "he extended Ukrainian history to pre-historic time and forward to the modern era,"[155] which means he restored the collective memory of the nation, the proof that people live on their own land and have their own roots, language and culture. Thus, in such a way, collective memory could perform its main function of legitimizing independence and explaining the purpose of common existence in the future. The memory of a Kyiv Rus pedigree was also reflected through symbols such as the state emblem (a trident – the official emblem of Prince Volodymyr the Great) and currency (hryvna). Moreover, the figures of the Cossack epoch were either rehabilitated, like Ivan Mazepa, who was stigmatized as a traitor in Soviet times and anathematized by the Russian Orthodox Church, or reinterpreted like Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, who from being a Tsarist collaborator became a victim of Polish-Russian conspiracy. The history of Ukraine was depicted as a long-lasting struggle with outside occupiers for the independence of the country, which was finally obtained in 1991. This was put into the foundations of the Ukrainian national idea, whose task was to represent the country as well as to help every citizen to find his/her place in it.

It may be said that the national idea is a form of contract between the state and the citizens about certain mutual guarantees and obligations, values and principles of coexistence. This "contract" has even greater importance in transitional societies, where typically a high level of social ambivalence and low index of safety exist. As shown, post-Soviet Ukraine is a country of mixed identities that due to different historical pasts may clash with each other. Despite this, the state has opted for nationalizing and for a

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[154] Hrytsak, "Yak vykladaty istoriyu Ukrayiny pislia 1991 roku?" *Zhyttia, smert ta inshi nepryyemnosti*, (Kyiv: Hranit, 2010), 11.
[155] Kuzio, *Ukraine: state and nation building*, 206.

memory policy based on the titular nation's history. This strategy is still relevant after eighteen years of independence as indicated by the recommendations of parliamentary hearings on national identity in December 2009.[156] The document says that Ukraine is not a modern nation yet, since "Ukrainians do not form one civil community that would have common historical myths, common values and symbols, as well as unidirectional political aims."[157] The assessment of Ukraine's historical heritage and interpretation of the past are referred to as serious tasks on the way to a common national identity[158].

However, if the events of earlier centuries are easier to re-interpret or to fill in with new symbolic structures and invented traditions, the more recent past is full of controversies due to live witnesses that all have their version of the "truth." The period of heated discussions about the early history of Ukraine and Hrushevskyi's scheme passed in the 1990s; nowadays ruling elites face the challenge of shaping collective historical memories of a nation that has regionally different pasts and where the heroes for some are enemies for others. The task of the next chapter is to reveal the character of official memory policy in Ukraine and to anticipate its further influence on the process of nation-building.

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[156] The proposal was rejected on 18 February 2011 due to the lack of votes.
[157] Project of the Recommendations of parliamentary hearings "National identity in Ukraine in the time of globalization: problems and ways of preservation," http://gska2.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb_n/webproc4_1?pf3511=36990 (accessed 17 January 2011).
[158] Ibid.

4   POST-SOVIET MEMORY POLICY IN UKRAINE: *"DIVIDE ET IMPERA"* OR "UNITED IN DIVERSITY"?

It was previously argued that memory and identity are mutually dependant - thus, state policy also relies on collective memories when shaping national identity. Hence, most post-Soviet countries faced the necessity of rediscovering their collective identity or inventing a new one which could be done by references to a common history. A deeper analysis of the interconnection between memory policy and national identity in Ukraine requires first and foremost the description and assessment of the tendencies that existed in this field of state policy since the collapse of the Soviet Union until recently. This chapter provides an overview of the official memory policy in different time spans of the country's independent history. Taking into account that official memory policy belongs to the jurisdiction of the executive branch, one of the ways to research its development is in accordance with the presidencies. Thus, four periods may be singled out: Kravchuk's presidency (1991-1994), Kuchma's first and second term (1994-2004), Yushchenko's presidency (2005-January 2010) and the first year of Yanukovych in office.

The ambivalence in Ukrainian society as well as the low civic consciousness gives ruling elites much freedom and makes it virtually the only decision-making body as regards memory policy. Besides their leverage with mass media, ruling elites enjoy influence over the national educational system and the national ritual system through which certain "remembering" and "forgetting" strategies are implemented. This chapter takes a closer look at these three means of memory institutionalization, focusing on the issues of history schoolbooks, legal interpretations of history and commemorations. The last subchapter shortly inform on the role of mass media in memory policy and how influential can it be in Ukrainian reality. However, before describing the policy of the last twenty years it is important to describe earlier periods and especially the Soviet era which is often referred to as "memory-less time."

1   "Memory-less" policy

Through the past several centuries Ukrainians spent more time attempting to acquire a state than actually having one. Thus, it is complicated to speak about official memory policy in its modern understanding before the Soviet period. Collective memory was predominantly shaped by cultural elites and philosophers; great contributions came

from Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Markiyan Shashkevych and other thinkers. However, the compilation of an eleven-volume history of Ukraine by Hrushevskyi may be considered the biggest step that brought Ukraine on one level with other European nations. As assessed by Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, in the Ukrainian west people became a political nation as soon as 1914, whereas revolutionaries in areas under Russia were only beginning to move toward freeing themselves from the empire. However, even the period of the liberation movement in 1917-1920 did not manage to shape Ukrainian identity and distinguish it from Russian.[159]

Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, the incorporation of ethnic Ukrainian territories into the Soviet Union united the country but not the people. The Soviet government had its own view on collective identity and memory policy in the republics.

Recent researchers of official Soviet memory policy in the republics distinguish among three periods of its evolution. In the 1930s there was an attempt to combine a class approach with the balanced national heritage. As a result, older scholars were "removed" in 1928-1932 and the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* ("The Truth") was regularly publishing recommendations on history teaching. Starting from 1937 official propaganda about the "great Russian people" was glorified and the list of national heroes in Ukraine included those from Tsarist rule.[160]

On the contrary, during and after World War II a rapid resort to ethnocentrism was observed. It was characterized by the search for national heroes (Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Danylo Halytskyi) and drawing aside the class fight as there was an urgent need to mobilize people for war. A range of events in the national history were selected to testify to the centuries-long conflict with the Germans. Later the same strategy was followed to convert the annexed territories (Galicia, Volyn, Transcarpathis and Bukovyna) into a common vision of a Ukrainian Soviet past. The author mentions that the inclusion of these territories substantially prolonged the official history of Ukraine (back to the 13th century).[161] This period also saw the creation of the pantheon of Ukrainian heroes, most of whom are honoured at present almost as replicated from

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[159]Oleksandr Rubliov, "Stalinska imperiya pamyati" i dekolonizatsiya vitchyznianoyi istorychnoyi spadshchyny," *Forum Natsij* , February 2010 http://www.forumn.kiev.ua/2010-02-93/93-05.html. (accessed 24 February 2011).

[160] Serhy Yekelchyk, *Stalin's empire of memory: Russian-Ukrainian relations in the Soviet historical imagination, (*Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 16-18.

[161] Ibid. 19-22.

the ones proposed by historians in the 19th-20th century but with a different interpretation. In 1945-46 44,000 teachers from the eastern parts of the country were delegated to the west. Ukrainians were allowed to have their own history only if it did not contradict the official version.[162]

During the third period Russian imperial narration is gradually restored and the accents are shifted to the leading role of the Russian nation in the Soviet Union, whereas the past of other republics was depicted as the "eternal desire" to "rejoin" Russia. Uprisings to oppose other nations' domination of Ukraine were interpreted not as acts of national liberation but as gangster revolts against Tsarist or Soviet Russia. The imperial project demanded the liquidation of all memorials of conflicts between Cossacks and Muscovites, and emphasized the "progressive role of Russian culture."[163] At the beginning of the 1950s attention shifted to the museums and after a number of "cleanings from trash" Ukrainian museums grew poorer, whereas the Hermitage acquired new collections.[164]

However, how homogenizing was the new interpretation of history it was not objecting the ethnic differences of non-Russians. Moreover, flyers and brochures were distributed by the OUN underground movement in the east, prohibited books were read secretly and children were told another history in the kitchen. Thus, the official interpretation was not the only source of information, albeit the most powerful. "Proper" books, movies and theatre plays were actively promoted for the masses, and participation in the demonstrations and parades was a compulsory form of "volunteering." Nevertheless, as remarked by Serhy Yekelchyk, "the Stalinist variety of Ukrainian culture did not result from Moscow's diktat and suppression of the local intelligentsia's 'natural' national sentiment." The main players were local bureaucrats and intellectuals who linked the Kremlin and the satellite republics, transmitting "vague but powerful" orders.[165] Thus, during the Soviet era Ukrainian-Russian relations were not just a one-way dictate of an "older brother" but a complex system of control and compromise that is still applied in the field of humanitarian policy.

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[162] Mykola Hetmanchuk, Liudmyla. Andrushko. "Stereotypni uyavlennia pro Stalinism v rosiysko-ukrayinskyh stosunkah doby SRSR", 241-242, http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/portal/soc_gum/vnv/2010_13/239-244.pdf (accessed 5 March 2011).
[163] Yekelchyk, Serhy. *Stalin's empire of memory:* ,231.
[164] Hetmanchuk, Andrushko., "Stereotypni uyavlennia pro Stalinism…", 242
[165] Yekelchyk. *Stalin's empire of memory*, 6-7.

2. Wind of change

Speaking of the memory policy during the last two decades, the pre-independence situation in Ukraine must be taken into account as it gives us a better understanding of later tendencies. The Declaration of Independence became a logical step in the mood of the country. The Ukrainian historian Yaroslav Hrytsak considers the underestimation of the national question Gorbachev's biggest mistake. However, the mistakes of local government, though coordinated with the centre in Moscow, became the most crucial. The "last straw" was probably the concealment of information about Chernobyl in the times of the so-called policy of "democratization" and "glasnost". Chernobyl became the key symbol in opposition activities[166] and seemed to demonstrate the colonial status of Ukraine[167] at that time, as well as the Party's disrespect for human life as compared to ideology and keeping secrets.

It is believed[168] that the historical memories not fully erased by Sovietization played one of the primary roles in future geopolitical changes. In 1988 the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union was founded and positioned itself as an unofficial national front aimed at uniting people in opposition. However, new organizations started to emerge: Ukrainian Cultural Club in Kyiv, Lion's Society in Lviv, Ukrainian Association of the Independent Creative Intelligence and the unofficial student organization "Hromada."[169] Their activity was of a similar character and was oriented toward democratization and a national renaissance. During the meetings the forbidden topics of Ukrainian history and literature were discussed. Ukrainians (mainly from the west) wanted to follow the example of the Baltic States, but revolutions were suppressed by special police service. One of the most crucial events of that time was the organization of the Ukrainian national front – "Rukh" (Movement) that was to become a link between the Communist Party's program and the initiatives of the people. Due to its tactical program oriented to different ethnicities in Ukraine and the balance of democracy and communism, Rukh could unite the opposition and organize the Ukrainian people.[170]

The end of the 1980s was characterized by coming back to roots. Young intellectuals from the cities were going to villages to buy traditional cloth and to record

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[166] Popular were the metaphors of "spiritual Chornobyl", "linguistic Chornobyl."
[167] Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Istoriya Ukrayiny*, (Kyiv: Osvita, 1994), 297-298.
[168] Ibid.
[169] The name of the organization associates with the movement in the late 19th century.
[170] Steven Otfinoski, Nations in Transition: Ukraine. (NY: Facts On File, Inc. 2005) 25.

folklore as well as to listen to the stories of the older generation. The memory of the nation was also restored through actions or commemoration rites. For example, in memory of the unification of western and eastern Ukraine in 1919, people created a live chain that joined Lviv and Kyiv (nearly 500km long).[171] The historical renaissance was tightly connected with politics and led by the new democratic movements in the country. The "blank spots" in history were demystified and explained by the activities of such institutions as "Memorial" and "Prosvita". The former is an international movement for preserving the memory of the political repressions and dissident movements. It initiates the organization of museums, libraries and document collections as well as the erection of monuments devoted to the repressions of the Soviet period. "Prosvita" is an All-Ukrainian non-governmental organization directed toward the education and cultural development of the nation that was reopened in 1990 after it was destroyed by the Soviet government in 1939.

As Georgy Kasianav observed, "the most important characteristic of 1990 was the sovereignty of history that took place in parallel with political sovereignty."[172] To nationalize the history the Central Committee of the Communist Party on 21 July 1990 approved an act "On the realization of the program of history research and development and improvement of the Ukrainian Republic's history propaganda." However, this step was several days too late – on 16 July 1990 the Declaration of Ukraine's sovereignty was accepted – and it could not stop the "avalanche". This act was the last chance for Communist leaders to control the people and "help" Ukrainians in understanding their own past.

The recovery of history resulted in changing the "places of memory": museums, monuments, street names and other symbols typical of communism. In 1990 this took place mostly in the western and central parts of the country; for example, Lviv became the first city that demolished Lenin's monument and started to recover authentic street names. Different reactions were observed in the east. Firstly, the leaders of labor unions were against independence and the working class protests were dominated by the so called "sausage ideology"[173] that can be explained by the motto "I don't care about the

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[171] According to different sources the number of participants amounted from 400 000 to 3mln people.
[172] Georgy Kasyanov, "Ukraina – 1990: 'Boi za istoriu'," *Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye*, 1 (2007), 76.
[173] Hrytsak. *Istoriya Ukrayiny*, 307.

state as long as there is cheap sausage in the shop".[174] However, the historical consciousness of the east can be also observed through commemorative events; for example, the celebration of the Days of Cossack Glory on Khortytsia Island. This event started the process of reuniting Cossack Societies scattered around the country into one civic and political organization. It is important to highlight that the Cossack movement historically was located in the central, eastern and southern parts of Ukraine - thus the commemoration of the Cossack period could become a unifying historic myth for the mentioned territories. In the notes of one of the participants from Donetsk the main ideas of that event seem to have been unity, renaissance and memory. The symbol of Cossacks became the impetus for a national awakening.[175]

During the Soviet years history policy was rooted in the Russian empire's traditions, targeted on watering down the national peculiarities of non-Russian peoples living in the territory of the Soviet Union, denationalization and the creation of the "new soviet man," but these did not manage to reach their aim. Fortunately, Ukrainian historical memory was transferred from generation to generation, became a "kitchen history" and survived till a time when it could be used in public. However, Ukraine entered a new era with the baggage of individual histories that had to merge into one collective national memory. The process of recovering from the Soviet trauma may be compared with a puzzle game when the whole picture is compiled from broken pieces collected around the country.

In general, the period before independence can be characterized by an interest in the forgotten or silenced pages of history. The movements oriented on the revival of national memory prevailed in western and central Ukraine among white-collar workers and were chaotic,[176] often repeating each other. Despite different interests, economic growth, stability and security, or national unity and the search for historic truth, people inhabiting the territory of present Ukraine voted almost unanimously for its independence on 1 December 1991. As a result of this referendum "elite-level choices

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[174] The reference to the "cheap sausage" is still popular in the country, usually used ironically to speak about the older generations who miss the old Soviet times.
[175] Web page of the Ukrainian registered Cossackdom. "Svyato pamyati, vidrodzhennia, yednosti," http://www.kozatstvo.org.ua/ru/publications/uk_r.php?d=a&i=2881 (accessed 19 February 2010).
[176] Wolczuk, *The Moulding of Ukraine*, 66.

were given a seal of approval by 'popular will,'"[177] Leonid Kravchuk became the president and a new country appeared on the political map of Europe.

3. History schoolbooks as an instrument of memory policy

History manuals are considered to be a "mobilizing narrative"[178] - a text that is aimed at bringing up the next generation and moulding its collective memory. After the successful reunion of small German towns around Prussia, German Chancellor Otto von Bismark said that the "war was won by the German teacher". In connection with the topic of research this citation is understood as a proof that school history differs from historiography or history as a science. As declared by French historians, history is neither a religion nor doctrine and it should be freed from political influence and cannot be simplified into memory policy.[179] According to Ihor Hyrych, school history can only partially be characterized as scientific; it was always directed by criteria set by the customer, i.e. a state, political party or group of elites that "projects a system of historical values that enables them to reach certain political aims."[180]

Following a strategy of rebuilding the nation and recovering collective memory, the newly elected government treated national history with respect. Kravchuk tried to reconnect with the past by accepting president's regalia from Mykola Plavyuk, the president of the Ukrainian Peoples Republic in exile. Andriy Portnov argued that, Ukrainian leaders wanted to separate the country from its Soviet patrimony and to establish the smooth myth of proto-Ukrainian history.[181] Ukrainian history was separated from the Russian context and was taught prior to world history. The Ministry of Education adopted Hrushevskyi's scheme according to which Ukraine was the heir of Kyivan Rus. As there were no Ukrainian textbooks in the first years, history was taught according to texts written by the diaspora, mainly Orest Subtelny's *Ukraine. A History* published in Toronto and available in Ukrainian as well as in Russian. It became a kind of ersatz manual for the time before Ukrainian scholars printed new books. Their task

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[177] Ibid., 60.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Liberté pour l'Histoire, «Appel de Blois," http://www.lph-asso.fr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47&Itemid=14&lang=en (accessed 2 February 2011).
[180] Ihor Hrynych, "Ukrayinska istorychna pamyat, shkilni pidruchnyky i osvita, » http://www.i-hyrych.name/Vyklad/HistMemory.html (accessed 11 March 2011).
[181] Andriy Portnov, "Uprazhneniya s istoriyei po-ukrainski: itohi I perspektivy," http://www.polit.ru/lectures/2010/08/26/history.html (accessed 29 January 2011).

was to respond to "subtelnization" (focusing exclusively on titular ethnos) of history, though in the reality these were whitened versions of Soviet schoolbooks. The history writing strategy still followed imperial traditions, with the only difference being that heroes and villains swapped their places.

Researchers speak about the domination of two scholarly traditions in Ukrainian historiography: Ukrainophile and Eastern Slavic.[182] As already mentioned, the Ukrainophile version based on Hrushevskyi's works was adopted after the emergence of independent Ukraine. However, as pointed out by Kuzio, both presidents Kravchuk and Kuchma were centrists whose views were closer to the Eastern Slavic school.[183] The difference between the two schools lies in the perception of Kyivan Rus: Ukrainophiles view it as a proto-Ukrainian state, whereas Eastern Slavic adherents speak of the existence of one (not three) Eastern Slav peoples which are Russian.[184] This questions the understanding of current independence: is it a "return to Europe" to "normal" or is separation from Russia "abnormal"?[185]

Nevertheless, three successive presidents officially promoted Ukrainophile history, though regional differences were still present. Starting from 1999, two approved manuals were available for every school year (except three for seventh form and one for ninth form).[186] Surface analysis shows that the contextual value of the books does not differ sufficiently, and indicates strongly that manuscripts were censored by the Ministry before approval.[187] In general, Ukrainian scholars published 1,136 works of history during 1989-2000, half of which (514) were on the history of Ukraine, and almost every higher educational establishment added to this result.[188] In the 1990s the issue of schoolbooks faced little controversy; rare negative reactions were heard from marginalized communists.[189]

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[182] Taras Kuzio. "National Identity and History Writing,in Ukraine," Nationalities Papers, Vol.34, No 4, (September 2006), 408.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Russian is used to denote ethnicity not citizenship.
[185] Kuzio, "National Identity and History Writing,in Ukraine," 411-414.
[186] Ministry for Science and Education in Ukraine, Act N 1/9-339 (16July 2002) "On main manuals and schoolbooks."
[187] Ministry for Science and Education in Ukraine Act N 132 (15 May 1995) "On the procedure of study literature development and publishing
[188] Henadiy Myshechkin, "Navchalna literatura z vitchyznianoyi istoriyi: novi pidhody, metodolohichni novatsiyi, kharakterni rysy ta osoblyvosti (90ti rr. XX – poch. XXI st.)," Shid, (2008)
[189] Ihor Hyrych, "Pidruchnyk yak zasib pobudovy derzhavy," Dzerkalo tyzhnia, 24 May 2008, http://www.dt.ua/newspaper/articles/53742 (accessed 7 February 2011).

From time to time scientific articles attempted to assess history publishing for compulsory and higher education, but the first serious steps were made with the foundation of the Ukrainian National Memory Institute, which was founded in 2006 as a central institution of the executive power of Ukraine with a special status. Among the primary tasks of the Institute is the popularization of objective and just history in Ukraine and abroad, the conduction of overall research on the stages of the Ukrainian struggle for statehood in the 20th century, the organization of commemorative events dedicated to national liberation movements, victims of the Holodomor and political repression. According to a legal statement in 2006, the Institute is responsible for the implementation of legal acts that belong to its competence, the generalization of the application of the legislation, the development of the proposals on its improvement and forwarding them for the President's and Cabinet of Minister's consideration. In addition, the institute has the right to issue orders and, together with other executive bodies, develops and issues normative acts.[190]

In October 2007 twelve prominent historians from different cities and various scientific fields participated in discussions organized by the Institute. After having analyzed the texts of more than ten schoolbooks on history approved by the Ministry, the researchers concluded that the study literature for children does not correspond to current tendencies in historiography, European criteria on historical didactics, or the current needs of Ukrainian society. Among the main drawbacks listed were confusion of ethnicity and nation, an ethnocentric vision of history that disregards the diverse ethnic, cultural and religious character of the Ukrainian nation, the dominance of political and military history with no attention to the human factor, a pessimistic and colonial image of Ukraine, apologizing the behavior of national rivals, a lack of multiple viewpoints on events and of the inclusion of propaganda rhetoric.[191] Similar conclusions were drawn by European scholars after analyzing Ukrainian schoolbooks on world history.

[190]Ukrainian National Memory Institute, http://www.memory.gov.ua/main/en/news/top.htm (accessed 2 March 2011).
[191], Natalia Yakovenko, *Shkilna istoriya ochyma istorykiv-naukovtsiv*, (Kyiv, Stylos Publishing House, 2009), 5, http://www.memory.gov.ua/data/upload/publication/main/ua/1457/2.doc (accessed 11 March 2011).

Moreover, they pointed out the subjectivity of the authors, the surplus of author's text and the lack of original sources as well as gender inequality.[192]

With the aim of national consolidation and shaping Ukrainian society into one nation, it was decided to anthropologize the history as well as bring it closer to children of every ethnos. Taking into account modern European tendencies, the updated version must show Ukrainian history as the "history of actions and behavior of the Ukrainian political nation, representatives of its national core, as well as other ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of Ukraine. This approach will consolidate the people of Ukraine through their European-ness."[193] Thus, for two years the working group developed the project of a new conception and program of history teaching, finally finishing in 2009.

The newly developed concept still has Ukrainian ethnos in the core of historical process, however the notions of *ethnos* and *nation* are clearly distinguished. Taking into account that school history must bring up conscious citizens, the project recommends concentrating not solely on victim image but on achievements, on human survival and different motivation schemes for explaining actions. The introduction mentions that the manual should promote consensus based on different viewpoints around the country. Other positive sides of the project are the neutral and correct revealing of "dark places" as well as representation of several views of the events. As far as history of regions is concerned, it is provided in the context of the full text unlike separate chapters in former editions. The authors of the project believe in such a way regions will be perceived as complimenting not competing parts of the country.[194]

Nevertheless, after the elections in 2010, the approach to school history and to memory policy in general has changed. Extra interest of the newly elected President Viktor Yanukovych to history might have been connected with the Yushchenko's political decisions before leaving the office, notably, the award of hero titles to two controversial figures of the Ukrainian 20th century history – Stepan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych. Being issued during the election campaign, the act resembled a trial to secure more support from Western Ukraine. Thus, as the part of humanitarian reforms,

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[192] Robert Mayer, "World 20th century history in the Ukrainian schoolbooks," Nova Doba, http://www.novadoba.org.ua/history/data/development/mayer.html (accessed 27 January 2011).
[193] Natalia Yakovenko, *Shkilna istoriya ochyma istorykiv-naukovtsiv*, 5, 12.
[194] Ibid., 10-14.

the newly elected Cabinet of Ministers, notably Minister of Education Dmytro Tabachnyk, decided to review history schoolbooks.

The Minister stressed the need of a new conception, at the same time speculating about the anthropocentrism, depolitization and humanistic lessons of history which lied in the basis of the previous project. On the one hand, Tabachnyk points out the value of objectivity and consideration of all historical moments[195] but on the other, first schoolbooks were "corrected" the same year. Some events were not mentioned at all, including Orange Revolution, the information about others, like Holodomor, World War II, OUN-UPA was rephrased or shortened, emotional epithets were deleted.[196] As it was remarked by one of the schoolbook authors whose book was "edited", most Ministry recommendations concerned the image of Russia as the descriptions of other neighbors were left unchanged.[197]

Concurrently, Russian politologist stressed the importance of radical change of the history schoolbooks in modern Ukraine that on his opinion were falsified and set young generations against Russians.[198] [199] This gave rise to reconsider the idea about Ukrainian-Russian Commission of historians, whose task this time was to prepare a joint manual for teachers. The cooperation proposals were addressed to Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Turkey.[200]

The reaction of the public to the changes in school history teaching became apparent only recently. In March 2010 Ukrainian history and Ukrainian literature books

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[195] "Tabachnyk pro novu kontseptsiyu pidruchnykiv istoriyii," *BBC Ukrainian* 11 May 2010 http://www.bbc.co.uk/ukrainian/ukraine/2010/04/100410_tabachnyk_ie_is.shtml (accessed 4 March 2011).

[196] Kateryna Kapliuk, "Perepysana istoriya Ukrayiny. Versiya Dmytra Tabachnyka," Ukrayinska Pravda,25 August 2010, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/08/26/5332444/ (accessed 4 March 2011). See also: Alexa Chopivsky. Reference to the Orange Revolution is just one of the casualties in a newly revised Ukrainian history book aimed at fifth-graders, 25 February 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/commentary_partly_free_ukraine_to_not_free/2310282.html (accessed 4 March 2010).

[197] Kateryna Kapliuk, "Avtor novoho pidruchnyka z istoriyi Ukrayiny: Bilshist rekomendatsiy Minosvity stosuvalasia imidzhu Rosiyi,",Ukrayinska Pravda 26 August 2010, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/08/26/5333553/ (accessed 4 March 2011).

[198] TSN. "Rosiyskyi deputat vymahaye 'rizkoyi zminy pidruchnykiv istoriyi v Ukrayini'," 11 May 2010, http://tsn.ua/ukrayina/rosiyskiy-deputat-vimagaye-rizkoyi-radikalnoyi-zmini-pidruchnikiv-istoriyi-v-ukrayini.html (accessed 4 March 2011).

[199] At the end of 2010 Russia accused twelve post-soviet countries including Ukraine in ungrounded criticism of Russians.

[200] Istorychna Pravda, Vcheni: spilnyi pidruchnyk z istoriyi – tse nerealno, 5 December 2010. http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2010/12/5/7674/ (accessed 4 March 2011).

were thrown away and publicly burned in Crimea.[201] In response, the youth in Lviv collected the books in history of the USSR, Soviet Union Communist Party and other Soviet literature and gave it for recycling.[202] The analysis of news coverages shows that Western regions appeared to be more reactive to Ministry's decisions which can be explained by the fact that Russian topics are the most sensitive for this part of the country. Lviv City Council allotted money to publish a supplement covering the events and personalities omitted in the approved schoolbook. Ternopil teachers were called on to boycott the books and not to use them for teaching, every school in Ivano-Frankivsk was provided with the portraits of Bandera and Shukhevytch as well as other participants of the liberation movement and the activists from Volhynia region plan to distribute alternative historical books as well as publish their Russian versions for Eastern Ukraine. In other regions the protest against the actions of Tabachnyk were also observed, however they were organized by students and mainly connected with the innovations in higher education.

Western analytics and politicians express concerns that such political intervention into history, suspension of Soviet archives declassification, arrests and dismissal of historians and extension of political influence into classrooms testify return to authoritarian methods of government, whereas Eastern media do not speculate much on the topic and concentrate on the joint teacher's book rather than changes in schoolbooks.[203]

It must be noticed that unlike the previous program that was developed in the result of open scholarly discussions during meetings and conferences and which is published on the web page of the Institute of National Remembrance the new Ministerial version has unknown origin. The changes introduced to the program

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[201] TSN, Druhyi za dobu akt vandalizmu v Krymu: spaleno pidruchnyky z istoriyi Ukrayiny. http://tsn.ua/ukrayina/u-krimu-spalili-pidruchniki-z-istoriyi-ukrayini.html. (accessed 4 March 2011).
[202] TSN, U Lvovi vidpovily na spalennia pidruchnykiv v Simferopoli: zdaly na makulaturu. 16 March 2010. tsn.ua/.../u-lvovi-vidpovili-na-spalennya-pidruchnikiv-v-simferopoli-zdali-na -makulaturu-knizhki-z-istoriyi-srsr.html . (accessed 4 March 2011).
[203] The World. Brigid McCarthy. Ukraine rewrites history books (audio). 10 November 2010. http://www.theworld.org/2010/11/ukraine-rewrites-history-books/ . (accessed 4 March 2011). Timothy Snyder. Who's Afraid of Ukrainian History? The New York Review of Books. September 21, 2010 . (accessed 4 March 2011). http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2010/sep/21/whos-afraid-ukrainian-history/. Russia Today. ROAR: Scholars decide if "uniform history textbook" may fight misinterpretation. 18 June, 2010. http://rt.com/politics/roar-scholars-decide-uniform/ . (accessed 4 March 2011)..

accordingly were not dictated by an official order, the web page of the Minister of Education only provides a program for fifth grade which was never publicly examined.

The change in the material did not stop controversies in the society but, on the contrary, increased it. Moreover, the rapid alteration of the program caused the failure to supply all school with the books on time (some regions were supplied by only 30% in February 2011). Ministry recommended using the online versions but there are strong doubts that such solution suits the teaching process in Ukraine especially in rural areas. On the other hand, one should not forget that between schoolbook and children knowledge stands the teacher.

Teachers had different reactions on the changes, some told that they would conduct classes according to the program but fill in with the information they consider important even if the facts were deleted from books. Others informed that the last paragraphs about 20$^{\text{th}}$-21$^{\text{st}}$ centuries were usually omitted anyway due to the lack of time at the end of school year.

However, the steps taken by the government also mobilized the activity of pedagogues. Hence, "Nova Doba", the All-Ukrainian Association of Teachers of History and Social Studies that unite 36 representatives from different regions in cooperation with EUROCLIO decided to publish their own supplementary manual *Together on one land. The history of Ukraine is multicultural*, the materials of which are based on multicultural and multi-perspective approach. The Association was previously conducting surveys about the drawbacks of existing books as well as teachers' vision of the new teaching materials and concluded that Ukraine is ready to make a step towards European tendencies. The boom around history led to animation of new discussions and attracted attention of the media and the public. The manual financed by the Council of Europe will be published in 2011.

To conclude, schoolbooks belong to one of the means of remembering the past that are controlled on the state level and this is why the analysis of schoolbooks of the independent Ukraine indicates the same tendencies as official memory policy. Currently, Ukrainophile and Eastern Slavic schools of historiography prevail in the country. All presidents, except Yanukovych, have followed the Ukraionophile tradition, despite the three memory canons that exist in Ukraine. The surveys prove that the Ukrainian nation is ready for transformations from the ethnocentric and state-centered

vision of history to a multiethnic and anthropological approach. The biggest preparations for the transition were done during 2008-2009 when the concept and new teaching programme were developed. However, the election of Yanukovych prevented the implementation of the project and even partially caused Ukrainian history to return into the pre-independence stage. The rapid changes caused negative reactions especially in the western regions, where supplementary material started to be published with the facts that had been excluded from the approved book. The All-Ukrainian Teachers' Association also mobilized its resources to publish an alternative manual. As can be seen, rapid innovations from the government on the one hand separated the country, as not all regions agree with the decision, but on the other encouraged some teachers to unite in opposition to the government.

4. Changes in Ukrainian national ritual system

The role of school education in the development of common memories of citizens cannot be overestimated. Its obligatory character and dependence on the state gives a unique possibility of introducing official memory policy. However, strong memories require regular recollection, thus ritualization and invention of traditions in reference to important historical events secures their place in the national canon, and at the same time, neglecting them increases the likelihood that they will be forgotten. The canonical historical events are not only intensified by symbols in everyday life (monuments, museums, emblems, street names), but also in the national calendar, which becomes an invisible boundary between the present and the past. The importance of particular days are underlined by special attention being paid by ruling elites, state institutions, mass media or in case of a holiday, by its day-off status. Simultaneously to the reconstruction of history, the national ritual system was being invented in Ukraine.

This part provides a chronological overview of the changes in the national ritual system that were introduced by four presidents of the modern Ukraine. In addition, the response of people in the regions, as well as in Ukraine in general, is demonstrated. The analysis is grounded on the legal acts issued by the President and Supreme Council. The reactions of the society are examined with the reference to statistical data and announcements in the media.

4.1 Kravchuk and Kuchma as the pioneers of post-Soviet memory reconstruction

After the obtaining independence the state started to deconstruct communist symbolic space, which involved introducing a new state emblem and flag, dismantling Soviet ideological monuments and renaming the streets and institutions. However, these steps were not consistent and the intensity differed around the country. As a result, nowadays there are no monuments to Lenin left in the western regions, whereas they can still be found on the main squares of many eastern and southern cities and towns. From the Soviet ritual calendar only three holidays were transferred to the Ukrainian one: Woman's Day, May Day and Victory Day. At the beginning of the 1990s "blank spots" of Ukrainian history were revealed and consequently new monuments were erected to the victims of the Holodomor, the victims of the communist regime and personalities previously condemned by Soviet rule (e.g., Ivan Mazepa). Nevertheless, the actions were more focused on the history of earlier periods rather than the most contested 20th century. Though having pro-Ukrainian features, Kravchuk's memory policy may be characterized by the blurred borders between Soviet and new traditions. Scholars speak about the eclectic methods applied in the official memory policy of that time.[204] It should be stressed that the state was not leading a structured and systematic memory policy, as there were other priorities. Hence, national revival was mainly initiated by the cultural elites and students, the majority of whom originated from Western Ukraine or Kyiv. The state was not ready to radically separate with the Soviet tradition, and this resulted in fluctuations between the nationalistic and Soviet models. Being a multidimentional political personality, Kravchuk managed to "walk between raindrops", proven by the good image he still has throughout the whole country.

The next decade was the epoch of Kuchma who followed the steps of his predecessor. However, he also initiated closer relations with Russia and correspondingly could not allow "extreme" nationalism in the country. His course of state building consisted of a balance between Russia and the West, and a partial rehabilitation of Soviet historic and cultural heritage.[205] At the same time, he was appealed to the Ukrainophile version of history, which was reflected in memory policy.

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[204] Zernii, "State Memory Policy…," 34-38.
[205] Volodymyr Kravchenko, "Boi s tenyu. Sovetskoye proshloye v istoricheskoi pamyati sovremennoho obshchestva," Ab Imperio, 2 (2004), 340.

The state created new "realms of memory," discovering the silenced pages of history: the Holodomor 1932-33, Chornobyl catastrophe, Kruty Battle. Some researchers assure/ that the *Decree on the commemoration of Kruty Battle Heroes* demonstrates the strategies of the official memory policy for the first time, which lie in the strengthening of the high political culture in the society through respecting the history of the Ukrainian people.[206]

The Cossack period proceeds in being one of the most popular and beneficial periods for memory policy, nevertheless Kuchma's mix of national and Soviet traditions led to controversy in the country. A clear example is the celebration of the 350th anniversary of the notorious Pereyaslav Treaty, which according to Ukrainophile school, symbolizes the start of Ukraine's dependence on Russia. The celebration of self-defeat was treated as national humiliation by cultural elites around the country.

Further proof of Kuchma's multifaceted policy is demonstrated in the almost simultaneous decrees about commemorating a CPU Secretary, Volodymyr Shchcerbytskyi, whose name is associated with the Chornobyl accident, Russification and deportations, and a dissident Vyacheslav Chornovil, who was in exile for "anti-Soviet activity" at the time of Shcherbytskyi. Naturally, the center of the first event was in the east, and of the second in the west. On February 23rd 2000, , the Day of the Soviet Army was restored under the name "The Day of the Fatherland Defender". Another example of resovietization was the 85th anniversary of the Comsomol (Lenin Communist Union of the Youth of Ukraine) that was commemorated on the state level in 2003.[207] The inconsistency is visible regarding that the decrees *On Commemmoration Day of the Holodomors and Repressions Victims* (1998 N1310) and *On the Launching the Commission for Study and Assessment of OUN-UPA Activities* (N 1004/1997) were published at the same time. The results, though published in 2004, were not reflected in the course of the massive celebrations dedicated to Victory Day. The state lacked the political will to acknowledge the status of UPA as a fighting party in WWII. Despite the lack of systematic character, Kuchma made noticeable improvements with regards to the remembrance of the Holodomor. Besides introducing it into the ritual calendar, he also was the first to raise the question of the genocidal nature of the Holodomor. In

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[206] "On Kruty worriers commemoration" N 12/2003, (24 January 2003).
[207] "Pro 85-richia LKCMU ta posylennia roli molodizhnykh hromadskyh orhanizatsij u vykhovnij roboti z moloddiu."

November 2002 the Supreme Court condemned the "official genocidal policy that was lead by the leaders of the totalitarian Soviet regime." Later, by presidential decree, the construction of a Holodomor memorial was initiated and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs started an information campaign in order to raise the question of Ukrainian genocide on the international level.[208] These steps provided the foundations for one of the leading topics in Ukrainian collective memory with the potential to have a unifying nature.

Another innovation in memory policy was the commemoration of the victims of the political repressions in Bykivnia and creation of the memorial, however in the year of the 50th anniversary of WW II, Victory Kuchma underlined the role of Stalin in the victory and spoke about the historical unity of all Soviet people.[209] The topic of World War II is one of the most interesting in Ukrainian collective memory as half of the population consider it the greatest pride for the nation.[210] In the year 2000 the President issued a decree that should have protected the memory of WWII from falsifications through research, schoolbooks and mass media. However, on the other hand, all the events were synchronized with Russia and the common past was emphasized . Thus, this presupposes that Ukrainian memory about WW II must go in line with the Russian canon. In October 2004, before the famous presidential elections, it already reached Soviet scale, with Vladimir Putin attending a pompous parade in Kyiv dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the liberation of Ukraine.

The topic of World War II, though largely considered as the most important for the Ukrainian memory, is very controversial in reality. Timothy Snyder, in his book *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin,* mentions that the loss of Ukraine and Belarus in the war were the biggest losses, however due to the Soviet and post-Soviet propaganda of Victory Day, it became the biggest myth of Ukrainian memory policy. As a result, the celebrations include military parades in main cities of the country, wreath-laying ceremonies, meetings, conferences and exhibitions on the topic, media coverage with nostalgic and predominantly Russian programs and films. In preparation for the holiday, the WWII related monuments, which are constant victims of damage, are restored and much attention is paid to veterans. Tracing back the history of the

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[208] Hryhoriy Ivanchenko, "Khronolohiya vyznannia Holodomoru henotsydom ukrayinskoyi natsiyi," 28 November 2009. http://www.bershad.ua/news/tema/holodomor/15692.html.

[209] "Ukrayina vshanovuye peremozhtsiv, Holos Ukrayiny," (11 May 1995), 3-5.

[210] Razumkov Centre think tank, "Yak vy stavytes do 9 travnia?", http://www.uceps.org/ukr/socpolls.php (accessed 11 March 2011).

holiday, it was introduced into the Soviet symbolic calendar in 1965 and actually ideologically substituted as the "Great October Socialist Revolution".[211]

Ukrainian controversies involve several problems, such as the perception of liberation in western Ukraine as occupation, the ambiguous status of UPA troops and the general vision of Ukraine as a victor or as a victim of the war. Kuchma's policy worked for the intensifying Soviet traditions of WW II commemorations to become a central event in collective memory. In the *National Program for Patriotic Education, Development of Spirituality and Strengthening Moral Values of the Society,* published in 1999. patriotism is linked with military rituals including Victory Day celebrations. Kuchma restored the term "Great Patriotic War" in schoolbooks which, after Independence, was substituted by "World War II."[212]

Thus, as can be seen, official memory policy during Kravchuk's and especially Kuchma's presidency has an eclectic character, combining Ukrainian and Soviet traditions. This ambivalence was well represented on Kuchma's pre-election poster in 1999 under the motto "Know ours", where he was depicted among great Ukrainians: the poet Taras Shevchenko and the football player Andriy Shevchenko, Ivan Mazepa, Soviet commanders and heroes of Ukrainian origin. However, there was no place for the contentious Stepan Bandera and Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi.[213] The unpleasant moments in 20th century history(banned during Soviet times), such as repressions, the Holodomor, and OUN-UPA were either omitted or mentioned in the neutral narrations.

The main distinctive feature of this period was the regionalization of official events that resulted in certain controversies in the country. Strong negativism was felt from western Ukraine in relation to the Soviet traditions followed in the east. The "game on both fields" became common for the Ukrainian government. Nevertheless, it did not help to develop a shared system of values and common national identity. Two memory patterns continued their existence leading to a disorientation of the citizens and transformations of the memory policy into the object of political manufacturingand manipulations. Political bipolarity matched public ambiguity: the survey in 2003 proved

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[211] Andriy Portnov, "The 'Great Patriotic War' in the politics of memory in Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine: some comparative observations," *Ukrayina Moderna. Pamiat jak pole zmahan*, (Kyiv: Krytyka. 2009) , 212-217.

[212] Ibid.

[213]Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Novi povoroty v ukrayinskiy politytsi pamyati," Ukrayinske Slovo, 6 February 2010, http://ukrslovo.org.ua/ukrayina/istoriya/novi-povoroty-v-ukrayinskij-politytsi-pam-yati.html (accessed 25 February 2011).

that the majority of Ukrainians favor historical personalities who are mutually excluding, like Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Peter I, Leonid Brezhniev and Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykyta Khrushchov. It could have been explained by regional preferences, especially owing to the polarity between the west and south-east. However, the almost equal number of supporters (nearly 69% for each) within the same questionnaire for joining the European Union and and for the Eastern Slavic Union with Russia and Belarus demonstrates the ambivalent identity of Ukrainians.

4.2   Reinforced attention to memory policy during Yushchenko and Yanukovych

A new stage of memory policy started after the Orange Revolution with the beginning of Yushchenko's presidency. During the revolution, memory had already become the mobilizing factor of the Ukrainian nation; political rhetoric of those days appealed to the heroic and tragic events and personalities of Ukrainian history. Viktor Yushchenko   also referred to history in his speeches,   for example, during his inauguration he mentioned heroes who died for victory, martyrs of Oswiecim, GULAGs, victims of the Holodomor, deportations, and the Holocaust, and stressedi that victory will come to those who remember their roots and stay themselves. [82] Thus, he clearly follows the line of the memory of victimization, uniting all ethnos and regions through the trauma of the 20th century tragedies for Ukraine. From his first days in office, Yushchenko demonstrated support of the Ukrainophile version of history without maneuvering towards the Soviet. Unlike beforehand, memory policy focused on the controversial issues, raising from oblivion the names of Ivan Mazepa, Roman Shukhevych, Stepan Bandera and the history of the Holodomor, and OUN-UPA.

Between 2005 and2009 the Supreme Council issued dozens of acts in the field of historical memory. Researchers view the most important ones to be those connected with the commemoration of victims of political repressions and the Holodomor, deportation of ethnic Ukrainians from Polish territories, the 20th century liberation movement, the Ukrainian Revolution in 1917-1920, the liberation movement of the 17th century, the Konotop Battle victory, the proclamation of the Carpathian Ukraine, and the 1020th anniversary of Kyivan Rus Christianity.[214] The text of the legislative acts

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[214] Zernij, "State Memory Policy," 40.

always stressed national consolidation, the establishment of historical justice, the promotion of national reconciliation and understanding as well as the recovery of national memory as its aim. One of the biggest achievements was the establishment of the Institute of National Remembrance as an executive body responsible for memory policy in the country. Under the aegis of President Yushchenko several big museum projects were realized such as "Artistic Arsenal" in Kyiv, "Hetman Capital" in Baturyn, Shevchenko National Reserve in Kaniv and others.

The course of policy is oriented on a reinterpretation of Soviet historical myths and the construction of new collective identity. For instance, the emphasis is shifted from Poltava Battle (where Peter I defeated Charles XII and Mazepa) to the Baturyn Tragedy (slaughter of the capital Baturyn population by Peter I officers); as Yushchenko put it: "No Baturyn tragedy, no Poltava battle. These are two sides of one coin." [152]

Another tragedy of the Ukrainian nation − the Holodomor (1932-33) occupies the central place in constructing national memory. The events and discussions connected with this tragic page of Ukrainian history crossed the borders of domestic policy and reached the international level. Representation of the Holodomor as genocide in the act *On Holodomor 1932-1933 in Ukraine* starts the process of acknowledgement it, as such, on the international level. At the end of 2008 the tragedy was condemned by 29 countries around the world and international organizations, such as OSCE, UNESCO, and the European Parliament. During the 75th anniversary the commemoration reached the whole of Ukraine. , Regional administrations were responsible for detecting the people who survived and to recording their testimonies. Since 2006 there has been the tradition of a minute of silence and the lightning of candles overnight in memory of victims. Generally, the statistics prove support among the Ukrainian society towards the acknowledgement of the Holodomor as genocide. Higher support, 77%, is observed in the west; the region that did not experience the Great Famine, but that has higher interest in Ukrainian questions. Central and southern regions show 66% and 51% respectively. The lowest level of support is in the east − 39%.[215]

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[215] Valentyn Pustovoit, "Sotsiolohiya zasvidchuye: rozkol Ukrayiny pohlybliuyetsia," Ukrayinska Pravda (25 October 2006), http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/4b1a9c054d11e/ (accessed 2 March 2011).

On the country level the *Act on Holodomor* was directed within the decommunization of historic memory. It gave an impulse to the second wave of deconstruction of the post-Soviet symbolic space (the first one occurred at the beginning of 1990s, primarily in western regions). The President issued an order to dismantle the monuments to people involved in the organization of both the repressions and the Holodomor. During 2007-2008 nearly 400 sculptures of the mentioned type disappeared from the streets and nearly three thousand objects were renamed.[216] However, the order also caused controversies in the regions as some inhabitants from the west wanted to dismantle all monuments of the Soviet epoch, including those related to World War II, whereas people from the east and south did not want to separate with the monuments to Lenin on the main squares. Both parts have their own positions and do not understand the other party. However, most problematic is the ambivalent group, which is the one most sensitive to manipulations. The results of the survey about the attitude to monuments to Stalin show that majority of Ukrainians are in opposition, but nearly a quarter of respondents are either indifferent or unsure.[217] If such a tendency is observed with relation to the dictator, more uncertainty can be expected towards other Soviet personalities.

The second important aspect of official memory policy involves World War II, and to be more exact, the liberation movement in Ukraine during year of war . Unlike Kravchuk and Kuchma, Yushchenko did not omit and avoid the unexplored topic of OUN-UPA, which reached its peak in January 2010 with the heroization of Bandera and recognition of OUN-UPA, the fighting party for Ukraine's independence. While trying to reconcile society and equalize the armies of WW II, he often combined mutually excluding symbols in his speeches, for example listing General Nikolai Vatutin, killed by UPA partisans, and leader of UPA, Roman Shukhevych together or using the terms 'World War II' and 'Great Patriotic War' simultaneously.[218] The compromise with Ukrainian character was also felt in the traditional greeting billboards on the occasion of Victory Day. It said "Glory to Heroes!", which first of all did not specify the heroes and secondly is a common answer to the Ukrainian nationalistic greeting "Glory to Ukraine!" Nevertheless, despite the fact that the Ukrainian memory canon was

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[216] Speech by the President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko in Bykivnia on the Day of Victims of Political Repressions.
[217] Razumkov Centre.
[218] Portnov, "The 'Great Patriotic War'," 216.

prevailing in combinations of symbols and myths, sometimes it was a reminder of Kuchma's strategies. A clear example was the celebration of the 90th anniversary of the Lenin Communist Union of the Youth of Ukraine, which without doubt caused mischief between the people, as it did ten years earlier. Eastern and southern regions reacted to pro-western policy with a range of opposite actions, like the opening a monument to Catherine II in Odessa, the decision of the Kharkiv region to dismantle all OUN-UPA signs and the opening of the monument to the "Soviet victims who died from the hands of fascist abettors OUN-UPA".

The interpretation of statistical data indicates that the popularity of the Victory Day has been stable for the last eight years and equals nearly 70%. In regional distribution the holiday is very important for more than 70% of inhabitants of central, eastern and southern regions, whereas this position is shared only by 30% in the west as the rest view it as a common state holiday. It is interesting to compare the results that the Independence Day is a special holiday for 15-20% of Ukrainians, a common state holiday for 40% and just a day-off for 35%. The question of reconciliation shows better tendencies: as much as 50% accept the idea of forgiveness, however, negativism increases when the name UPA is mentioned. Over the last ten years, support for UPA veterans has increased, researchers believe this to be due to the number of people who were formerly in the indifferent category. Nevertheless, the number of people ready to reconcile with regards to history decreased from 65.3% in 2003 to 46.2% in 2009.[219]

As far as national minorities are concerned, during Yushchenko's presidency an attempt was made to concentrate not only on the memories of Ukrainians and Russians, but also start reconciliation with other neighbors and to include ethnohistories into the collective memory of modern Ukrainians, as well as place it within a common European framework.[220]

With the elections in 2010 the memory police, who had only just started to transform from words and legislation into action, became subject to change. The modifications predominantly involved the key topics of Yushchenko's policy. Hence, from the first days of Viktor Yanukovych's time in office, information about the Holodomor escaped from the President's web page. Later, during the Parliamentary

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[219] Pustovoit, "Sotsiolohiya zasvidchuye:…" .
[220] Zernij, "State Memory Policy," 44.

Assembly of the European Council in Brussels, the President declared that it would be dishonest to acknowledge the Holodomor as genocide. Nevertheless, the information was restored to the web page and Yanukovych explained that he meant that the Holodomor is a tragedy for many Soviet countries of that period. Presidential rhetoric resembles that of USSR leaders, moreover, the tendency appears to silence or neglect unpleasant topics.

The next step was the case about the deheroization of Bandera and Shukhevych which, took a year to approve. The third and most controversial changes were connected with Victory Day and the symbolism of the Soviet epoch. The celebrations of the 65th anniversary involved not only the traditional parades in four 'Hero-cities', but also military marches and military machinery demonstrations in 27 other cities. For the first time in the history of the independent Ukraine, the soldiers of Russia and Belarus marched together with Ukrainians in Kyiv.

On the regional level, Victory Day 2010 expressively indicated different mentalities and memory canons around the country. Lviv City Council approved the act stating that the official name of the war in 1939-1945 is World War II, and May 8-9 are the Days of Commemoration of WW II victims. Moreover, it was an order to raise the national flag with the black mourning ribbon; however this was prohibited by court. In Luhansk, the city that borders Russia, the CPU decided to decorate the streets with Stalin posters and quotations, one of which depicted Charles de Gaulle and his words: "the name of Stalin will be always linked with the memory about the Great Struggle of the Soviet people…"[221] In addition, the monument to the victims of OUN-UPA was erected.[222] The CPU in Zaporizhzhia opened the monument of Stalin in front of their headquarters. The monument became a ground for discord, especially after it was decapitated by the young activists from Western region. Currently, fifteen people are in jail and under investigation. At the same time, damage of other monuments is ignored. This leads towards the conclusion that the emphasis of memory policy are shifting towards the re-Sovietization, however only on the domestic level. For the European and world community, Yanukovych applies a different rhetoric. The President calls it "the European idea of regional pluralism", which allows regions to decide on their

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[221] Ukrainian Truth, "U Luhansku zyavylys billbordy zi Stalinym," Ukrayinska Pravda, 29 April 2010, http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2010/04/29/4991765/. (accessed 2 March 2011).

[222] TSN. U Luhansku vidkryly monument zhertvam OUN-UPA, http://tsn.ua/ukrayina/u-lugansku-vidkrili-monument-zhertvam-oun-upa.html (accessed 2 March 2011).

preference, be that Stalin or Bandera. However, this does not explain why the monument of Lenin on the main square in Kharkiv was deleted from the promo-video dedicated to Euro-2012. As it was rightfully noted by Portnov, the European rhetoric is applied by all political powers to justify their actions, which shows that it became an object of manipulation in the country.

To summarize, the two last Presidents dedicated history to be one of the strategic parts of their domestic policy. Yushchenko may be called the main memory-maker in Ukraine so far, but his actions were one-sided and lay within the nationalistic memory canon typical for western Ukraine, as he followed a rapid decommunization strategy. He failed to actualize other memory discourses, which even deepened the hostility in the society. As a result, the amount of people ready for peaceful dialogue decreased by 20%. However, during his presidency, the cross-border cooperation in the field of contested histories was broadened. The activation of the Holodomor issue and the attention of the world community to the question may be considered Yushchenko's biggest success in shaping collective memory. It seems the trauma of the Holodomor might be a unifying factor in Ukrainian history. In terms of the last year of memory policy, lead by Yanukovych, a rapid comeback to Soviet traditions can be observed. However, it is too early to make a conclusion about the results, as old methods are not applicable in the modern, globalized age, and this may lead to unexpected outcomes.

4.3 Role of mass media in Ukrainian memory policy

The previous parts demonstrated the changes in the official memory policy implemented through ritualization and education. School history has undoubtedly one of the strongest influences on collective memory, but it is not the only one. According to the survey, nearly 30% of Ukrainians received their knowledge of history from school, but the top positions are taken by television, radio and the press.[223] The latter usually contains historical material, either in a special section or devoted to certain events, but the information provided commonly follows a strict ideological position and rarely explains different viewpoints. Ukrainian television, on the other hand, performs a more entertaining than educational function. The surveys show that most viewers belong to the minimalist type, thus opting for news, talk-shows and films. However, recently there

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[223] Sereda, Viktoria. Regional Historical Identities and Memory. *Ukrayina Moderna, 2007, Lviv-Donetsk: sotsialni identychnosti v suchasnii Ukrayini.*, (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2009), 168.

has been a tendency to substitute traditional sources of information with modern technology. Though the number of television viewers is rather high in Ukraine (80%), the amount of people reading and watching the news on the Internet is steadily increasing.

If, in the times of Kravchuk and Kuchma, television could have been regarded as a powerful instrument of memory and identity policy, nowadays, the reputation of traditional Ukrainian mass media is questionable. Nevertheless, even in those times, the different media were not able to form one memory field for the whole country due to several reasons. First of all, printed media cannot bid for the main role, because according to surveys, the vast majority of the population opt for local newspapers that provide the information people are familiar with and feel a closer relation to. In addition, the most widely read papers are local versions of Russian editions.[224] A similarity is observed with the radio. Hence, the most influential influence is television, but a question about the quality of Ukrainian television cannot be ommited.

A classical figure in the theory of nationalism, Ernest Gellner, stated that the cultural elites form national consciousness through the creation of the cultural artifacts, which are based on national myths. The task of journalists is to distribute those creations to involve the masses in the image of the nation. However, Ukrainian television is almost deprived of national programs that can shape national memory and identity. If a historical event or a personality is mentioned briefly in news coverage (not all channels are do that), then the rest of the channel content is usually disconnected from the topic, with the exception of Victory Day and Independence Day.

From onset of Independence, the majority of programs on Ukrainian television continued to be of Russian origin. National television was just starting its development and the avalanche of Soviet and later Russian programs filled the media space. However, with time, the number of Russian and American programs was only increasing, whereas Ukrainian, owing to its limitedness to the local market, was ousted from the prime time. This causes incoherence of national history taught at school or patriotic Presidential discourse, and the content of foreign media programs that promote their versions of history. As a result, in May most channels broadcast Soviet films and

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[224] Institute of the sociology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Hromadska dumka v Ukrayini – 2009, http://www.i-soc.com.ua/institute/ (accessed 14 March 2011).

documentaries about war, or on the Day of Holodomor Commemoration the news block on the national tragedy is followed by an entertaining show.

Ukrainian media, to a large extent is ruled by the economic and political context. As was noted by a prominent Ukrainian media researcher, Volodymyr Kulyk, despite declaring an unbiased nature, most Ukrainian media does not show ideological pluralism. Though a number of media practices are oriented towards shaping national identity, the majority show Ukraine being linked to Russia and that presents Ukrainian identity as if it were dissolved in Russian/Eastern Slavic/Soviet identity. The tendency did not change even after the Orange Revolution, though the practices of Ukrainians changed.[225] Due to the primitive level of the media. Russification, and lack of time on the one hand, and the increase of Internet users and the high level of piracy in the country on the other hand, more Ukrainians prefer the Internet to other forms of media.

To summarize, traditional mass media are slowly but steadily losing their positions to the Internet, which is considered to be a more democratic and pluralistic source of information. Neither the Ukrainian press nor television can claim the leading role in national consolidation, as they are marginalized by the Russian media Hence, it may be stated that media in Ukraine promotes a pro-Russian memory canon that is very close to the one that existed during the Soviet Union. This process may lead to the strengthening of the existing Soviet identity or the development of "schizophrenic identity" in younger generations.

To conclude with, in modern Ukraine one can distinguish at least three canons of historical memory that are rooted in different visions of the past. Nevertheless, in the basis of Ukrainian official historical narration lies the Hrushevskyi's theory of Ukrainian history as a long history of struggle for statehood with Kyivan Rus being a proto-Ukrainian state. However, in Soviet times, the history of separate republics could exist if not contradicting the official version and as Ukrainian history claimed most of the Soviet canon, the country was almost deprived of national history as well as cultural elites whose task is to preserve collective memory through their activity. For a long time Ukrainian history was marginalized to family stories.

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[225] Kulyk, *Dyskurs ukrayinskyh mediy* , 312

With the independence Ukrainian elites resorted to the opposite extreme and started to dethrone ones in order to crown the others. From nowadays viewpoint, this was an extreme and improper decision however it was provoked by the necessity to establish borders between Ukrainian and Soviet or Russian. This process takes several generations and is not completed so far.

The main targets of the official memory policy were and still are schoolbooks that enshrine the official narration, ritual calendar which is represented through symbols and common practices. As it was shown, every president addressed the historical past while being in office. However, their motives are not always clear as while speaking about truth and honesty they simultaneously decide what include in the book or not. The most perversive cases with schoolbooks are associated with the last two presidents. Yushchenko introduced his family and Orange revolution into the schoolbook at the cost of first two presidents. However, this step was outsmarted by Yanukovych' whose government decided to correct and clean some pages in history from negative picture of Russian. Nevertheless, Tabachnyk's corrections in history brought positive caused various public reactions. Western regions printed the alternative manuals, in Kyiv teachers also expressed their dissatisfaction but the rest parts of the country kept silent. This may be explained by the fact that due to high level of regional attachment the situation in the country is weighed from personal perspective only.

As far as commemorative practices are concerned, the early Kravchuk's actions oriented on de-Sovetization were soon substituted by the chaotic combination of three canons with Ukrainian dominating. Kuchma's stretegies could not be defined neither as multicultural nor as pro-Russian However the public perceived them as a step towards the East.

The policy acquired new meaning with President Yushchenko who first of all legalized the status of memory policy in Ukraine and institutionalized having created the Institute of National Remembrance. Moreover, the majority of innovations introduced by Yushchenko were of openly nationalistic character without an attempt to "play on both fields". On the other hand, though promising to be the president of the whole country, he actualized the memories of the western part only and could not make them unifying for Ukraine. Nevertheless, the biggest achievement of Yushchenko is a

big campaign around the Holodomor memory which can finally enter national memory canon.

With Yanukovych in office memory policy started to move in the opposite direction. Some decisions on the legislative level brought the country to the starting point of nearly ten years ago. However, there is a new generation that is more impassionate about the past and oriented onto the future.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Twenty years have passed since Ukraine obtained its independence. This is not a long period of time, but nevertheless it is a good moment at which to sum up, to recollect the first years when the young country was getting on its feet, to recollect what the priorities were then and where are we now. On a personal level, most Ukrainians have definitely experienced change: growing older, changing marital status, changing work or residence, whilst on a broader country level, not all transformations are so vivid.

This thesis aimed to explore the tendencies in state humanitarian policy, namely official memory policy, which the executive branch of the government (the president, the Cabinet of Ministers) is responsible for. Hence, the main interest was in scrutinizing the most typical features of the policy and its main orientation. The power of the prevailing authority, strengthened by the dubious nature that Ukrainian legislative practices assume, ensures that official collective memory is, to a great extent, influenced by political decisions.

Moreover, in accordance with the thesis statement, the task of the research was to look at how state policy towards the country's past influences the moods in the state and to see if collective memory is performing its main task – being a basis of collective identity. Yet, before studying the Ukrainian case of memory and identity relation, the theoretical frameworks of the mentioned notions were explored.

The author opted for constructivist and presentist theories, taking into account the dominant role of Ukrainian executive power in shaping official memories. To summarize the theoretical context, it is important to mention that memory is, first of all, a social phenomenon which is created, maintained and sent into oblivion by people. The main task of memory is to settle the links between the past, present and future., This is why, in order to be effective, memories should support present needs. This brings us to the fuzzy nature of memory that partially overlaps with history, myth and reality.

Despite the existence of a wide variety of memory classifications, most scholars distinguish individual memory and collective memory. The latter strongly relies on historic facts which, nevertheless, may be distorted in order to update the memory, which when reaching broad popularity provokes revision of history.

Neither collective memory nor history can be fully controlled, as both require acceptance on the level of the individual and must relate to a person's everyday life. Nevertheless, rigidity to memory changes increases with age and experience, which makes schools the main target of the official memory policy. The ultimate aim of state education is not collective memory as such, but what it shapes, namely common identity. Self-identification requires setting a starting point and memory helps to place the "self" in time, to achieve the feeling of continuity and rootedness. Memory equips people with value schemes, with the understanding of what is "good" and "bad", according to which people identify. On the other hand, changes in collective identity restructure the memories.

The intertwined relationship between memory and identity is often utilized by state authorities to mobilize the nation or to justify their actions. This also explains why, in the 19th century, national histories appeared together with nation-states. The invented community needed the feeling of belonging, which is guaranteed by shared memories about the past, about events that most commonly have no living witnesses, but that are important for justifying the community's existence. The official memory canon includes what must be remembered, and ousts what must be forgotten, according to the demands in society.

Nevertheless, no society is a homogeneous unit, thus multiplicity of memories and respective identities is common. While the European Union is struggling to construct a transnational identity, regional identities are acquiring more importance as a protection from globalization and the watering down of identity.

With regard to the Ukrainian case, the topic of regionalization is quite often discussed in mass media as well as in academia. Following the objectives of the thesis, the historic causes of contemporary interregional conflicts were investigated. After critically analyzing scholarly works on the history of Ukrainian land, it was revealed that the nature of Ukrainian regionalism does not fit into a simple black and white division. The complex, turbulent history of the territories between the east and the west has resulted in the multilayer character of Ukrainian identity. What is more, the understanding of the actual notion of Ukrainian identity differs throughout the country. Public opinion polls show that for the inhabitants of the eastern regions, being Ukrainian does not have a linguistic or ethnic affiliation, while the majority of those

who come from the west associate Ukrainian with titular ethnos only. Subsequently, from the very beginning this difference leads to misunderstandings about future goals.

If the polarity of the country can be resolved by a transition into a federalist form of government, Ukraine's situation is more challenging. Indifference or ambiguity regarding state affairs is typical of the biggest part of population (nearly 50%). This can be explained by the low level of security: people will opt for any option or for both so long as there is no war, famine, crisis, etc. However, this group easily becomes an object of manipulation which can trigger swings in state policy. As has been previously theorized, a nation (meaning a civil community) feels unity through shared history as well as a shared symbolic system, often of invented character.

It is Ukraine's history that is the main stumbling block for the country, or to be more exact, the interpretation of this history. The overview of historical causes of regionalism reveals that, due to Ukraine's long-lasting partitioned existence within neighboring countries, people developed different survival schemes. For western Ukraine, which belonged to Poland, the Habsburg Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and Romania, and often felt discriminated against on the basis of ethnicity, the main strategy for survival became the struggle to maintain the native language, culture, traditions and religion.

Eastern regions under Russia did not feel ethnic or religious inequality, they were viewed as one ethnos. The identity offered by Tsardom was broader, more general and flexible. The Russian Empire encouraged Ukrainians to become Russian in terms of loyalty to the Empire and usage of the Russian language, however there was no prohibition against having another regional identity. In the west the situation was to the contrary; the identitywas usually inherited and changes were not tolerated.

The analysis indicates that there is more regional variety in the west than in the east. Furthermore, Crimea must be viewed separately, taking into consideration the Russian-Tatar conflict on the peninsula.

This retrospective view gives evidence as to why the Soviet policy of "harmonization" failed in western Ukraine and was so naturally perceived by eastern parts. This also proves that the tight link some regions have with Russia is not due to the merit of the Soviet Union alone, but was experienced before communism.

Nevertheless, after receiving independence the authorities, in the need to differentiate from Soviet heritage, opted for a Ukrainophile version of history. In

addition, the idea of nationalism was only then properly developed and ready for implementation. On the one hand, it did distinguish Ukraine from Russia, positioning the former as a direct heir of Kyivan Rus. The worsening of relations with Russia in the first post-Independence years only promoted the idea of "othering" against Russia. On the other hand, having rejected the Soviet past, the state rejected the identity of a substantial amount of inhabitants.

Two other forms of regionalism examined in this paper are those based on linguistic and political differences. As far as linguistic identity is concerned, the groups are formed not according to east-west opposition, but in terms of rural vs. urban area. Despite the declared nationalizing policy led by the government, the number of bilingual (Ukrainian-Russian) speakers is constantly increasing. The analysis of the political orientation indicates that voting patterns in Ukraine may be also explained by the history of the country. Between the extreme-right west and the extreme-left East, comprising less than 10% of the territory each, lies the rest of the country. These are areas that have quit Soviet-fanaticism already, but have not acquired a comprehensive identity either.

The ambiguity and ambivalence observed in the country are first and foremost connected with the lack of a common national framework of development. After independence, the importance of the "roadmap" of national identity was underestimated. Thus, an effective national idea as a combination of a social worldview, values and visions was not developed. Furthermore, an ethnic principle making Ukrainians *primus inter pares* was laid in the core of the collective identity. Even the Constitution of Ukraine dubiously speaks about Ukrainian people as all the citizens of Ukraine, and in another article the expression "Ukrainian nation" actually denotes Ukrainian ethnos only.

Finally, having analyzed the tendencies in official memory policy lead by Ukrainian presidents, the author may conclude that the main characteristic that unites them is the lack of consistency and coherence. This dubiousness concerning memory policy is already seen in the Constitution and later in executive power's decisions. Even Yushchenko's actions which may be considered as the most systematic are of eclectic character. To be more specific, the mix of old Soviet traditions and of the officially accepted Ukrainophile version of history is observed.

The study shows paradoxical nature of the official memory policy in Ukraine, By observing the patterns of inventing new traditions it may be summarized that: Kravchuk was oriented on restoring of Hrushevskyi's version of history which distinguishes Ukraine from Russia. This resulted in alienation of eastern and southern regions. For Kuchma the regional approach was characteristic which presupposes promoting the type of memory a specific region is interested in. This way is beneficial in terms of ethnic minorities, however then historic memory is not performing its main function of shaping national identity. Kuchma's presidency is famous for avoiding controversial topics and smoothening over the contradictions about the past which were not disappearing, however.

A new period of nationalization followed after Yushchenko was elected. The new president was also often combining mutually exclusive notions, but unlike, during Kuchma's times, no regionalization is observed. In his speeches Yushchenko might mention people and events that formed an opposition against each other. His greatest mistake was an attempt to spread the memory canon of the west to the whole of the country. Nevertheless, his general orientation on the modern European tendencies in memory policy could provide a substitution for ambivalence in the society if it were implementad.

At the end, the first year of Yanukovych in power does not indicate positive change. Instead of continuing with Yushchenko's humanitarian reforms, he alters to harmonizing Ukraine's memory with Soviet and Russian history canon. Despite being of the negative character, the changes introduced by Yanukovych did consolidate the regions in their reactions against the government. In the field of memory policy, such unification took place among history teachers who decided to publish another version of history based on principles of anthropocentrism and multiculturalism.

If in the first years of independence the combination of Soviet and nationalistic tradition can be explained by the transition period, then later choice of such strategy may mean that the ruling elites are just not interested in transformations of Ukrainian people into civil society. It is assumed that the policy of double standards is beneficial for the state as every political force can associate with it. However, the research shows that the lack of clear strategy hinders country's progress, as the latter requires consolidation of country's citizens around national goal which is justifies and linked in

time by the past. Instead of mobilizing the country, the official memory policy is tearing it apart.

As official memory policy is usually promoted by mass media, the question of its quality in Ukraine was also raised in the paper. After the analysis of secondary literature and surveys data it may be concluded that Ukrainian television fail to encourage national memory. In fact, it is also characterized by incoherence and dubious nature of the information presented. The information on history delivered by news correspondents is often not supported by the rest of the programs that are in their majority of Russian origin and declare Russian worldview respectively. Similar situation is observed with the newspapers and radio. Besides, taking into account that the majority of the country prefers regional media to national, the danger of regional controversies is increasing. Considering the lack of the official narration on the Ukrainian national idea, regional versions continue to emerge based on the local memory which, as the research has shown, might have opposite geopolitical orientations.

Nevertheless, it must be mentioned due to technological advancement as well as poor quality of media products in Ukraine the citizens of the country give their preference to the Internet. The latter provides more balanced and multidimensional information on various topics, including Ukraine's history.

The world practice shows that the age of facebook-revolutions has started which proves that the Internet becomes another place of memory and the instrument of identity policy. It can be supposed that electronic media may consolidate the nation however, it should be also taken into account that the Internet promotes globalization tendencies. Hence, technological era poses further questions for memory and identity researchers.

Finally, the results of the research lead to the conclusions that several versions of collective memory can be found in Ukraine which originate from the country's past and have regional distribution therefore. For the successful democratic development of the country, Ukrainians must be united by national idea that will equip all the citizens with common goal and shared values. Due to the absence of national idea, the official memory policy of the last two decades was of the dubious, ambivalent and multifaceted nature. Lack of clear national goals, as well as incoherence present in all spheres of

Ukraine's political life, result in the high level of indifference and ambivalence among the people towards the state. Hence, this develops stronger identification with local or regional community and weakens country's consolidation. Thus, the incoherent official memory policy in Ukraine undermines overall feeling of national identity.

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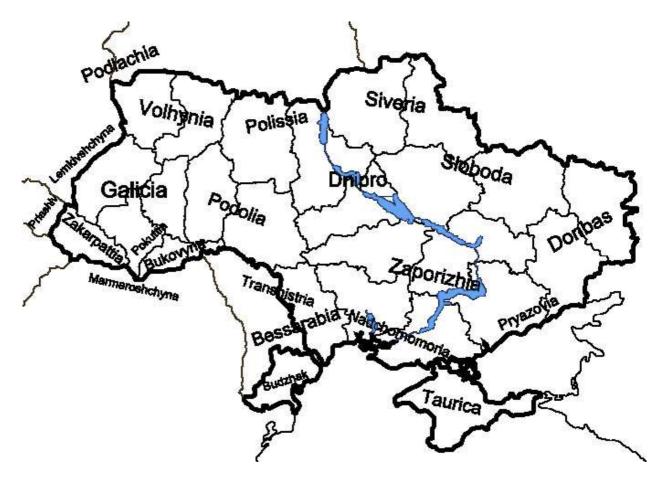Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Istoriya Ukrayiny*, Kyiv: Osvita, 1994.

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Appendix

Map of Administrative regions of Ukraine

Map of historical (ethnic) areas of Ukraine