

## HISTORICAL AND NATIONAL MEMORIES: EVOLUTION OF TERMS' TREATMENT

*The changes in the interpretation of the terms «history» and «memory» in recent decades are examined as well as the general frameworks of possible understanding of national histories in modern Humanities are outlined.*

*Keywords: state, history, past, national identity, memory.*

*Простежені зміни в трактуванні термінів „історія” і „пам’ять” протягом останніх десятиліть, а також окреслені загальні рамки можливого осмислення національних історій у сучасному соціально-гуманітарному знанні.*

*Ключові слова: держава, історія, минуле, національна ідентичність, пам’ять.*

*Прослежены изменения в трактовке терминов «история» и «память» на протяжении последних десятилетий, а также очерчены общие рамки возможного осмысления национальных историй в современном социально-гуманитарном знании.*

*Ключевые слова: государство, история, прошлое, национальная идентичность, память.*

In world politics the power of the state has traditionally acted as a function of its military, economic and demographic potential, dependent on the coherence of power's and management's organization, their ability to enter into alliances and so on. But with the completion of geopolitical confrontation between two blocs during Cold War greatly increased the role that well-known American analyst of international affairs Josef Nye Jr. called «soft power» [13]. In the relations between nations if they are not in a state of outright conflict, the position of the state largely determined by its ability to influence other countries through gained international prestige, attractiveness of government institutions, wealth, culture and scientific achievements, as well as the achievements of the past. Heroic past (for example, the fight against

totalitarianism, or for national liberation) or tragic (martyrdom) is able to induce in others admiration or remorse, and therefore can be a reliable value in policy.

Another reason for the flourishing of memory in post-bipolar world - of the social origin, it is connecting with that in the West has received the name of «democratization of history». It is a powerful movement of liberation and emancipation of nations, ethnic groups, social groups and even individuals in the modern world. It is also the rapid emergence of various forms of memory minorities for whom regaining of own past is an essential part of strengthening its own national identity.

Such memory minorities usually occur during three types decolonization: universal decolonization, whereby ethnologically sleeping and colonially oppressed societies are waking for the historical consciousness and regaining / designing of internal memory; in classic Western societies - during internal decolonization of sexual, social, religious and regional minorities, which are integrating and for which approval of its «memory», that is, in essence, its own history - equivalent to the recognition of their difference by majority who deny them this right. The third type of decolonization peculiar to countries that emerged from the yoke of totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century and created a totalitarian memory.

Policy of any state in historical and based on it national memory, as we know, is based on three principles: amnesia - forgetting some «embarrassing stories», actualization – «recalling» forgotten events, names and dates; ambivalence - the simultaneous existence of different interpretations of certain phenomena. If in totalitarian societies collective memory was created by the «Ministry of Truth», and in this context emerged the concept of «repressed memory», «traumatic memory», «offended people» and finally «rehabilitated memory», then now in post-communist space there is a returning of significant facts that belong to driven into the depths of memory and significantly affect interstate relations.

Indeed post-totalitarian government stop speculation on topics of historical past and do not allow the use of history in political struggle, introducing a moratorium on the complex historical themes not only during election campaigns, but also in the

international activities. Instead, the state promotes for historical education, for the popularization of historical knowledge, for conducting professional and depoliticized public debate on important issues of history, because the politics of national memory (and its international factors, in particular) is in the interests of consolidating society, not its disintegration.

Thus interpreted post-totalitarian memory gives meaning to those past episodes that important for a community (nation), giving preference to those figures, events and processes that contribute to the formation of this nation's image, strengthening its identity and good neighbourly relations with the border and geographically close states. Memory is committed not only reflect the past such as it really was, but to shape it sense for the present. In this context, the well-known saying – «choosing a way to perpetuate the past, the nation while choosing their future» is right, because thereby nation responds to the questions that need to know.

Actuality of clarification the nature of the modern terms «history» and «national memory» and their correlation in Ukraine is determined also by socio-political demand for scientific understanding ways of realization the priority task for the state - accelerate the process of national identity, strengthening social cohesion and consolidation. A special place in this process belongs to the historical memory as the most significant socio-cultural attributes of the nation and national identity, its cornerstone.

Constructing of national myth, the formation on level of collective memory a holistic way of Ukrainian history is an integral part of the domestic national project, a prerequisite for democratic and European progress of Ukraine. Awareness of common historical destiny along with language and cultural traditions brings together individuals, certain social groups in the nations, gives its members a sense of spiritual kinship. Such collective understanding of the past is an important socio-cultural phenomenon of collective and individual identity.

But the integration potential of historical memory on the territory of Ukraine is far from realized fully. Analysis of the situation in the country on issues related to establishment of national memory, shows continuously increasing politicization of

this segment of society during the recent times. The reason for this lies in the process rather than objective factors (the collapse of communist ideology and declaration of state independence caused regular change assessments of the historical past of the Ukrainian people) as in subjective factors (different interpretation of the past by various political forces, including historical themes in the context of political struggle).

I. Hyrych and Yu. Shapoval indicated also in cultural and civilization context of the problem: «Attitudes toward thesis about rethinking of their past depends from mental and civilization choice of the nation. Staying on the edge of two worlds: tilling and nomadic, European and Asian - left its mark on history and cultural preferences of Ukrainians. European civilization over the centuries of its history has made the balance of state and public interests, and civil society based on that. Instead Eurasian tradition based on the entire dominion of the state over society and the individual. Living in west and central Ukraine, which tend to tiller tradition and have been part of Europe for centuries, being part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Austro-Hungarian empire positively perceive a call to condemn the totalitarian practices of communism in the twentieth century. Instead, the rest of Ukraine, which was part of the Russian mental space during last centuries, continues totalitarian time in its history seen as inevitable, «normal» during its historical existence» [4, s.6].

The discussions on the evaluation of important aspects of the historical past of Ukraine grew not only within the scientific debate, but also national borders, as reflected in particular in purposeful leadership position of the Russian Federation on state politics of memory in Ukraine. Lately, of course, there are positive changes in the structure of the historical memory of the nation, which gradually rethinking their own past. However, collective memory of Ukrainians is characterized by constant ambivalence.

Its essence lies in the coexistence of collective representations at two different projections of Ukrainian history's interpretation. The first projection is formed mainly in nationalist historical paradigm, the other - under the influence of imperial

and Soviet history and doctrines formed on the basis of their myths. Contrast and sometimes incompatible values and semantic assessments of historical events and figures, excessive politicization of this segment of social consciousness are the source of social tension, factor for the disintegration of the national community.

It is encouraging that the revival of the historical memory of the Ukrainian people is in the field of public policy since the early days of independence. The authorities develop and implement complex strategies and commemorative practices focused on the formation of collective representations of the past. However, the impact of state policy of memory is reduced by blurring its basic terms, principles and guidelines; imperfect forms, tools, methods of implementation, institutional and regulatory framework; significant regional differences in official representations of Ukrainian history and so on. Further modernization of state policy and public administration in this sphere requires adjustments and improvements, qualified scientific expert support.

Because state policy of memory is an influential factor for processes of Ukraine's international subjectivity consolidation, for its civilization identity and foreign policy. Of course, reintegration into Europe is historic imperative for Ukraine. Along with other areas of governmental domestic and foreign policy, purposeful and deliberate policy of memory brings the Europeanness of the country, help to show its contribution to European and world civilization, to overcome stereotypes of European perception of Ukraine as a «stranger», «other».

However, the process of identifying their history is linked with the process of differentiation and identification of identity markers. Therefore, a clear separation of the country's history from imperial historical patterns is an important task and a necessary condition in terms of confirmation Ukraine in Europe and the world as an equal actor in international politics. Artificial depriving Ukraine of its own history automatically strikes it from the states that qualify for an independent role in world political process. After all, this vacuum is inevitably filled with strange historical schemes, the image of Ukraine in the world's perception merges with the image of

another state – Russia, Ukrainian problems are seeing and solving through the prism of Russian national interests that in many cases are the opposite to Ukrainian.

After successfully overcome a number of shortcomings in understanding of Ukrainian past and developing some very hot topics that had previously been a real taboo, the problem faced before researchers in some way to join the European historical and historiographical process to become part of it. Ukraine, despite countless predictions of Western analysts do not split into two halves, not plunged into civil war or economic chaos, despite the general dysfunctional and corrupt state and despite the obvious decline of the post-Soviet economy. Naturally, after a long skepticism many among Western observers felt some surprise, and therefore felt desire to understand this strange Ukrainian phenomenon. Thus interest in Ukraine is increasing from other states, leading Ukrainian and foreign researchers of national memory are emphasizing the need for a «positive» history.

If initially the Hellenic word «history» means «understanding of research results», today it is most commonly used in three senses. First - the past is one of the components of triad, embodied in European languages and European consciousness: past - present - future, through which people structure the time. But of course, this structure is not universal time, for example, in Japanese the present and future times grammatically expressed equally, that is actually in this language is only the past and present. The second meaning of the term «history» - a story about an event or events, finally the third and principal value - the science that studies the past, relying on written and material evidence of events that occurred. Here it is necessary be noted that not only in everyday perception, but also in the scientific mind, these three values are often mixed.

In addition to certain social and cultural circumstances such frequent confusion of «past» and «history» is dued to Ukrainian language, as, for example, in German the «past» and «historical knowledge» is usually different, and this is according to the word «Vergangenheit» and «historisches Wissen». Although the Ukrainian language, but in this case, is the rule rather than the exception - in English and French «history» and «l’histoire» is also used in both senses.

For example, the phrase «to know history» often at the same time means knowledge about what happened in the past and familiarity with the works of historians. But it does not call attention to at least three important factors: 1) created by historians images of past for centuries often dramatically and radically changed; 2) at different times different groups of historians turned to various aspects of the past (here separate directions in historiography: history of political thought, diplomatic history, political history, military history, economic history etc.); 3) among modern historians, as well as among their predecessors, it's hard to find something similar to the common views of the past. This applies to any single episode of the past and the past of humanity as a whole, not by chance doubts recently increasingly expressed about the very possibility of a unified world history.

Thus, history as a story is closely connected with the history as a science which studies the past. But now the understanding of «historical science» (today it often represented less ambitious – «historical knowledge») further and further separates from its two main tenets that have developed during the Enlightenment. First, history is studying the progress of mankind that has a common logic and focus; the second - this process is subject to objective, that is, scientific knowledge [12].

However, idea of social conditionality of historical knowledge is of particular importance, that is the manner and effects of public interest, public policy, and personal historian to historical science, which always somehow acknowledged. Indeed, the very image of the past as such in the historiography can not in principle be «objective», it is, at best, «reconstruction» of the past, or even just «design», which was for the «real» past.

And recognized that in both cases the image of the past, firstly, depends on the power relations in society and, secondly, acts as a subject of manipulation forces that aim to achieve certain political outcomes in the present. On increasing recognition of such conditionality of historical knowledge can be judged by saturation respective topics of the agenda of major international historians' forums. Back in 2000 one of the main themes of the nineteenth Congress of Historical Sciences in the capital of Norway - Oslo was formulated as follows: «The use of history, its abuse and

responsibility of historians». This formulation meant not only that historians products are not «pure» knowledge, and knowledge, dependent on the specific socio-political circumstances. The point is that this knowledge will inevitably somehow «used» by the authorities, often to the detriment of society, leading to tragic consequences such as interstate war, genocide, ethnic and sectarian conflicts and others.

An example of such usage, which often appears in the literature, is the role of social scientists of the nineteenth century in shaping the ideology and practice of nationalism, «theoretical» solution of the preparation for the First World War. «Scientific justifying» the three most important characteristics of a nation (formed in the distant past, the unity of language, territory and culture), they created an incredible mix of historical destructive forces repeatedly used throughout the twentieth century (just to mention two Balkan Wars 1912-1913 and ethno-religious armed conflicts in the Balkans in the 1990<sup>th</sup>) and continues to flare up in different parts of the Old World these days (at least to Abkhazia and South Ossetia).

An important characteristic feature of the modern historical knowledge is also istoriorization (and yet problematization) of a number of familiar terms. This trend in historiography in recent decades generated a considerable number of studies, among which is especially popular monograph of the distinguish American medievalist historian P. Geary «The myth of nations: the medieval origins of Europe» [11]. Top view of Prof. Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton, NJ, USA), which proves correctness on the example the formation of the idea of «nation» in European science of the nineteenth century, is that the idea of tens of millions of modern Europeans which are proud of their origin from the Romans, Gauls, Iberians, Celts, Angles, Goths, Saxons, Franks, Huns etc., based on illusions. Accordingly, the objectives of his research - to track how these illusions have, i.e. «deconstruct» the myth of the nation ontology and concepts of it as eternal and immutable reality.

Another typical example - the study of American slavacist and culturologist, Prof. at Stanford University L. Wolfe «Invention of Eastern Europe» [2]. Scientist gained wide recognition in our country once quoted in his book, this passage: «Ukraine has always ardently sought freedom». Who said that? This phrase, so relevant to our



times, when Ukraine finally became an independent state, Voltaire wrote in the XVIII century in the «History of Karl XII»: «L'Ukraine a toujours aspiré à être libre».

In his monograph L. Wolfe explores the origins of the conceptual division of Europe into «backward» Eastern and «advanced» Western, this was invented firstly by explorers and thinkers of the Enlightenment and thus was reflected by cartographers and politicians. Before it appeared on map, Eastern Europe emerged in the mind of the Enlightenment' man, constituting in the process of entry, appropriation, imagining, mapping, treatment and involvement that were the result of bizarre combination of imagination, interest and objective fact. This intellectual product of the XVIII century survived the era of his birth and coinciding with the geopolitical realities of the XX century, begat cultural and philosophical anomaly, the effects have not yet been overcome.

Finally, in the same direction problematization historiography owned work of the German historian F.B. Schenk, dedicated to the operation of the cultural memory of Novgorod's (1236-1240, 1241-1252, 1257-1259) and Grand duke of Kyiv (1249-1263) Alexander Nevsky. The main research question that the author puts, quite unusual for post-Soviet historical science - not how his hero was «really» but «how to change the image of Alexander Nevsky during more than seven hundred years of its history» [10, s.10]. The famous French philosopher, a leading representative of philosophical hermeneutics P. Ricœur, indicated in one of his last lectures general shift in the historical knowledge of the twentieth century, defined their integral formula: «The history of events has changed the history of interpretation» [7, s.198].

The term «memory» («national memory») is closely linked with the term «history» and its implementation in the scientific studies in 1920<sup>th</sup> linked to the French philosopher and sociologist M. Halbwachs [9]. For scientists memory is a social construction that is created in the present, that is, it is not understood as the sum of the memories of individuals but as a collective cultural work that develops under the influence of family, religion and social group due to language structures of everyday life and social practices institutions. That is, it «constitutes a system of social conventions, in which we give shape to our memories».

Studies of M. Halbwachs, who died at the end of World War II in Buchenwald, were the most popular during the last decade of the twentieth century and launched a new interdisciplinary field of research [1; 8]. National memory, its formation on base of historical and collective memories, as well as the relationship between memory and historical knowledge were the subject of extensive scientific and public debates, the results are worth noting one important difference in the positions of the participants. According to the Russian historian and philosopher J. Zaretsky, for M. Halbwachs and some of his followers memory and historical science were antagonists (historical science begins where over collective memory and vice versa), but the next generation of scientists tends to converge these terms [5].

As noted above P. Geary, «when the dichotomy of the collective memory and history are postulated, their social and cultural context is lost in which historian is situated» and attributed to historical knowledge an objectivity and non-history, which it hardly deserves. «Historians are working with a purpose, - wrote P. Geary, - essentially to form a collective memory of historical plant and, ultimately, the society in which they live. Scientific exploration seeks to change the collective understanding of the past» [3, s.118].

Thus, from the 1980<sup>th</sup> historians began actively studying of collective memory and its component - the national memory, one of the best known and most ambitious work in this direction was the project «Places of Memory» under the direction of M. Halbwachs' follower - French historian P. Nora. The study examined places, things and events that collectively constitute the material of which constructed collective and national memory in France. These «symbolic» objects are separate areas, monuments, events, rituals, symbols and traditions that surrounded the corresponding «aura» and form the diversity of French national identity: Pantheon, Jeanne d'Arc, Arc de Triomphe, the dictionary «Small Larousse», Wall of the Communards and dozens of others. «The way in which these fragments are composed of fragments of the last extant, - wrote P. Nora, - how they appeared, disappeared, crushed apart and re-used, and these is what created us» [6, s. 92-93].

Touching the value of memory and historical knowledge, P. Nora says flatly: «Memory puts reminiscence in the sacred, history throws him out, making his prose... Memory rooted in particular, in space, gesture, image and object. History is not attached to anything, but the length of time, the evolution and relationships of things. Memory - is an absolute, but history is only relative. In the heart of the story is destructive criticism directed against spontaneous memory. Memory is always suspect for the story, the real mission of which is to destroy and supplant it. History is de-legitimisation of the experience of the past» [6, s.20].

His project P. Nora realized for construction of a new French identity because, in his definition, «Places of Memory» - «response to imperative requirements of the moment, the only one that meets the present state of science and consciousness» [6, s.93]. Concept P. Nora found an echo in a number of European countries and has become a model for studies of the origin and reconstruction of national identities through images of memory of the past, carried out in Germany, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Russia.

In Ukraine, the vision of the historical past (but not in the form of historical memory intensive turbulent mid-1990<sup>th</sup>, which is now in many respects anachronistic, since it was formed as compensatory and traumatic identity «non-state» oppressed people) needs for society to model further development, nurturing the young generation that will live in an environment where not exist «iron curtain» and «wall», will not bipolar confrontation, but competition of free economic systems and cultures and ideas will determine the success or failure of Ukrainian society model of the XXI century.

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**Головченко Володимир Іванович**, доктор політичних наук, професор, головний науковий співробітник відділу досліджень впливів державотворчих та цивілізаційних процесів на формування національної пам'яті Українського інституту національної пам'яті; 02140, Київ, вул. Вишняківська, 9, кв. 106; 575-27-72; Holovchenko@ukr.net.