THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE POLITICS OF MEMORY

This article is devoted to the analysis of the directions and logical stages of the institutionalization of historical memory in Ukraine. It is proved that the stages of institutionalization and their «closed» questions of history are attracting intellectuals, independent history researches as well as journalist investigations. This entails the necessity to restore truth and justice, establish norms and rules making historical information publically available, including declassification of archives, conducting expeditions in the places of mass graves, establishing new and reviving old memorial sites, revision of the national heroes pantheon, introducing various programs aimed at studying spoken history, inclusion of history memory content into the textbooks of educational institutions; adoption of the relevant norms at the legislative level and imposition of sanctions on non-compliers; and finally, the creation of the National Memory Institute.

**Key words:** historical memory; memory policy; memory wars; institutionalization; Institute of National Memory.

**Formulation of the problem.** The post-Maidan condition of the Ukrainian value-spiritual environment revealed how insecure it is when facing external interventions and, at the same time, actualized theoretical studies of many concepts, contributing to humanitarian security system development. Those are concepts of historical consciousness, national identity, value consciousness, cultural heritage, discourse management, conflict design, historical justice, historical memory, etc. Events, similar to Crimean annexation and Donbass situation demonstrate that history has always been a significant factor for most of our fellow citizens that performs mobilization functions in pre-conflict situations. In the realm of historical science, where, indeed, the branch of memory study (memoria studies) was formed, this issue transferred to social philosophy, social psychology, cultural studies, political science, and sociology. Moreover, the historical memory content becomes subject of state policy, substantially affecting international relations even up to the appearance of so-called "memory wars." The necessity to take the people's historical memory under control helped turn it into an object of manipulation. "Memory policy" became an integral part of political management, means of influencing mass consciousness and identity as well as a source of legitimacy of state and supra-state institutions. Under those conditions it is necessary to analyze the process of historical memory institutionalization with isolation of its stable and potential institutional forms.

**Research analysis and research publications on this issue.** French religious scholar Ernest Renan was one of the first who drew attention to the possibility of effective use of the tragic past elements for national interests. In his Sorbonne report entitled as "What is nation?" (1882), he proclaimed: "Heroic past, great figures, glory (but true) are the main force on which the national idea is based ... nation means great solidarity that based on the already brought sacrifices and those ones which will be brought in future" [1]. Therefore, it is not surprising that historical memory classification has the richest tradition in French humanities. It is enough to name Maurice Halbwachs, who was a pioneer in studying social memory [2], and Pierre Nora, who proposed the "place of memory" concept [3]. Representatives of such school as "Annals" paid their attention to the study of such phenomenon as historical memory. They also drew attention to the ways by which people of the past endowed their actions with the meanings; to the motives which they guided in their actions. The Annalists actively sought sources, through which-historian can "penetrate" into the consciousness of the individual, distant from him in time.

Later, historical memory was studied by A. Assmann [4], F. Graebner, M. Epile [5], O. Etkind, G. Kasyanov, P. Connor, A. Miller, A. Novak, T. Ranger, I. Riuzen, K. Wike, D. Fentress, M. Ferretti [6], D. Schnapper, etc. In Ukraine, this issue is in the spotlight of such researchers as Y. Hrytsak, V. Gorobets, S. Yekelchik, Y. Zernyi, S. Kogut, S. Kulchytsky, L. Nagorny, V. Fadeev, O. Shtokvysh, N. Yakovenko etc.

**The purpose** of this article is to analyze the directions and logical stages of the historical memory institutionalization in Ukraine.

**Presenting main material.** In our society, the meaning of "historical memory" concept is filled with, on the one hand, theoretical developments of specialists who carefully examine this issue, primarily by foreign historians, and, on the other hand, it happen thanks to own assessments of historical events, which are called "folk memory "or" memory of the people". These concepts are commonly used to refer to the information block that relay to the official version of history, which is considered to be, in the best case, as additional, oppositional, semi-marginal phenomenon. The generally accepted interpretation of history may not correspond to the assessment that spontaneously developed among participants and which was conveyed orally to descendants.

In particular, the Holodomor of 1932-33 was not officially
It is worth admitting that historical memory is a very unstable element of historical consciousness. Static memory does not exist: Any socio-political changes lead to transformation of historical knowledge, assessments, memory, and representations. The image of the past never freezes. It is constantly changing, some features are erased, while others emerge. It depends on the actualization of the ongoing problems of our time. Therefore, historical memory is powered both by the present and the past. As M. Ferretti notes, memory, as itself, as well as past, does not exist. It is always a pattern, a result of continuous and invisible activity, sometimes conscious, and sometimes unconscious interaction of many people and diverse forces. Memory is plural, and often its various manifestations are controversial [6]. Exactly these memory characteristics turn it into object of state policy, which, for its part, involves its institutional design.

In sociology, institutionalization is interpreted as a process of defining and consolidating social norms, rules, statuses and roles, bringing them into a system capable to satisfy certain social need. The process of institutionalization involves several successive stages, such as: emergence of needs, satisfaction of which requires joint organized actions, formation of common goals, emergence of social norms and rules during spontaneous social interaction, carried out by trial and error; acceptance of procedures related to these norms and rules, imposing sanctions system to maintain these norms and rules, differentiation of their application in individual cases, creation of statuses and roles system applicable to all institute members without exception. The result of institutionalization is the emergence of social institutions.

The first step towards the historical memory institutionalization demands the incorporation its content into literary works of writers, the appearance of feature films, depicting events in alternative way, the disclosure of archives, journalistic investigations, etc. With the development of information and communication technologies, official history loses its monopoly on truth, numerous versions of historical events undermine the dominant metanarrative on which the legitimacy of the incumbent power is based.

For example, the Holodomor, the Stalinist repressions, some episodes of the Second World War in Soviet times turned into "black holes" and "whites of spots" of history, and truth about those events began to be widely known thanks to the writers who, in the 90’s, started to include testimony of participants of those events in their works. The fact that official Soviet historiography was interpreted as a manifestation of the "general preference of the social system" was in fact a series of miscalculations and mistakes that were corrected at the cost of human lives.

In general, writers and poets, journalists and publicists, historians and scholars, historical memory is based on testimonies, personal experiences and experiences of participants of those events. And their testimonies are transmitted from generation to generation, creating an alternative version of history. So individual memories become a collective property.

Last but not least, the mentioned popularity was caused with the fact that the ruling elites of the post-Soviet countries separated from the Stalinist regime and did not want to be associated with it. References to the mistakes and crimes of the Soviet era did not have an ideological obstacle, because the moral responsibility for it was completely shifted to Moscow. This logic was clearly outlined by the Lithuanian writer Ruta Vanagayte: “we have such history that turns out the Lithuanians as victims. During the whole life they had been suppressing by someone, whether it was Soviets, Poles, or Germans. And then we, brave people, threw out this oppression and became heroes, because we destroyed the Soviet Union. We rose, victims became heroes, and remained as victim / hero” [8].

The conflict has internal and external dimensions. The internal component is that in the process of institutionalizing the memory of people about historical events, which, I recall, originally arose as opposition to official
історичні науки

Протягом другої світової війни в 1939-1945 роках, Верховна Рада досконалою рішенням від 12.06.2009 на загальному демонтажі пам'ятників і споминів присвячені до людей, що брали участь у війні за незалежність України, а також політичні репресії в нашій країні під час радянського періоду, якщо не виключається для всіх в Україні. В історичному подій відбувся ривейся реакції, що досконалося у середині країни вони одночасно на історичній пам'яті в соціумі, де декілька "працьових сценаріїв" "діяли на створення і швидкому розвитку сецесіонізму, який вважався як "переможна" у процесі війни з Нід.".

аж з наслідками історичного пам'ятника вона кинулася у різноманітність і нерозумність, у порядку від оцінки цього явища у певній мірі ...

Додатковий елемент пам'яті політики становилося зв'язано з новою реорієнацією України до Європейського Союзу, який призводить до гармонізації базових цінностей. Завданням модерної російської пам'яті є визнання і відновлення сильного національного патріотизму.

Igor Yukhnovsky, the main task of this institution is "im-
towards the European Union and the gradual refusal to follow Russia symbolically excluded this country out of the winning party and put it to the losing party. Ukrainians “memory politicians” still managed to balance between the dignity of the winners and the suffering of victims at the same time shifting the responsibility for making mistakes during that period on the external force represented by supporters of Stalin regime. But such position is unlikely to have lasting effect. According to Mykola Eple, such instructions of the Eastern European countries remind “the Austrian incident, when the role of the victim during the Second World War allowed to alleviate its own negative actions and its own responsibility for Nazi crimes. As a result, nationalism in Austria is much more common than in Germany” [5]. And even the mourning demonstration in Babyn Yar and recognition of Halacau at the highest level does not bring Ukraine closer to the general European consensus, mostly because of the unresolved issue of the crimes, committed by the OUN-UUA.

In 2016 Poland contributed to adjusting Ukrainian memory policy, denying the policy of glorifying Ukrainian nationalists and insisting on their responsibility for genocide of the Polish population located in territory of Galicia and Volhyn during the Second World War. The beginning of broad anti-Ukrainian campaign in Poland started after the premiere of "Volhyn" film directed by Wojciech Samzowski. Several avid statements was made by senior officials. In 2017, a "black list" of Ukrainian scholars and historians who were banned to enter the territory of Poland came into force. Representatives of the Polish radical parties demonstratively began to destroy Ukrainian monuments and in response to such actions Ukrainian suspended searching activities and exhumation of the dead Poles. In January 2018, the Sejm of Poland adopted a Law according to which all those who deny, support or promote the criminal acts of OUN-UUA will be prosecuted. Thus, Poland sent a signal to Ukraine that "with Bandera heritage, Ukraine will not accepted to the family of European nations" [10].

Conclusions The institutionalization of historical memory contributes to solving such large-scale socio-political issues as implementation of national project, the formation of political nation, national identity, integration into one or another supraregional institution, etc. The stages of institutionalization are the attraction of attention to the "closed questions" of history by representatives of creative intellectuals, independent studies of historians, journalistic investigations. As a result it became necessary in society to restore justice and truth, the establishment of norms and rules for the publication of historical memory content, including declassification of archival documents, the work of search expeditions in the places of mass graves, finding new places of memory as well as revival of forgotten ones, revision of the pantheon of national heroes, various programs aimed to study oral history, the inclusion of the historical memory content in textbooks of educational institutions; adoption at the legislative level of the relevant norms and imposing sanctions for its non-compliance. Finally the creation of a specialized Institute of National Remembrance. Accurate processing of issues of the past, despite all the contradictions, is considered a to be a key for preventing crimes against humanity from recurrence in the future.

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ИНСТИТУЦИОНАЛИЗАЦИЯ ПОЛИТИКИ ПАМЯТИ

Статья посвящена анализу направлений и логических этапов институционализации исторической памяти в Украине. Под институционализацией понимается процесс определения и закрепления социальных норм, правил, статусов и ролей, приведение их в систему, которая способна действовать в направлении удовлетворения некоторой общественной потребности. Такой необходимостью в Украине стало требование восстановления исторической справедливости и установления исторической памяти. Закрытые темы отечественной истории, особенно XX века, включая Голодомор, сталинские репрессии, отдельные страницы Второй мировой войны требовали своей рефлексии и ценностного переосмысления. Без моральной оценки и своеобразной "работы над ошибками" общество не может двигаться дальше. В этих условиях возникает необходимость институционализации исторической памяти с выделением ее постоянных и потенциальных институциональных форм. Содержание исторической памяти становится предметом государственной политики, существенно влияя на межнациональные отношения - вплоть до появления так называемых "войн памяти". Необходимость взвести историческую память народа под контроль способствовала превращению ее в объект манипуляции.

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"Політика пам'яті" стає неотхиллемою складовою політичного менеджменту, засобом впливу на массове сознання та ідентичність, що обов'язково визначає громадянські та надгосударственные інститути.

Етапами інституціоналізації є привертання уваги до "закритих питань" історії та архівних матеріалів, що офіційно не були виділені, незалежних досліджень істориків, журналистських розслідувань, внаслідок чого в суспільстві сформувалась потреба у збільшенні історичної пам'яті. Виокремлення історичної пам'яті в Україні. Під інституціоналізацією розуміється процес визначення і закріплення соціальних норм, правил, статусів та ролей, приведення їх у систему, яка здатна діяти в напрямку задоволення деякої суспільної потреби. Така потреба в Україні виникла у результаті відкриття історичної справедливості та встановлення історичної правди. Її виявлення відбувається на основі продуктивного відкривання історичних фактів та усвідомлення їх історичної значимості.

Етапами інституціоналізації є привертання уваги до "закритих питань" історії, що не були офіційно визнані та оприлюднені, внаслідок чого в суспільстві сформувалась потреба у відкритті історичної пам'яті. Її визначення та усвідомлення ведуть до відкриття історичних фактів та усвідомлення їх історичної значимості.

Ключові слова: історична пам'ять; політики пам'яті; війни пам'яті; інституціоналізація; Інститут національної пам'яті.

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