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ІСТОРИЧНА ПАМ'ЯТЬ У ПОСТРАДЯНСЬКИХ РОСІЙСЬКИХ ТОВСТИХ ЖУРНАЛАХ: ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ, ДИНАМІКА, КОНТЕКСТИ

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У статті тезово окреслено тенденції розвитку, інтерпретаційну динаміку, контексти, в яких артикулюються проблеми історичної пам'яті сучасного російського суспільства, на основі публікацій «Неприкосновенного запаса» («НЗ»), «Отечественных записок» («ОЗ»), «Нового літературного обозрения» («НЛО»). Автори вказаних часописів подолання труднощів самоідентифікації росіян та досягнення консенсусу між інваріантами історичної пам'яті вбачають у широкому науковому, суспільно-політичному та міжкультурному діалозі. Досліджуючи історичний досвід країн Центральної Європи та шляхи становлення незалежних держав на пострадянському просторі, вони шукають точки дотику, на яких в майбутньому будуватиметься новий фундамент добросусідських відносин демократичної Російської Федерації.

Ключові слова: товсті журнали, історична пам'ять, ідентифікація, переосмислення минулого, конфлікти.

Researching the character of discourse in Russian periodicals when addressing the subject of historical memory is vitally important for modern Ukraine within the context of socio-cultural interstate communications. The current mood of the collective historical memory of post-Soviet society defines the complexity of relations between Ukraine and Russia insofar as it can be a stabilizing factor in relationships and in conflicting environments.

This article examines trends, interpretative dynamics and the problematic context of historical memory as seen in Russian post-Soviet period «thick journals» primarily «Neprikosnovenniy Zapas» («NZ»), «Otechestvennye Zapysky» («OZ») and «Novoye Literaturnoye Obozrenye» («NLO»).

Post-Soviet Russia, referring to historical memory and reevaluating images of the past, has gone through several stages: from criticism and rejection of all things Soviet, through nostalgic recollection of the old system, justification of the Soviet past, to its transformation into a matter of national pride.

From the mid-2000s in both public discourse and the academic environment there appears to be a resurgence of interest in historical memory. This is evidenced by a new wave of translations of Western works on the said subject and an increasing number of humanities periodicals. Thus, in 2004. No 5 of «OZ» is dedicated to the theme «Assigning the

past» [1]; 2008 in two issues «Content of memory: places and witnesses» [2] and «Memory and Oblivion: battle for the past» [3]. The phenomenon of historical and cultural memory was analyzed at different levels from religious doctrines, local and national «invented tradition» to oral traditions and bibliographic narratives.

«NLO» examined the institutional organization of collective memory (archives, libraries, museums, memorial and information structures) [4], which are essential for self-awareness of society in general.

The perspective employed in articles published tends to define the standpoint of the periodical. Analysis of historical memory as a political category dominates the pages of «NZ» and «OZ». They revolve around the sociopolitical role of historical memory in society and functional approaches to its understanding. In speeches, journalistic and scientific treatise, historical memory is often viewed through the prism of national paradigm as an elemental factor in the creation of a nation. Authors of articles commonly attempt to determine how the national idea formulates historical memory of the people and affects analysis of the past.

In the context of nation-building historical memory is also considered a form-building element of national identity. Updating or, conversely, repressing certain events of the past through government initiative are a means of legitimizing the existing order and the ruling elite. These topics are covered in the journals studied using examples of symbolic material substrata (monuments, memorials, State symbols etc.) and power rhetoric.

Memory as a theme in «NZ» appears extensively. Issue №2 for 2002 contains an article entitled «History and Memory: totalitarian experience of Europe» [5]; in which the perception of National Socialism in Germany, Italian totalitarianism and debate in France about memory and totalitarian past are analyzed. The main theme for №5 for 2002 was «Architecture: the art of forgetting» [6]. «Textbook on History» – one of the themes of №4 «NZ» in 2004 [7]; №6 2005 is dedicated to the events of a century ago – the first Russian revolution [8]. In 2007. №5 «NZ» contains the heading «Writing history in the USSR» [9]; №6 is devoted to the topic «Eastern / Central Europe: the invention of the past to the present design» [10]. In the 2005 edition of the magazine, in conjunction with the Berlin monthly «Ostueropa» prepared a special edition of «NZ» dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Second World War. [11] «The Soviet memory and the memory of the Soviet» was a cross-cutting theme for №2 (64) [12] and №3 (65) [13] «NZ» in 2009.

«NLO» explores historical memory in terms of textual interpretation of the era, reconstructing memory in fiction and biographical texts. It uses examples of the phenomenon known as lieutenants prose, diaries of people in besieged Leningrad. Memoires of repressed historical memory are considered as the spiritual potential of the people, a matrix of ethical values and emotive-creative codes. The authors of this publication in addressing questions of historical memory usually adopt a position of theoretical values and psychoanalysis.

«OZ» and «NZ» magazines pay special attention to translations of works of Western scholars and colleagues from the former Soviet republics on the problems of historical memory and the interpretation of the Soviet legacy.

In 2008 «OZ» devoted two volumes [14] to the theme of memory and attitude to it in society, its impact on the future path of the country, the sharp debates about the question of historical memory of the people. These problems are appraised by both Russian and foreign sociologists, historians and philosophers of culture. The «Bookshelf» section contains summarised work of F. Artoha «Historical types of thinking: present-ism and perceptions

of time», an excerpt from the book R. Kozellika «The past is the future. On the semantics of historical time», N. Trubnikova review of the book by M. Bloch «Strange defeat», M. Auger's works «Forms of Oblivion» [14]. Western theoretical studies are more focused on the role of memory in the universal process of modernization, the relationships between universal, national and local historical memory.

Thanks to authors of neighbouring States invited to cooperate, the journals are able to re-create the process of awakening and renewal of national historical memory of the former Soviet Union, the dynamics and stages of national revival, the crystallization of national discourse and the formation of national identity.

Thus, under the heading «National Elite» («NLO» No. 83 for 2007) includes articles by G. Kasyanov, «Ukraine-1990: fighting for history», Alexander Feduta «The power of three», G. Maisuradze and Z. Andronikashvili «Georgia 1990: philology of independence or Unaccomplished experience» and S. Romanenko «Yugoslav Rubicon» [15]. These articles chronologically re-cap the events of 1990, the prehistory and history of declarations of independence of the former Soviet republics of Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This year as a crucial revolutionary period is singled out by the active work of intellectual society in rethinking their past and discovering a new ideological system of coordinates, political activism and social creativity, institutional changes and maximum social and cultural models. The authors recreated the mass mood of society, analysing the policies and rhetoric of communist propaganda of the old and the new nationalist political elites. Attempting to rid themselves of the «damned communist past» the republics emulated similar methods. The impetus to return to a national identity occurred through the revival or creation of new national mythology, the dismantling of Soviet symbols and promotion of national history. The principles and methodology of Soviet propaganda were duplicated, stimulating a maximum degree of emotional stress and fresh ideology.

The editorial policy of «NZ» and «OZ» is focused on open dialogue and involvement of many experts and researchers. Thus through collaboration with authors from different countries the peculiarities of historical memory are described in a European context. Scientists studying the mechanisms of interaction of historical memory in society, concluded that conflict situations between the subjects of memory are universal. Consequently there is a widely held belief that memory can serve as an inexhaustible resource of international, inter-ethnic, inter-religious conflicts, but also as a unifying and stabilizing factor that consolidates society.

On different levels and in different contexts, the symbols of power, political rhetoric, mobilizing national myths, the role of art and literature in constructing images of heroes and martyrs of a nation, common injury to the familial version of the memory, researchers perceive as mechanisms for discovering alternative visions of the past.

«NLO» No. 85 (2007) includes a chapter entitled «European Dialogue, Ukrainian and Russian literature» the editorial seeks to perform two tasks: to identify common and distinguished modern Ukrainian literature, wider – cultural, and comparable Russian situations and also to analyse the coexistence of two literatures in Ukraine – Ukrainian and Russian language. Ukrainian literature is seen as a multidimensional phenomenon. The authors find analogies, common ground and differences between the two cultures. Thus, in the example of the literary aspect of Ukrainian-Russian relations the co-existence of two cultures in Europe is considered. Coverage of political discussion about the language issue in Ukraine took place in the light of cultural openness of Western European countries. The article by

M. Byomih, Italian scholar and critic, reflects on the East Slavic culture (Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian) and the possibility of their integration into the European canon [16].

Analysis of historical memory in the ethical dimension has a value-corrective function in the social consciousness of modern Russian society. In debating the thinking process of traumatic historical experience in modern Russia, «NZ» and «OZ» consider the questions of collective guilt, the need to repent and over-valuation of the past by legal mechanisms. Authors of journals disseminating historical material (from the Nuremberg Process to the dismantling of Soviet-era monuments in post-communist societies) are building a system of complex interactions between knowledge, politics and law.

Moral and ethical reconciliation with the past as assimilated in European terms, requires strict acknowledgement of guilt (legal and financial), from a personal, group and national standpoint and, acceptance of moral responsibility for past actions.

The historical memory of Western European countries, having endured two world wars, as its cultural imperative has fostered catharsis through repentance. This imperative to prevent a return to the past remains a safeguard against the continued existence of criminal totalitarian regimes.

Conscientious assessment of organized violence by Western countries cautions against the dangers of intensifying a split in society and its atomization. The desire to accept responsibility for the suffering of victims of genocide and repression, assigning victim groups certain privileged status, encourages complicity with a traumatic identity. Equitable approval of competing groups becomes an obstacle to the integration of society within the country and a conflicting factor in international relations.

«NZ», «OZ» and «NLO» review the issue of Stalinist terror not as an inconsequential episode of the past but as an actual present day phenomenon. Returning the Russian authorities to the bleak scenario of a traumatic past that reproduce key moments of national mobilization, leads to the restoration of a repressive regime and the relapse of state aggression. For this reason the theme of reconciliation with the past is awarded the most attention.

The absence of reflexive memory of the crimes of the Stalinist regime in modern Russian society, is explained by the authors as the psychological inability of humans to identify themselves with evil. This raises questions about the role of the witness and the credibility of given evidence.

Modern Russian society retains the memory of the victims, but no memory of the crimes of state terrorism as a backbone factor. In a situation where the government continues to suppress the memory of mass crimes committed previously, the memory is revealed not only as an act of moral protest, but a factor of political change. «OZ», «NZ» and «NLO» magazines are openly critical of the modern day historical policy of the Russian state, the authors implying concern over trends to re-Stalinize the country.

Post-imperial history, memory and experiences of citizens, consciousness which was formed over a long period of time under the influence of a complex interaction of ideological contexts, are multifaceted. The main feature is the presence of internal conflicts and tension. To describe contradictory experiences and historical memory content from different perspectives avoiding conflict is impossible.

Some Russian researchers believe that the reason for the revival of Russian imperial chauvinism is as a result of Russia's isolation, the alienation of former fraternal nations and the numerous accusations against Russia. The formation of national identities, consolidation of the nation on the basis of common tragedy against the offender or external enemy,

which was the personification of modern Russia as the successor to the Soviet Union, has led to its aggressiveness.

Tracing the dynamics, trends and contexts in which the problems of historical memory are contemplated on the pages of the magazines studied, we found important points of contact, which in the future may be used to build a new foundation for good relations between our countries. No war lasts forever, each ends in reconciliation. And today right through the fighting, we must clearly discern the contours and coordinates for future cooperation with our neighbouring country, which remains our neighbour and strategic partner.

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**HISTORICAL MEMORY IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIAN
«THICK JOURNALS»: TRENDS, DYNAMICS AND CONTEXT**

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This study seeks to determine the significance of the issue of historical memory in Russian periodicals in general and the role of «thick journals» in the process of its formation, reflection and transformation.

Key words: thick journals, historical memory, identity, rethinking past, conflicts.