

# Politics of Memory and Uses of History in East European Politics: Construction and Deconstruction of National Historical Myths in Russia, Ukraine, and Poland, 1991-2011

Intended for MA students in History and Cultural Anthropology  
The course will be taught in Ukrainian

In Post-Communist Eastern Europe, there are new states dealing with the common past and legitimizing their existence through the national history since 1991. They build their national identities by producing new grand narratives, history education and memory politics. My attention is mainly focused on Ukraine and its relations with Russia and Poland. History became a battleground not only in the inter-state relations it also produced internal tension between official memory strategies and social responses, new national identity and old regional and supranational ones. Collapse of the USSR and its traumatic past produced the problem of divided memories in the Post-Soviet space used by some politics to divide society politically. This historical imagery has penetrated today's political rhetoric in Russia and Ukraine. "Nationalism itself could be seen as a political outgrowth of historicism and, more specifically, as a form of political archaeology" (Smith 2001).

There are three levels of the uses of the past in Russia, Poland, and Ukraine: 1) in domestic politics, in particularly in construction of the national identity and for the mobilization of electorate in the course of presidential and parliamentary election campaigns; 2) in the Polish-Russian-Ukrainian interstate relations; 3) in their foreign policy for the self-representation on the international political arena.

In the 'memory boom' that has emerged in the humanities and social sciences since 1990, five major themes have captured most attention:

- (a) the relationship between politics and memory,
- (b) trauma and memories of violence,
- (c) the 'mediatization' of memory
- (d) the transmission of memory and identity formation
- (e) the relationship between memory, history and other concepts of the past.

In my syllabus I intend to produce a more balanced view of the uses of history – modern as well as pre-modern – in East European politics.

## Objectives

I will focus my attention on the next topics:

Social and cultural dynamics that go into the establishment, use, and abuse of memory/memorials in Eastern Europe.

Basic motives, myths and images produced by the Romanticist, populist (*narodnytska*) and Soviet historiography and still reproduced in the national grand-narratives in Russia and Ukraine.

Strategies of remembrance and oblivion in Russia, Poland, and Ukraine.

Criteria by which events are selected for official commemorations in Russia, Ukraine, and Poland after 2004.

What are the main reasons of the contemporary "memory wars" in internal and foreign politics?

What realms of memory – events, persons, monuments, etc – are the most controversial and conflict-provocative?

How the evident dependence of electorate political preferences is reflected in or/and stimulated by the historical grand-narratives?

Comparison of Polish-Ukrainian and Russian-Ukrainian relations in the area of contested heritage and divided past after 2004.

What role is played by the "Russkiy mir" Foundation and by the Orthodox Church in the Russian-Ukrainian relations?

How is the politics of memory in Ukraine influenced by the Ukrainian overseas Diaspora?

Why history and memory issues are so important in political debates and mass-media?

How official commemorations are represented by mass-media and perceived by opposition parties and different electorate groups in different regions of Russia, Poland, and Ukraine?

Are there realms of memory shared by all the parties and electorate groups in Russia / in Ukraine? What and why?

How are Russia and Ukraine positioning themselves in the international politics after 2004?

Why is the “Great Patriotic war” so important in Russia’s foreign policy and international relations?

Why is “Holodomor” so important in Ukraine’s foreign policy and international relations?

## **COURSE JUSTIFICATION**

The course combines an introduction into the major methodological developments in the historical writing and social theory, with a thematic overview of the 1989-2011 political trends in the region. The aim of proposed course is to provide students with an understanding of the so-called revisionist approaches to the Past.

Although our focus and methodology is historical, we will also be employing the analyses of cultural studies, sociology, anthropology, cultural geography, social psychology, and film studies.

Much attention is given to:

- the interdisciplinary nature of the problems in question;
- comparative approach (to place Ukraine in European context);
- the studying of new sources and new methods to exploit them;
- active use of students’ personal experiences acquired during their previous museum, archaeological, ethnographic, and pedagogic practices and participation in political life (e.g. presidential elections);
- interactive exchange of ideas among students.

## **METHODS BY WHICH COURSE WILL BE TAUGHT**

Effective teaching is about facilitating student learning. As Paul Ramsden pointed out: “To teach is to make an assumption about what and how the student learns; to teach well implies learning about students’ learning.” Teaching methods and assessment, much research and thinking has recently revolved around the concept of “active learning”, which emphasizes that learning is fundamentally an active process and that it is best promoted when learners are directly engaged through their own interests, enthusiasms and talents rather than expected merely to receive information.

Basic theory and information are delivered by traditional lectures. No more than half of contact hours are in the traditional lecture form. Traditional lectures are supplemented by a variety of structured seminars, problem-oriented discussions and workshops.

It is compulsory for all students, and will be taught over the spring semester. There will be one session a week. There will be lectures from 1<sup>st</sup> week to 7<sup>th</sup>, and various seminars from 8<sup>th</sup> week to 17<sup>th</sup>. Each lecture will be devoted to a particular method, followed by a short discussion. In a seminar the method is applied to historical problem. The seminars are structured loosely around the theme “History in transitive society”. Each session will last for approximately one hour and 20 minutes.

Attendance at lectures and seminars is mandatory. At the end of the term, students will submit a paper on one of the session themes or on another theme agreed in advance, of up to 4,000 words. The paper is due no later than April 1.

Students should begin to work on their annual research paper topics during the Spring Term, and in assigning presentations, this research interest (as well as prior expertise) will be taken into account. Beginning from the 8<sup>th</sup> week they will be required to prepare a methodological introduction to the

course dissertation, based on the coursework and their own research. The essay should explain the historical problem addressed in the dissertation, it should describe the method chosen and justify this choice, and it should also provide some indication of the existing literature. This paper, of up to 4,000 words, should be submitted by the 1 April to the student's supervisor. An abstract of about 100 words will also be required. The complete course dissertation should be submitted to the student's supervisor no later than 1<sup>st</sup> of June. The dissertation will also be the subject of a twenty-minute presentation to a forum of students and faculty at a workshop in the last week of Spring Term.

Copies of majority of course readings will be available in two places: (a) on the readers and source copies shelf in the Reading room of the Department of History and Cultural Studies, and (b) the service desk in the Reading room in the Institute Library. These copies cannot be borrowed. Students are requested to return items without fail after photocopying.

Participation, presentation and written course work will all count towards "satisfactory completion" of the qualifying test, for which the pass level will be 60 percent. Assessment will be weighted as follows:

Participation and preparation (25%);  
presentation (25%);  
written work (50%).

All submitted written work should be computer-printed.

Approximate number of students that will take the course – 50.

## COURSE OUTLINE

### 1. History and Memory (Introductory lecture)<sup>1</sup>

Obligatory reading:

Assmann, Aleida. "Canon and Archive," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008, pp.97-108.

Assmann, Jan. "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008, pp.109-118.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1992 (trans. into Russian in *Neprikosnovennyi zapas* 40-41, no.2-3 (2005): 8-27 [www.nz-online.ru])

Nora, Pierre. "Between History and Memory: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (1989)

Further reading:

Klein, Kerwin L. "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (2000).

Le Goff, Jacques. *History and Memory*. New York: Columbia UP, 1992\*

Nora, Pierre. "The Reasons for the Current Upsurge of Memory," *Transit* 22 (2002)

### 2. History and identity: kinship, ethnicity, and nationalism (lecture)

Obligatory reading:

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London; New York: Verso, 1991\*

Breuilly, John. "Nationalism and the Making of National Pasts," in François Gemenne and Susana Carvalho. *Nations and their Histories. Constructions and Representations*. London, 2009, pp.7-28.

Craig, Daniel. "Immortality Through Kinship: The Vertical Transmission of Substance and Symbolic Estate," *American Anthropologist* 81, no.1 (1979): 94-97

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983

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<sup>1</sup> Works published in Ukrainian or/and Russian, or translated into one or both languages are indicated with an asterisk.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 191p.

Parkin, Robert J. *Kinship: An Introduction to Basic Concepts*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997

Smith, Anthony D. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986\*

Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991\*

Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism: theory, ideology, history*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001. 182p.\*

Further reading:

Carsten, Janet. *After Kinship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 216p.

Goody, Jack (ed.). *Kinship. Selected Readings*. Penguin Books, 1971

Graburn, Nelson (ed.). *Readings in Kinship and Social Structure*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

Lie, John. *Modern Peoplehood. On Race, Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. 384p.

Schneider David M. "Ethnocentrism and the Notion of Kinship," *Man* 27, no.3 (1992): 629-631

Smith, Anthony D. "History and National Destiny: Responses and Clarifications," *Nations and Nationalism* 10, no.1/2 (2004): 195-209

Turner, David H. "Ideology and Elementary Structures," *Anthropologica* 20, no.1/2 (1978): 223-247

### **3. Myth-construction and deconstruction in the film-making** (group discussion)

Problem-oriented discussion based on *With Fire and Sword* by Jerzy Hoffman (2003), *Bohdan Zinoviy Khmelnytsky* by Mykola Mashchenko (2007) and *Taras Bulba* by Vladimir Bortko (2009)

Obligatory reading:

Chansel, Dominique (ed.). *Europe on-screen. Cinema and the Teaching of History*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2001. 215p.

Rosenstone, Robert. *History on Film/Film on History*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 2006

Further reading:

Jutras, Marie-Christine. "The Politics of Memory in French Holocaust Cinema, 1955-2011." Honors thesis, University of Alberta, 2012

### **4. Myth, Memory and History in the Construction of Community** (lecture)

Obligatory reading:

Burke, Peter. "History as Social Memory," in his *Varieties of Cultural History*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997

Ferro, Marc. *The Use and Abuse of History or How the Past is Taught to Children*. London: Routledge, 2003

Feuchtwang, Stephan. "Mythical Moments in National and Other Family Histories," *History Workshop Journal* 59 (2005): 179-193

Schöpflin, George. "The Functions of Myth and Taxonomy of Myths," *Myths and Nationhood*, ed. Geoffrey Hosking and George Schöpflin (London, 1997), pp.19-35.

Strath, Bo. "Introduction. Myth, Memory and History in the Construction of Community," *Myth and Memory in the Construction of Community: Historical Patterns in Europe and Beyond*, Bo Strath (ed.), Bruxelles, Bern, Berlin, Frankfurt/M, New York, Wien: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2000. pp.19-46

Further reading:

Appadurai, Arjun. "The Past as a Scarce Resource," *Man* 16 (1981): 201-219

Burke, Peter. *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004, pp.30-51, 57-73\*

Chartier, Roger. *Cultural History. Between Practices and Representations*. Oxford, 1988

Ifversen, Jan. "Myth in the Writing of European History," in Berger, Stefan and Chris Lorenz (eds.). *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*. Palgrave, Macmillan, 2010, pp.452-479

Judt, Tony. "The Past is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe," *Daedalus* 21, no.4 (1992)

Smith, Anthony D. *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999\*

## **5. Constructing the past and social identities in pre-modern Europe** (lecture)

Obligatory reading:

Armstrong, John. *Nations Before Nationalism*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1982. 410p.

Geary, Patrick J. *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001

Hoppenbrouwers, Peter. "Such Stuff as Peoples are Made on: Ethnogenesis and the Construction of Nationhood in Medieval Europe," *Medieval History Journal* 9, no.2 (2006): 195-242

Schneidmüller, Bernd. "Constructing the Past by Means of the Present: Historiographical Foundations of Medieval Institutions, Dynasties, Peoples, and Communities," in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, Patrick J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2002): 167-192

Further reading:

Cressy, David. "National Memory in Early Modern England," in Gillis, John R. (ed). *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, pp.61-73

Cynarski, S. "The Shape of Sarmatian Ideology in Poland," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 19 (1968): 5-17

Frick, David. "The Bells of Vilnius: Keeping Time in a City of Many Calendars," in *Making Contact: Maps, Identity, and Travel*, eds. Lesley Cormack, Natalia Pylypiuk, Glenn Berger, and Jonathan Hart. Edmonton, Alberta, 2003

Krebs, Christian B. "A Dangerous Book: the Reception of the Germania," in *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*, ed. by A. J. Woodman. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. P.280-299.

Krebs, Christian B. *A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus's Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich*. New York; London: W.W.Norton & Company, 2011. 303p.

Parsons, A.E. "The Trojan Legend in England: Some Instances of Its Application to the Politics of the Times," *Modern Language Review* 24, no.3 (Jul., 1929): 253-64; no.4 (Oct., 1929): 394-408

Woolf, Daniel. *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500-1730*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. 421p.

МЫЛЬНИКОВ А.С. *Картина славянского мира: взгляд из Восточной Европы. Этногенетические легенды, догадки, протогипотезы XVI – начала XVIII века*. СПб., 2000.

Яковенко Н.М. *Паралельний світ. Дослідження з історії уявлень та ідей в Україні XVI-XVII ст.* К.: Критика, 2002.

## **6. Romanticism: historical imagination and nation-building** (lecture)

Obligatory reading:

Bilenky, Serhiy. *Romantic Nationalism in Eastern Europe: Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian Political Imagination*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012

Geary, Patrick J. "A Poisoned Landscape: Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century," in his *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001

White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973\*

Further reading:

Baár, Monika. *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford, 2010

Colley L. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. London, 2003

Jensen L., Leerssen J., and Mathijssen M. (eds.). *Free Access to the Past. Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation*. Leiden: Brill, 2010

- Struve, Peter. "Walter Scott and Russia," *Slavonic and East European Review* 11, no.32 (Jan., 1933): 397-410
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations*. Cambridge; New York: CUP, 2012
- Whittaker C.H. "The Ideology of Sergei Uvarov: An Interpretative Essay," *Russian Review* 37, no.2 (1978): 158-176
- Wilson W.A. "Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism," *Journal of Popular Culture* 6 (1973): 819-835
- Альтшуллер, М.Г. *Эпоха Вальтера Скотта в России*. СПб.: Академический проект, 1996

## **7. History, identity, and revisionism** (research methods seminar)

Obligatory reading:

- Geary, Patrick J. "The Crisis of European Identity" in his *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001
- Gillis, John R. "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," in Gillis, John R. (ed). *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, pp.3-24
- Nora, Pierre. *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* / Trans. and ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, 2 vols, Columbia UP, 1996\*
- Petrovič, Vladimir. "From Revisionism to 'Revisionism': Legal Limits to Historical Interpretation," in Michal Kopeček (ed.). *Past in the Making: Historical Revisionism in Central Europe after 1989*. Budapest; New York: CEU Press, 2008, pp.17-37
- Tucker, Aviezer. "Historiographic Revision and Revisionism: The Evidential Difference," in Michal Kopeček (ed.). *Past in the Making: Historical Revisionism in Central Europe after 1989*. Budapest; New York: CEU Press, 2008, pp.1-15

Further reading:

- Bhabha, Homi K. (ed.). *Nation and Narration*. London, 1990
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. (ed.). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 322p.
- Judt, T. "Lieux de memorie" "Places of Memory of Pierre Nora. Who's Places? Who's Memory?" *Ab Imperio* 1 (2004): 44-71\*
- Lowenthal, David. "Identity, Heritage, and History," in Gillis, John R. (ed). *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 41-57
- Smith, Anthony D. "The Poverty of Anti-Nationalist Modernism," *Nations and Nationalism* 9, no.3 (2003): 357-370
- Szporluk, Roman. "Why Ukrainians are Ukrainians," *Transit* 23 (2002)\*

## **8. Historical writing and myth-making: case study of Poland** (problem-oriented discussion)

Obligatory reading:

- Tazbir, Janusz. "The Bulwark Myth," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 91 (2005): 73-107
- Wapinski, Roman. "Old and New Myths in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Poland," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 91 (2005): 109-131
- Wierzbicki, Andrzej. "From Historiography to Mythography?" *Acta Poloniae Historica* 91 (2005): 133-151)
- Stobiecki, Rafał. "Historians Facing Politics of History: The Case of Poland," in Michal Kopeček (ed.). *Past in the Making: Historical Revisionism in Central Europe after 1989*. Budapest; New York: CEU Press, 2008, pp.179-196

Further reading:

- Borrowing, Christopher R. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. New York: Harper Collins, 1998
- Main, Izabella. *Political Rituals and Symbols in Poland, 1944-2002. A Research Report*. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2003. 68p.

Szymczak, Robert. The Vindication of Memory: The Katyn Case in the West, Poland, and Russia, 1952-2008, *The Polish Review* 53, no.4 (2008): 419-443

Wrobel, Piotr J. *Nation and History: Polish Historians from the Enlightenment to the Second World War*. 2006

### **9. Historical writing and myth-making: case study of Ukraine** (problem-oriented discussion)

Obligatory reading:

Hrytsak, Yaroslav. "Ukrainian Historiography: 1991-2001. Decade of Changes," *Ab Imperio*. 2 (2003)\*

Wilson, Andrew. "Myths on National History in Belarus and Ukraine," *Myths and Nationhood*. ed. Hosking G. and G.Schöpflin. London, 1997, pp.182-97

Yakovenko, Natalia. "Kil'ka sposterezhen' nad modyfikatsiiami ukrainskogo natsionalnogo mifu v istoiografii" [Some Reflections on Modifications of Ukrainian National Myth in Historiography] *Dukh-i-Litera* 3-4 (1998): 113-24\*;

Yakovenko, Natalia. "One Clío, Two Histories," *Krytyka* 12 (2002)\*;

Yakovenko, Natalia. "Cartage of the Outdated Dogmas," *Suchasnist'* 5 (2008): 53-7\*;

Further reading:

Himka, John-Paul. "The Basic Historical Identity Formations in Ukraine: A Typology," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 28, no. 1-4 (2006): 483-500

Plokyh, Serhii. *Ukraine and Russia: Representations of the Past*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008

Kasianov, Georgiy. "Revisiting the Great Famine of 1932-1933: Politics of Memory and Public Consciousness (Ukraine after 1991)," in Michal Kopeček (ed.). *Past in the Making: Historical Revisionism in Central Europe after 1989*. Budapest; New York: CEU Press, 2008, pp.197-219

Kasianov, Georgiy. "Holodomor and Nation-Building," *Pro et contra* 13, no.3/4 (2009): 24-42\*

Kasianov, Georgiy and Philipp Ther (eds). *A Laboratory of Transnational History. Ukraine and recent Ukrainian historiography*, Budapest: CEU Press, 2009. 318 p.

Mudryi, Marian. "Topic of the 'Colonial Status' of Ukraine in History Textbooks," *Minutes of the Council for the secondary school textbooks monitoring* (Koncha Zaspá, October 19-21, 2007)\*

Shevel, Oxana. "The Politics of Memory in a Divided Society: A Comparison of Post-Franco Spain and Post-Soviet Ukraine," *Slavic Review* 70, no.1 (Spring 2011)

Velychenko, Stephen. "Was Ukraine a Russian Colony?" *Ukraina moderna* 14 (2009): 266-281\*

Wanner, Katherine. *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998

### **10. Historical writing and myth-making: case study of Russia** (problem-oriented discussion)

Obligatory reading:

Druzhnikov, Yuri. *Prisoner of Russia: Alexander Pushkin and the Political Uses of Nationalism*. New Brunswick, N.J., 1999

Platt, Kevin M. F. *Terror and Greatness: Ivan and Peter as Russian Myths*, Cornell University Press, 2011

Schenk, Frithjof Benjamin. *Aleksandr Nevskij. Heilige – Furst – Nationalheld. Eine Erinnerungsfür gur im russischen kulturellen Gedächtnis (1263–2000)*. Köln: Bohlau Verlag/Köln 2004. 548 s.\*

Further reading:

Black, J.L. *Nicholas Karamzin and Russian Society in the Nineteenth Century*. Toronto, 1975

Ilnitzkyj, Oleh S. "The Nationalism of Nikolai Gogol': Betwixt and Between?" *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 49, nos.3-4 (September-December 2007): 349-68

Kornblatt, Judith Deutsch. *The Cossack Hero in Russian Literature: A Study in Cultural Mythology*. Madison Wis., 1992

Laruelle, Marlène. "The Ideological Shift of the Russian Radical Right," *Problems of Post-Communism* 57, no.6 (2010): 19-31

Plokyh, Serhii. *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 379 pp.

## **11. Russian-Ukrainian “battles for history and identity” (round-table discussion)**

Obligatory reading:

Kappeler, Andreas. “‘Great Russians’ and ‘Little Russians’: Russian-Ukrainian Relations and Perceptions in Historical Perspective,” *Donald W. Treadgold Papers in Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies* (Seattle, 2003)

Kohut, Zenon. *History as a Battleground: Russian-Ukrainian Relations and Historical Consciousness in Contemporary Ukraine*. Saskatchewan, 2001

Plokyh, Serhii. *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005. 700 pp.\*

Plokyh, Serhiy. *Ukraine and Russia: Representations of the Past*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008\*

Yekelchik, Serhy. *Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2004. xi, 231 pp.\*

Further reading:

Marker, Gary. Casting Mazepa’s Legacy: Pylyp Orlyk and Feofan Prokopovich, *Slavonic and East European Review* 88, no.1/2 (2010): 110-33

Mudryi, Marian. “Topic of the ‘Colonial Status’ of Ukraine in History Textbooks,” *Minutes of the Council for the secondary school textbooks monitoring* (Koncha Zaspas, October 19-21, 2007)\*

Plokyh, Serhiy. “The Ghosts of Pereyaslav: Russo-Ukrainian Historical Debates in the Post-Soviet Era,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 53, no.3 (2001): 489-507\*

Szporliuk, Roman. “Lenin, ‘Great Russia,’ and Ukraine,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 28, no. 1-4 (2006): 611-26

Velychenko, Stephen. “Was Ukraine a Russian Colony?” *Ukraina moderna* 14 (2009): 266-281\*

Yekelchik, Serhy. “Ukrainian Historical Memory and the Soviet Commemorate Canon: Defining Ukrainian National Heritage under Stalin,” *Ab Imperio: Studies of New Imperial History and Nationalism in the Post-Soviet Space* 2 (2004): 77-124\*

## **12. Lost Golden Age: Cossack myth and national identity in Ukraine (round-table discussion)**

Obligatory reading:

Plokyh, Serhiy. “Nationalization of Ukrainian Cossacks in the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries,” *Ab Imperio*. 2 (2004)\*

Plokyh, Serhiy. “Looking for the Ukrainian ‘Golden Age’,” *Krytyka* 4 (2004)\*

Plokyh, Serhiy. *The Cossack Myth: History and Nationhood in the Ages of Empires*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012

Sysyn, Frank E. “The Re-emergence of the Ukrainian Nation and Cossack Mythology,” *Social Research* 58, no.4 (1991): 845-59

Further reading:

Berkhoff, Karel C. “Brothers, We Are All of Cossack Stock”: The Cossack Campaign of Ukrainian Newspapers on the Eve of Independence, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 21, 1-2 (1997): 119-140

Kasianov, Georgiy. Ukraine – 1990: “battles for history”, *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie* [New Literary Review] 83 (2007)\*

Yekelchik, Serhy. “Cossack Gold: History, Myth and the Dream of Prosperity in the Age of Post-soviet Transition,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 40, no.3-4 (1998): 311-325

## **13. Archaeology and national identity in the post-Soviet states (group collaborative work)**

Obligatory reading:

Diaz-Andreu, Margarita. Nationalism and Archaeology, *Nations and Nationalism* 7, 4 (2001): 429-440

Shnirelman, Viktor. “Presidents and Archaeology, or what Politicians Looking for in the Past: the Remote Past and its Significance for Politics in the USSR and in the Post-Soviet Times,” *Ab Imperio* 1 (2009)\*



Smith, Anthony D. "Authenticity, Antiquity and Archaeology", *Nations and Nationalism* 7, no.4 (2001): 441-449

Rowlands M. "The Politics of Identity in Archaeology," in C.Bond and A.Gilliam (eds.). *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power*. London: Routledge, 1994

Further reading:

Beardmore, Rebecca. "The Role of Archaeology in the Development of the Concept of the Nation: A Case Study on the Engagement of Archaeological Objects in Semirechie," *Acta Eurasica* 38, no.4 (2007): 91-114\*

Blix, Göran. *From Paris to Pompei: French Romanticism and the Cultural Politics of Archaeology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 310 p.

Dietler, Michael. "A Tale of Three Sites: the Monumentalization of Celtic Oppida and the Politics of Collective Memory and Identity," *World Archaeology* 30, no.1 (1998): 73-89

Kidd, C. "Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity," *English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 1197-1214

Kohl, Philip L. and Clare Fawcett (eds.). *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*. Cambridge; New York: CUP, 1995. xi, 329 p.

Kohl, Philip L., Mara Kozelsky, and Nachman Ben-Yehuda (eds.). *Selective Remembrances: Archaeology in the Construction, Commemoration, and Consecration of National Pasts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007. 426 p.

#### **14. Representations of "self" and "other": symbolic geography, "national" landscape and ethnic stereotypes** (round-table discussion)

Obligatory reading:

Billig M. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage, 1995

Cosgrove, Denis. "Landscape and Landschaft," *German Historical Institute Bulletin* 35 (Fall 2004): 57-71

Kasianov, Georgiy (ed). *The Image of Other in the Neighbour's Histories: Myths, Stereotypes, Academic Interpretations. International Conference Proceedings* (Kyiv, December 15-16, 2005). Kyiv, 2008\*

Portnov, Andriy. "Terra hostica," *Krytyka* 6 (2002)\*

Zarycki, Tomasz. "Uses of Russia: The Role of Russia in the Modern Polish National Identity," *East European Politics and Societies* 18, no.4 (2004): 595-627

Yakovenko, Natalia. "Poland and Poles in Ukrainian History Textbooks," in her *Parallel World: Studies in History of Imagination and Ideas*. Kiev: Krytyka, 2002\*

Further reading:

Barney Warf & Santa Arias (eds.). *The Spatial Turn: interdisciplinary perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2009

Eliade, Mircea. *Symbolism of the Centre. Images and Symbols*. Princeton, 1991

Geertz, Clifford. "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in his *Local Knowledge. Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. Fontana Press, 1983, pp.121-146\*

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Sereda, Viktoria. "The Changing Symbolic Landscape of Lviv," *Politics, History and Collective Memory in East Central Europe*. Hamburg: Krämer, 2012, pp. 359-386.

#### **15. Cultural memory and politics: World War Two myth in contemporary Russia and Ukraine** (group collaborative work)

Obligatory reading:

Grinevich, Vladyslav. "Splitted Memory: World War Two in the Consciousness of Ukrainian Society," *Neprikosnovennyi zapas. Debaty o politike i kul'ture* 40-41 (2005): 218-27\*

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Grinevich, Vladyslav. "The Myth of War and the War of Myths: The Second World War in Mind of Ukrainian Society," *Politics, History and Collective Memory in East Central Europe*. Hamburg: Krämer, 2012, pp. 283-291

Hrytsak, Yaroslav. *More Wrong than Right: Recent Turns in Ukrainian Politics of Memory*, Speech delivered at the Academy of Sciences of Vienna (October 28, 2010)

Jilge, Wilfried, Stefan Troebst (Hrsg.). *Divided Historical Cultures World War II and Historical Memory in Soviet and Post-Soviet Ukraine*. Wiesbaden 2006 (= Themenheft von *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 54 [2006], H. 1)

Portnov, Andriy. "The Motherland vs Stepan Bandera. Fieldtrip around Selected World War II Monuments in Contemporary Ukraine," *Otechestvennye zapiski* 44 (2008)\*

Portnov, Andriy. "The 'Great Patriotic War' in the Politics of Memory in Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine: Some Comparative Observations," *Ukraina moderna* 15 (2009): 206-18\*

Further reading:

Marples, David. *Heroes and Villains: Constructing National History in Contemporary Ukraine*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007

Marples, David R. "Anti-Soviet Partisans and Ukrainian Memory," *East European Politics & Societies* 24, no.1 (February 2010): 26-43

Serbyn, Roman. "Historical Memory and Statebuilding: The Myth of the Great Patriotic War in Independent Ukraine," *The Ukrainian Quarterly* 59, no.1-2 (2003): 52-79

**16-17. Presentation and discussion of student research papers.**