

NGOs in the field of politics of memory: regional dimension (comparative analysis of Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions)

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The article analyzes regional NGOs in the field of politics of memory. Presented its expanded classification that distinguishes NGOs organized by living witnesses, victims or members of certain events in the past; NGOs, whose activities are focused on the protection and restoration of certain traditions, saved by public memory; scientific, cultural and educational organizations whose activities are focused on the study and promotion of knowledge about the past; modern NGOs involved in its activities to the problems of memory; NGOs created by representatives of national minorities. The comparative analysis of associations of Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions is carried.

Key words: NGOs, politics of memory, regionalism, Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk regions.

I. Introduction

NGOs are an important part of civil society. The scope of their activities beside the implementation of socially oriented service projects include issues related with the dynamics of social and cultural processes, research in this area [7]. Therefore, local initiatives are considered as factors influencing politics of memory, organized by a number of individuals, groups and organizations. On the one hand, this effect can be constructive mutual agreement, correlation, adoption of common memories. On the other hand, such initiatives can menace an invasion of sustainable existing historical narrative of the nation, creating a series disintegration social conflicts [1].

In Ukraine the problem of the formation of historical cultural oriented NGOs is also gaining importance due to the reinterpretation of the historical past as part of the process of national self-determination, formation of national identity. Today Ukraine has a number of NGOs involved in shaping public opinion, collective representations of the historical past of the country. Authorities build in various forms dialogue and social partnership with such organizations in the implementation of the state politics of memory. The need for cooperation between the state and this segment of civil society is important in view of the relatively high level of confidence to this social institutions. Therefore, cooperation with NGOs in the formation and implementation of public politics of memory can add legitimacy to the actions of authorities in representations of national history [7].

Public initiatives in the field of memory is a form of citizens, based on collective self-organization in order to protect interests in understanding and interpreting the

common historical past. Most of these initiatives are local, limited in time, narrowly targeted. However, agreeing with H.Zelenko opinion, note - in order to be effective, public initiative should be united and concentrated, allowing the formation of civic associations. The most constitutional formation of civil society are non-government organizations of citizens. Organized community groups mediate between the individual and the state, providing strength and support to citizens, increase the possibility of citizens to influence the decisions of the state and local communities [1].

II. Classification of NGOs

Analyzing the organizations in politics of memory, Ukrainian researchers made attempt to classify them. L.Chupriy said that according to the directions of ongoing work, historical NGOs can be divided into the following groups:

- 1)organization engaged in research and prospecting activities, protection of the sights;
- 2)organization of educational direction;
- 3)Cossack's organizations;
- 4)youth organizations of historical trend;
- 5)veterans' organizations [7].

Another Ukrainian researcher O.Volianiuk notes that analyzing a single social groups' register of the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine, as well as examining specific public policy documents of a association in its objectives social groups whose activities are more or less tied with the knowledge and / or of some important historical past, can be divided into three groups:

- 1)social groups organized by living witnesses, participants or victims of events in the past, or in memory of the victims of the tragic historical context.
- 2)social groups whose activities are focused on the protection and restoration of certain traditions, saved by social memory.

- 3)scientific, cultural and educational organizations whose work focuses on the study and promotion of knowledge about the past, research and discovery of pages of history unknown before [1].

In our research, we use recent classification. And we believe that it should be expanded by adding 2 groups:

- 1)modern NGOs which have broader programmatic principles but involved in its activities to the issue of memory, commemoration of key historical dates and promotion objectively highlight the historical past. (Student Fellowship, MNC etc.)

- 2)NGOs formed by representatives of national minorities (Jewish community, the Society of Polish Culture, German youth in Ukraine and others)

It should be noted that NGOs formed by national minorities should be allocated a separate group, especially given the fact that further analysis will affect the regional dimension of public sector of politics of memory, namely the western region, where over the past centuries observed the existence of multi-ethnic society with a substantial presence representatives of other nations, who sometimes in towns entirely dominated Ukrainian population.

III. Analysis of NGOs in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk & Ternopil regions

After adduction a general classification of NGOs in the politics of memory, we propose to elaborate on the characteristics of each of them through the prism of regionalism by making a comparative analysis of three Western Ukrainian regions: Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil.

As mentioned above the first group consists of NGOs organized living witnesses, participants or victims of certain events in the past, or in memory of the victims of the tragic historical context. As aptly observes Zh.Mink, experience shows that the reactivation of historical conflicts are always possible, despite their resolution of their various forms in the past. History moves itself in the present, take place the mobilization of different actors actions affected populations and other disadvantaged groups that are forgotten in post-conflict arrangements, or forced to remain silent.

To these subjects refer the former concentration camps and repressed prisoners. [1] The largest number of such organizations are registered in Ivano-Frankivsk region (10), 7 & 4 in Lviv and Ternopil. From this list, three of them in the Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil dedicated to the victims of Nazi concentration camps; 5 in Ivano-Frankivsk and 2 & 2 in Lviv and Ternopil – to political prisoners and repressed, and 1 & 1 in the Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk regions – to UPA veterans. An interesting fact is that in every region there is an organization of veterans of first Ukrainian division "Galicia". [2-5,6]

Sharp political discussions usually occur also around issues connected with past wars. Active participation in the discussions taking organizations of victims and participants of those events. [1] The largest number of such organizations are registered in the Lviv region (10), and 7 & 7 in Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil. From this list 7, 3 and 4 in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions accordingly, dedicated to veterans of World War II. Defends the interests of the children of World War II organizations in Ternopil region, and 1 & 1 in the other regions. The most extensive network of community organizations that reflect the interests of veterans of the war in Afghanistan is in the Ivano-Frankivsk region (3), while others - only 1 & 1 [2-5,6].

Separately select in this group NGOs of ethnic minority that at one time were violent deported from their native lands. Their number is small, only 6, 2 and 3 in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions accordingly. Most organizations of this spectrum devoted to the Lemko's ethnic groups.

Turning to the analysis of the second group, we note that it belongs to social groups whose activities are focused on the protection and restoration of certain traditions, saved by social memory. Members of these movements feel peculiar nostalgia for certain social-political regime, the political system or form of government in the past, and hence desire the return of its individual elements or complete his recovery. In the arsenal of the activities of such organizations occupy a leading place historical

reconstruction and modeling, theatrical play certain phenomena or events of the past.

In late 80-ies of XX century interest in past, and the genetic memory along with the intensification of political life in Ukraine led to the emergence of Cossack public entities. Now Cossack communities in Ukraine are in the form of NGOs of national patriotic direction, which are quite a lot [1]. Thus analyzing the list of NGOs registered by Principal management of Justice in the Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions, we see that in these areas there are 20, 11 and 6 Cossack's organizations in accordance [2-5,6]. Such a large number of Cossack's communities is not only due to government financial support (such NGOs do not conflict with the official historical narrative of the state, so it is encouraged), but internal divisions in modern Cossack's leaders [1].

In the public space of the West Ukrainian region there are some formation promoting the return to traditional communist past. [1] However, it should be noted that the relative proportion of organizations of this type is very small, because this sector is represented by only 1 & 1 organization in Lviv and Ternopil regions (Lviv regional Organization of the Lenin Communist Union of Youth, Ternopil regional Organization of the Lenin Communist Youth Union of Ukraine) and two organizations in Ivano-Frankivsk (Ivano-Frankivsk regional Organization of the Lenin Communist Youth Union of Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivsk regional Organization of Ukrainian public children's organization "Ukrainian Pioneer organization named after Lenin"). It should also be noted that in temporal dimension these organizations appeared quite recently: before 2002 in the analyzed regions there was no one communist organization and half of them arose only in 2011-2012. In our opinion, this can be explained by the increasing power of communist party and ideology at the state level and some changes in the vector of politics of memory that have occurred in recent years.

Continuing the analysis of the NGOs of the second unit, we note that during the Soviet dictatorship two Ukraine - internal and exile - each producing its own memory of the tragic event. So today a specific also in the field of social and political life of independent Ukraine took NGOs introduced from exile [1]. For example the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists – the local department are presented in all three areas, besides in the Lviv region is also a Ukrainian military organization named after Colonel Konovalts and in Ternopil – Executive Ukrainian Fellowship UPA-UPA named after General Roman Shukhevich - T.Chuprynka [2-5,6]. Restoring their work at home, representatives of such public entities not only return forcibly lost collective memory to society, but also introduce new western type models of public initiatives. On the other hand, they are sometimes quite removed from the specifics of real political life, unable to accept and comprehend acquired during their absence experience of the country, sometimes occupying a radical position.

To these organizations should also include newly restored in the post-soviet space scout children and youth

association that directly affects the formation of civic culture of the younger generation. Such organizations are registered in the western region of the country [1]. Most of them are in the Lviv region (7), and in Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk there are almost equal numbers 5 and 4 in accordance. In all areas there are local branches of "Plast", "Sokil" and "Union of Ukrainian Youth" [2-5,6], which adopted its name and traditions of patriotic education of youth from its predecessors, based in the restive years of the Ukrainian national liberation movement [1].

The third group includes scientific, cultural and educational organizations whose work focuses on the study and promotion of knowledge about the past, research and discovery pages of history unknown before. Judgments and estimates of historical events made by the members of such groups can enjoy significant authority in society, as it is perceived as independent and professional [1].

Through a comparative analysis of NGOs in this group one can see that most of the registered in the Lviv region (15), although Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk show high level too (especially given the fact that their combined population is almost equal to the population of Lviv region) – 12 organizations in each. In all three regions there are regional branches of the Society of sights of history and culture "Memorial" named after Vasyl Stus, Society "Prosvita" named after Taras Shevchenko, Scientific Society named after Taras Shevchenko, the Union of Ukrainian, Union of ethnographers. In all areas which we have analyzed, there are various search companies, most of them focus in the work at the years of World War II. It should be noted that only Lviv region has a local cell of Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, which was founded the same year as the main institution in Kyiv (2006) [2-5,6].

The fourth group includes modern NGOs which have broader programmatic principles but involved in its activities to the issue of memory, commemoration of key historical dates and promotion objectively highlight the historical events. [1] Of course, most of such organizations are registered in the Lviv region – 17; in Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil 12 and 10 accordingly. Only two organizations of this spectrum have their branches in all three regions: Congress of Ukrainian intellectuals and "Young Prosvita". In Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk regions are cells of "Student Fellowship" and the NGO "Patriot of Ukraine", in Lviv and Ternopil - "Youth Nationalist Congress", in Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil - Ukrainian sorority named after Olena Teliha [2-5,6].

The fifth group consists of NGOs based by representatives of national minorities. Despite the fact that in the western regions of Ukraine dominated Ukrainian centered approach to politics of memory, this group of organizations is significant and includes 37 organizations in Lviv region, 19 in Ivano-Frankivsk and 8 in Ternopil, which accounts 29.37%, 21.83% and 12.9% of all organizations in the political memory of the analyzed regions. Number of organizations specific minority almost completely reflect the historical background of the

Western Ukrainian lands. Minorities that for centuries lived on these lands now forming their own social organizations to maintain their "places of memory", the presence of national community in the modern Ukrainian space and the cultural features. NGOs of Poles, Germans are clearly presented of the social sector in the region. So in Lviv region representatives of the Polish community form six organizations, Jewish and German - three each, Armenian - two. In Ivano-Frankivsk region these figures are next: Jewish, Polish, German community - three organizations each and one Armenian. Ternopil region shows the least activity of public associations of national minorities. Here the Jewish community represented by the two organizations and the Polish and German only one. Pretty strong presence of NGOs of Russian minority: in the Lviv region it dominates and consists of 10 organizations, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil – 2& 2. In all three regions registered as association of Azerbaijanis and Bulgarians, in two - Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk - Hungarians, Belorussians, Greeks and Lithuanians; Czechs and Tatar communities exist in the Lviv region, Romanians organization registered in Ivano-Frankivsk region. Special feature of Lviv region is the existence of the three organizations established to provide intercultural dialogue and defend the interests of all ethnic minorities in the region [2-5,6].

Conclusion

Summarizing the analysis of regional NGOs in politics of memory note that its part in the total list of NGOs is quite significant. This is confirmed by statistics which shows these associations occupy 7.81% of the total NGOs in the Lviv region, 9.04% in Ivano-Frankivsk and 10.61% in Ternopil. They represent a wide variety of key issues that exist in the problems of politics of memory in Ukrainian society. Considerable resonance in society cause the pages of history, which still have in our present living witnesses, people who were affected by certain regimes or wars. It should be noted that in the Western Ukrainian region despite the common stereotype of reverence and heroization on these territories only soldiers of the national liberation struggle, an analysis of the list of NGOs shows other realities: it is a number (organizations) dedicated to the veterans of World War II not smaller and sometimes larger (for example in the Lviv region) of UPA veterans organizations or repressed. Also, there are organizations that condemn the Nazi regime and represent prisoners of former ghetto and concentration camps. Two regions singled out an ethnicity of victims – Jews – in the names of the organizations. At the same time in no one region there is no single organization that would reflect the interests of Ukrainian workers, trafficked or forced labor in Germany, so-called "Ostarbeiteren". Perhaps their interests are represented by the organization we mentioned above, but in our opinion, the existence of a separate organization that defended the interests of this group of victims must take place in the structure of public organizations created by living witnesses, participants or victims of certain events in the past. A significant part of this group also includes the

formation of ethnic minority community that at one time were forcibly deported from their native lands. Although their number is small the activity is very active and visible. An interesting circumstance is the existence of a large number of Cossack communities. First of all, this can be explained by the fact that nostalgia, pride or the desire to spread the glorious Cossack traditions of the past is a trend that does not cause any objection on the part of any citizen, regardless of his place of residence or of ideological and political preferences. This page of history is the least conflict and fits into the historical narrative of the state that's why this type of NGOs are encouraged and financially supported by the state. Another explanation for a such large number of Cossack units are more banal and negative - domestic dissent and disagreement between the Cossacks leaders. Communist's past traditions are also presented in public space of western Ukrainian regions. However, their position is very weak, although in recent years there has been a slight gain. Even if the current state of political power and traditions of slightly modified commemorative practices remain, although it will not take a considerable scale, as local governments profess slightly different (then public authorities) views in this area. Also against communist ideology act the revival organizations of "Plast", " Sokil", " Ukrainian Youth Association", Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which are rooted traditions to the national liberation struggle. They are active segment of civil society, educating the younger generation in the spirit of patriotism and promoting coverage of Ukrainian history, banned in the Soviet era. Professional scientific and cultural organization engaged in the research and popularization of knowledge of the past is one of the smallest groups among NGOs in the politics of memory. The number of such registered organizations is small, and the active one - can be counted on the fingers of one hand. This section requires active support in the development by the state, especially financial support, because their opinion is perceived by citizens as a professional and enjoys a wide reputation in the community. Can't not impress the fact that one of the most numerous are NGOs of national minorities. The apogee is the Lviv region, where reported up 37 such organizations. The most visible and active minorities are Poles, Germans and Russians. If existing of NGOs of Poles & Germans is explained by historical background of the Western Ukrainian lands (these communities for centuries lived here), a large number of association Russians community is astounding. Probably most of these groups artificially created and maintained by R. Bryubeyker's definition "foreign national Fatherland" for a purpose. Overall, we believe that the number of NGOs in the political memory is sufficient. Worrying is that quite a lot of them are formal or inactive. Therefore, the main problem that needs to be addressed is finding ways to mobilize their active involvement in the development and formation of the politics of memory at the regional level.

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