

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC HISTORY AND HISTORICAL POLITICS OF UKRAINE: INFLUENCE ON THE FORMATION OF THE HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF SOCIETY

A RELAÇÃO ENTRE A HISTÓRIA PÚBLICA E A POLÍTICA HISTÓRICA DA UCRÂNIA: INFLUÊNCIA NA FORMAÇÃO DA CONSCIÊNCIA HISTÓRICA DA SOCIEDADE

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Abstract: This study examines the relationship between public history and historical politics in Ukraine and their impact on shaping the historical consciousness of society. The objective of this research is to elucidate the interaction between public history and historical politics in Ukraine and its influence on the formation of historical consciousness among the Ukrainian populace. The study aims to highlight the importance of historical narratives in contemporary governance and the construction of national identity. The research employs a qualitative method, analyzing historical narratives, government policies, and public discourse related to historical events in Ukraine. It also examines the role of academic historians and the dissemination of historical knowledge through various communication channels. The study finds that Ukraine's historical policy plays a crucial role in shaping public historical narratives, particularly in response to Russian propaganda. The proactive engagement of academic historians with the public has helped counter disinformation campaigns and promote a more nuanced understanding of Ukraine's history among its populace. The study concludes that the relationship between public history and historical politics in Ukraine is essential for shaping collective memory, political identity, and national consciousness. It underscores the importance of historical narratives in countering external pressures and promoting an informed society.

Keywords: Public history. Historical policy. Ukraine. Collective memory. National

identity. Russian propaganda. Academic historians.

Resumo: Este estudo examina a relação entre a história pública e a política histórica na Ucrânia e o seu impacto na formação da consciência histórica da sociedade. O objetivo desta pesquisa é elucidar a interação entre a história pública e a política histórica na Ucrânia e sua influência na formação da consciência histórica entre a população ucraniana. O estudo visa destacar a importância das narrativas históricas na governança contemporânea e na construção da identidade nacional. A pesquisa emprega um método qualitativo, analisando narrativas históricas, políticas governamentais e discurso público relacionado a eventos históricos na Ucrânia. Também examina o papel dos historiadores acadêmicos e a divulgação do conhecimento histórico através de diversos canais de comunicação. O estudo conclui que a política histórica da Ucrânia desempenha um papel crucial na formação das narrativas históricas públicas, particularmente em resposta à propaganda russa. O envolvimento proativo dos historiadores acadêmicos com o público ajudou a combater as campanhas de desinformação e a promover uma compreensão mais matizada da história da Ucrânia entre a sua população. O estudo conclui que a relação entre a história pública e a política histórica na Ucrânia é essencial para moldar a memória coletiva, a identidade política e a consciência nacional. Sublinha a importância das narrativas históricas no combate às pressões externas e na promoção de uma sociedade informada.

Palavras-chave: História pública. Política histórica. Ucrânia. Memória coletiva. Identidade nacional. Propaganda russa. Historiadores acadêmicos.

1. Introduction

In the dynamic intersection of public history and historical politics, Ukraine emerges as a critical locus where the narratives of the past intertwine with contemporary geopolitical struggles. The relevance of understanding the interrelationship between public history and historical politics in Ukraine is paramount, given the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war. In this conflict, historical narratives become battlegrounds, manipulated by various actors to serve political agendas and influence the formation of society's historical consciousness.

Ukraine, a nation with a rich historical tapestry, finds itself at the crossroads of competing narratives that shape not only its identity but also its geopolitical trajectory. The Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war amplifies the significance of public history as a tool for constructing and contesting historical narratives. In this context, the narratives surrounding events like the Holodomor, the Euromaidan protests, and Crimea's annexation serve as ideological battlegrounds, influencing public perception and shaping the collective memory of Ukrainian society (Yurchuk, 2020).

A comprehensive analysis of the existing literature reveals a complex interplay between public history and historical politics in Ukraine. Scholars have explored how historical narratives are crafted, contested, and appropriated by political actors, both domestic and foreign. Moreover, the impact of these narratives on the historical

consciousness of Ukrainian society has been a subject of scrutiny. Understanding the nuances of this interrelationship is crucial for unpacking the layers of historical memory, identity formation, and political mobilization in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war.

The central research problem addressed by this study is to unravel the intricate interplay between public history and historical politics in Ukraine and assess their combined impact on the formation of society's historical consciousness. This involves scrutinizing the mechanisms through which historical narratives are constructed, disseminated, and internalized by the public, and understanding the implications of these processes for the socio-political landscape of Ukraine.

The overarching aim of this research is to investigate the intricate relationship between public history and historical politics in Ukraine, with a specific focus on understanding their combined influence on the formation of societal historical consciousness. Therefore, the primary task of this research is to shed light on how public history functions as a mediator between historical politics and societal consciousness. By analyzing the strategies employed by various actors in shaping historical narratives and evaluating their reception among the public, *the study aims* to provide insights into the mechanisms influencing the collective memory of Ukrainian society. Additionally, the research intends to explore the role of public history as a counterforce against historical manipulations, seeking to foster a nuanced understanding of the past amid the ongoing hybrid war.

To sum up, as Ukraine grapples with the challenges posed by the Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war, the examination of the interrelationship between public history and historical politics becomes not only a scholarly pursuit but a vital necessity for comprehending the dynamics shaping the historical consciousness of the nation. This study aspires to contribute to the ongoing discourse by offering a nuanced exploration of the complex interplay between historical narratives, political agendas, and societal perceptions in Ukraine.

2. Literature Review

Public history is a field of historical inquiry focused on engaging with the public and disseminating historical knowledge among a broader audience. This concept encompasses not only academic research and publications but also exhibitions, museums, documentary films, public lectures, historical sites, and other forms of communication aimed at

popularizing history among the general public. The term “public history” began to be actively used in the 1970s. One of the pioneers in employing this concept was the American historians Clarke and Ellis (1977), who, in 1977 published a collection of essays titled “The Social History of the Machine Gun.” Another scholar, Kelley (1978), extensively explored the term “public history” in his work “Public History and Its Origins, Nature and Prospects,” tracing the history of the emergence of this field. In summary, public history is a relatively new approach to the study and dissemination of historical knowledge, and it has developed through the efforts of various researchers and practitioners.

The exploration of historical politics represents a relatively recent area of interest within European social science. The term “historical politics” or “Geschichtspolitik” (Udod, 2018) emerged in Germany during the tumultuous “battle of the historians” in the 1980s and 1990s. This coincided with Minister Gerhard Kohl’s implementation of the “moral and political turn,” a policy that sought to shape societal perceptions by promoting a specific version of historical events. The term gained traction in Poland, where it predominantly acquired negative connotations within the politics of right-wing factions in the country.

It is crucial to underscore that contemporary research highlights the clash between globalization and nationalism, wherein issues of identity, separateness, and, at times, intolerance toward other cultures have come to the forefront. A modern catalyst for the infusion of politics into historical discourse is the irreversible surge in the importance and influence of information, often referred to as the “information revolution” (Mink; Neumayer, 2013). Currently, historical politics is a characteristic feature of nearly every country globally, and its scholarly exploration has witnessed a substantial surge in recent years. Kennedy’s work (2004) delved into the historical dimensions that influence contemporary maritime strategies and political considerations. Kennedy’s analysis offers valuable perspectives on the enduring impact of history on geopolitical dynamics, particularly within the context of maritime power.

Blau’s (2020) research critically examines the utilization of the history of political thought for contemporary purposes. The author offers insights into effective and ineffective approaches, providing a nuanced perspective on the challenges and pitfalls of drawing on historical political thought in the context of present-day issues. Blau’s analysis contributes to the ongoing discourse on the intersection of history and contemporary political considerations, emphasizing the need for a thoughtful and contextual approach to ensure the relevance and applicability of historical political ideas. Frazer’s (2018) examination centers

on the ethical considerations inherent in interpreting political theory and intellectual history. The author addresses the complexities surrounding the interpretation of historical ideas and their application in contemporary contexts. This work contributes to the ongoing discussions on the ethical dimensions of engaging with historical political thought, offering valuable insights for scholars and practitioners alike.

For this study, works that delve into the historical roots of the Russo-Ukrainian war and analyze specific manifestations of Ukraine's historical politics are crucial. For instance, Hai-Nyzhnyk's (2022) extensive work provides a periodization of the Russian-Ukrainian War (2014–2022), encompassing various aspects such as historical, political, cultural-educational, religious, economic, and legal dimensions. The author's multidisciplinary approach offers a comprehensive understanding of the complexities surrounding this significant geopolitical event, contributing valuable insights to the broader discourse on the war's multifaceted impact. Gorinov and Mereniuk's (2022) research focused on the future prospects for the development of military law in Ukraine. The study provided a comprehensive analysis of the legal landscape, offering insights into potential trajectories for the evolution of military law in the country. The works by Bila and Hrytsenko (2022), as well as Moseiko (2022), contribute valuable insights into the historical and legal dimensions of the Russian-Ukrainian war (2014–2022). In the publication by Bila and Hrytsenko (2022) the authors delved into the historical underpinnings of the conflict. The analysis was spanned various facets, providing a comprehensive exploration of the war's historical context. On the other hand, Moseiko's (2022) contribution focused specifically on the legal dimensions of the conflict. This work provided a thorough examination of the legal frameworks, international law implications, and legal challenges arising from the war. By delving into the legal aspects, Moseiko's (2022) work contributed to a holistic understanding of the Russo-Ukrainian war, emphasizing the multifaceted nature of the conflict beyond its historical context. Kuo and Marwick's (2021) work delved into the critical examination of disinformation, addressing its historical roots, power dynamics, and political implications. The authors explore the historical context of disinformation studies, shedding light on its evolution and intersection with broader societal power structures. Hurska and Parshyn (2023) explore the role of textbooks on the history of Ukraine in shaping historical memory. Focusing on the figure of King Danylo Romanovych as a case study, the authors analyze the portrayal of historical narratives in educational materials. Their study provides valuable insights into the intricate relationship between historical education and the formation of collective memory during a

crucial period in Ukrainian history. Therefore, these works form the methodological foundation of the article, exploring various aspects of the development of public history in Ukraine. However, given that this field has only recently gained popularity in Ukraine, the theme remains incompletely elucidated. Despite the comprehensive analysis offered by these works, there is still a need for further exploration and research to fully grasp the evolving landscape of public history in Ukraine, considering its recent emergence as a prominent field of study in the country.

3. Material and methods

The primary aim of this research is to investigate the interrelationship between public history and historical politics in Ukraine and assess their collective impact on the formation of societal historical consciousness. The study aims to analyze historical narratives, policies, and public engagement to understand the dynamics shaping historical consciousness in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war. Therefore, the type of study is qualitative - based on literature analysis.

Data collection

The stages of literature collection were based on the analysis of scientometric databases, later on the analysis of key words, annotations before the main inclusion of literature. The research is limited to a date range, in particular the search is carried out within a defined time period, covering the time from the second half of the 19th century to ensure relevance (See Table 1).

Table 1. Stages of data collection

No	Name of stages	Description
1	Search in scientometric databases	Utilized Google Scholar, Ebsco, IndexCopernicus, Crossref, Scopus, SherpaRomeo and Web of Science for the comprehensive search of academic sources.
2	Search by key words	Employed relevant keywords such as “public history”, “historical politics” “historical consciousness” “Ukraine” “public”, “military history and law of Ukraine” “Russian-Ukrainian war”, “historical memory”, and related terms to identify pertinent literature.
3	Taking into account dates	The research is limited to a date range, in particular the search is conducted within a defined time period, covering the time from the second half of the 19th century to ensure relevance
4	Taking into account regional limitations	Focused on Ukrainian and international scholarly works that specifically address the interplay of public history and historical politics.

Source: Author’s development

After that, specific criteria for the inclusion of literature were developed to ensure relevance and relevance to the research topic. They related to the review of research methodology, relevance, academicity, language criteria, etc. (See Table 2).

Table 2. Criteria for the inclusion of literature

No	Name of criteria	Description
1	Relevance to Public History and Historical Politics	A) Literature had to directly address the interrelationship between public history and historical politics within the context of Ukraine. B) Publications were expected to explore the influence of historical narratives, policies, and public engagement on the formation of societal historical consciousness.
2	Publication type	A) Peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, and scholarly conference papers were considered for inclusion. B) Sources needed to meet academic rigor and undergo a peer-review process.
3	Temporal relevance	A) Literature published within the last two decades was prioritized to ensure relevance to the contemporary landscape of public history and historical politics in Ukraine. B) Exceptions were made for seminal works that significantly contributed to the understanding of the topic.
4	Geographic focus	A) Sources primarily focused on Ukraine, providing insights into the specific dynamics of public history and historical politics within the country. B) Works with an international scope were included if they offered comparative perspectives or contributed significantly to the overarching theme.
5	Methodological diversity	A) Literature utilizing various research methodologies, including but not limited to qualitative analyses, case studies, and historical document analyses, was included. B) A balanced representation of diverse approaches enhanced the depth and comprehensiveness of the study.
6	Language	A) English-language sources were prioritized for inclusivity. B) Ukrainian sources were considered, with a preference for works that had been translated or included comprehensive English abstracts.
7	Relevance to societal historical consciousness	A) Literature explicitly discussed or analyzed the impact of public history and historical politics on the formation of societal historical consciousness in Ukraine. B) The inclusion of works that bridged theoretical discussions with practical implications was encouraged.

Source: Author's development

By adhering to these inclusion criteria, the research aimed to construct a cohesive and comprehensive understanding of the interplay between public history, historical politics, and societal historical consciousness in the Ukrainian context.

Data analysis

The work uses thematic, comparative and content analysis for the purpose of a comprehensive study of public policy and historical policy in Ukraine. The method of synthesis of the obtained data was also used.

Thematic analysis

Categorized identified literature into themes related to public history, historical politics, and societal historical consciousness.

Examined the nuances of each theme to discern patterns, shifts, and overarching trends in the scholarly

Comparative analysis

Explored similarities, differences, and notable approaches employed in other countries to enrich the understanding of the Ukrainian context.

Content analysis

It was scrutinized historical narratives to identify patterns, trends, and the impact on societal historical consciousness and examined the language, framing, and contextual elements within these documents to unveil the underlying dynamics shaping historical narratives.

Synthesis of findings

It was synthesized the findings from thematic, comparative, and content analyses to develop a coherent narrative that encapsulates the intricate dynamics between public history, historical politics, and societal historical consciousness in Ukraine. By engaging in these detailed data analysis processes, the research aimed to uncover nuanced insights and contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the research questions posed in the study.

4. Results

Historical politics has gained popularity, understood in contemporary terms as the interpretation of history chosen for political reasons, and attempts to convince the public of the correctness of such interpretation. The term “historical politics” emerged as a category of political practice in the 1980s in Germany and further developed in Poland in the 2000s. This term denotes a certain type of politics that uses the past for a specific purpose, employing methods that involve the use of state administrative and financial resources in the sphere of history and memory politics in the interests of the ruling elite (Zehelein, 2013).

Interpreted in this way, historical politics represents a separate segment of memory politics, which should be understood as the activities of the state and other actors aimed at asserting certain ideas about the collective past and forming the corresponding cultural infrastructure, educational policy, and legislative regulation.

Close to this concept is the political use of the past, which involves the reference to history in a political context regardless of whether it forms a coherent strategy. Chekalenko (2021) inclined to empirical accuracy often prefer this concept precisely because it does not contain the problematic word “memory.” Consequently, Kean (2017) noted that over a long period of research, the concept of memory has become so widely interpreted that now it seems to define any kind of connection between the past and the present.

Working with historical memory is aimed at constructing or reproducing existing myths necessary for the consolidation of the community and civil concord regarding significant ideas and current decisions promoted by the ruling elites and the state. A certain myth is constructed for each event in history. Political myth is a central category in the study of national historical consciousness, political identity of civil communities, and the structure of collective and historical memory (Rudenko and Harkov, 2023). Therefore, it is necessary to carefully distinguish the myth from how it is interpreted in everyday language (as a false belief, as history that does not correspond to reality) and in some anthropological studies, where myths are perceived as indisputable and undeniable narratives that form the basis of the community’s origin.

Today, historical politics is a prominent aspect of governance in many developed nations, particularly those in Europe that have adopted multiculturalism and interethnic tolerance. The historical disputes among neighboring countries in Europe are fraught with conflict potential, with nearly every nation having unresolved historical issues with its neighbors. This topic has been extensively discussed in various publications. Scholars generally define historical politics as a form of policy aimed at shaping and applying “historical memory” and other collective perceptions of the past in political contexts, with a strong emphasis on the role of professional historiography. This type of politics can be driven by political, cultural, ethnic, and social leaders who seek power, its preservation, or its division. Memory policy, which is considered a subset of historical policy, is a narrower concept that focuses on commemorative practices and the formation of collective historical perceptions, often without the direct involvement of professional historians.

Ukrainian case is difficult. These theoretical concepts have significantly influenced the governance structures of Ukraine, particularly the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, and its relationship with academic and university institutions engaged in historical research. Misunderstandings between academic historians and the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory often arise from a failure to differentiate between historical policy and its specific implementations. In Ukraine, the establishment of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory occurred relatively late, fifteen years after independence and the subsequent initiation of a large-scale decommunization policy in 2015 added further complexity. While historical scholarship underwent decommunization between 1988 and 1992, measures such as renaming, glorification of the OUN and UPA, dismantling Soviet-era monuments, and banning communist symbols were not implemented until 2015 (Dervis, 2023). The educational policy in history appears to have been effective, with the sector developing based on modern achievements of Ukrainian historians. This development has enabled teachers to deliver relevant information to students without interference from authorities. By 2014, this information had been largely decommunized and de-Russified. Independent research has helped shape the idea of Ukrainian history as a distinct field, analyzing events in the country over centuries (Merenuk and Parshyn, 2024). This approach has led to transformations in school textbooks, which have accelerated notably since 2014.

The development of public history in Ukraine is intricately linked to the country's historical policy, which shapes the utilization of historical narratives for political purposes, such as the construction of national identity, societal cohesion, and the management of diplomatic relations. Historical policy plays a pivotal role in shaping the trajectory of public history by determining which historical topics, events, and figures are highlighted or obscured in historical narratives (Sofilkanych et al., 2023). State endorsement of specific historical events or personalities can significantly amplify their visibility in public discourse and educational curricula. Conversely, the evolution of public history can exert a profound impact on the formulation of historical policy. The widespread availability of historical sources, scholarly investigations, and publications has the potential to alter societal perceptions of the past and impact its stance on contemporary political affairs. For instance, the exposure of historical atrocities can prompt legislative action or policy measures aimed at preserving the memory of victims of oppressive regimes.

The contemporary development of public history in Ukraine represents a crucial phase in the cultivation of national identity and historical consciousness within society. Public

history, characterized by its integration of scholarly investigations into historical events with their contemporary implications, plays a pivotal role in shaping collective memory and the perception of the past. Ukraine boasts a diverse history marked by a myriad of ethnic, cultural, and political influences. The contemporary landscape of public history in Ukraine mirrors this diversity and is oriented towards fostering a positive national image and upholding democratic principles. A key focus of modern public history in Ukraine lies in the exploration and dissemination of the history of the Ukrainian people and their struggle for independence. This encompasses inquiries into Ukrainian statehood, the contributions of Ukrainians to global history, and the pivotal events that have shaped Ukrainian national identity. Additionally, a critical facet of public history in Ukraine involves the exposition and analysis of the darker episodes of the past, particularly the atrocities committed by totalitarian regimes within the country's borders, but the history since Antiquity and Medieval Ages are also important (Parshyn and Mereniuk, 2023). This endeavor serves to acknowledge and condemn such events, constituting a crucial step towards the establishment of a just society.

Russian aggression significantly affected public history in Ukraine, causing not only political, but also historical changes in the perception of the past and the formation of historical consciousness. Researchers wrote about significant influences of Russian aggression on the work of public historians (See Table 3).

Table 3. The influence of Russian aggression on the public history of Ukraine: main aspects

Aspects	Description
Rethinking the history of Ukraine and its relations with Russia	The conflict with Russia led to a rethinking of the history of Ukraine and its relations with Russia. Historical events, which may have previously been perceived as simple elements of the past, began to be evaluated in a new context, reflecting national interests and views.
Growing interest in the history of Ukraine	Russian aggression stimulated interest in the history of Ukraine and its struggle for independence. This is reflected in the growing popularity of historical research, publications and educational programs covering this topic.
Changes in memorials, monuments, street names and other aspects of public space	Russian aggression prompted Ukrainian society to rethink its past and establish new historical symbols and narratives. This occurs through changes in memory, monuments, street names and other aspects of public space.

Source: Shakun (2022), Hai-Nyzhnyk (2022).

Consequently, Russian aggression had a significant impact on public history in Ukraine, prompting a rethinking of the past and increasing interest in the history and culture of one's country.

Primitive Russian manipulations, such as repeatedly asserting the “artificiality” of Ukraine and its “creation” in 20th century, echoing from the top Kremlin authoritarian leadership, cannot withstand criticism from the standpoint of objective scientific history. These manipulations were aimed at the Russian audience to shape the incomplete Russian imperial myth and modern imperialism. At the same time, such technologies were used with a propaganda machine. Examining Russia’s “information war” in Ukraine, Putin’s Propaganda Machine highlights the Kremlin’s propaganda campaign as a carefully honed strategy developed over the past decade. Originally aimed at enhancing Russia’s soft power, it has since become a central tool of its modern imperialism, resembling the Cold War era. Herpern (2016) detailed a diverse approach, including tactics like mimicking Western public diplomacy, hiring Western public relations firms, creating front organizations, purchasing Western media outlets, funding political parties, conducting a global propaganda effort through the Russian Television network, and placing paid supplements in major Western newspapers.

The Russian diaspora and the Russian Orthodox Church play significant roles in this propaganda war. The church focuses on promoting traditional values while challenging universal human rights and Western democracy internationally. Herpern (2016) showed that

the Kremlin's propaganda not only influences its "hybrid war" in Ukraine but also has broader goals, especially in targeting France and Germany to form a geopolitical axis with Moscow, Berlin, and Paris to diminish NATO and US influence in Europe. Through meticulous research, Herpern (2016) illustrated how the Kremlin has developed and weaponized soft power tools in a new information conflict with the West.

However, for the Ukrainian audience, these assertions had the opposite effect. Such manipulative technologies sparked an interest in the past, leading to the development of historical policy in conjunction with public history, exemplified by the emergence of YouTube channels covering Ukrainian and world history (Strashko, 2022). This interest also led to the publication of modern monographs and individual scientific and popular science studies, as well as the increased activity of the Institute of National Remembrance. The public educational project "LIKBEZ. Historical Front" aims to popularize the history of Ukraine in various formats. The reason for creating this project is to counter Russian propaganda. The project "Local History" is an initiative aimed at studying and popularizing the history of a specific local environment, whether it be a city, village, region or separate issues of the past. Participants in the project gather information about the past of the given locality, conduct research, study archival materials, artifacts, genealogy and historical documents. The main goal of the project is to preserve and reproduce the history of the locality, reflecting its uniqueness and contribution to the overall history of the country. Additionally, "Local History" contributes to the formation of patriotic feelings among the local population, the development of tourism, and the support of cultural and historical heritage. The website "Historical Truth" ("Istorychna pravda") is an example of historical journalism. It operates based on the online edition "Ukrainian Truth" ("Ukrainska pravda"). The materials on the site relate not only to the past of Ukrainians but also to other nations connected with our history. The site features special projects that demonstrate that historical journalism is important for the present, serving as a platform for dialogue where public opinion is formed, and the analysis of events that always provoke discussions. Among the special projects are topics such as the Holodomor of 1932–1933; "Remember Volhynia" – aimed at exchanging "historical truths" about Second World war etc. Currently, in Ukraine, there is a project called "Artifact" – an independent magazine about culture, creativity, and history. This project is a platform for the development of public history, aiming to engage the public with its unconventional approach to writing texts on historical topics. The awareness of the Ukrainian people's identity has become a trend that will require further development.

5. Discussion

The findings suggest a significant interplay between historical politics and public history in Ukraine, particularly in response to Russian propaganda. This convergence highlights a key strength of Ukraine's contemporary historical policy, enabling greater engagement between academic historians and the public through the dissemination of historical knowledge via public history methods and mass communication channels. This proactive approach has effectively countered Russian disinformation efforts, fostering a more nuanced understanding of Ukraine's history and shaping the historical consciousness of Ukrainian society. These findings underscore the conclusions of Skotheim and Fischer (1971) about the role historical politics and public history in shaping collective memory, political identity, and national consciousness. They also support the notion of Zaretski (2013) that a nuanced understanding of these concepts is essential for analyzing governance dynamics and the formulation of historical narratives in modern societies.

Establishing the relationship between public history and historical politics in Ukraine, and their influence on the formation of societal historical consciousness, is a complex endeavor. This complexity arises from the interplay between official narratives promoted by historical politics and the diverse interpretations offered by public history.

This study aligns with O'Donovan's (2013) perspective on the multifaceted role of history in political thought. Both works emphasize the intricate relationship between historical narratives and political discourse. In addition Viehrig's (2019) work on the intersections of public history and public religion resonates with our findings. Both studies acknowledge the complex interplay between historical narratives and public discourse, emphasizing the role of various factors in shaping collective memory. In contrast to Sanakuiev's (2022) broader exploration of knowledge in the era of globalization, our research underscores the complex and specific ways historical knowledge shapes societal consciousness in Ukraine. This contradiction highlights the need for context-specific considerations. While our study aligns with Sofilkanych's (2022) recognition of the evolving nature of information culture, contradictions arise in terms of the socio-philosophical content, particularly regarding how this content influences the formation of historical consciousness.

Kumar (2021) thought, that historical politics, as the official state-driven narrative of history, often reflects the political, cultural, and identity interests of those in power. It can be

instrumentalized to shape a particular view of the past that supports current agendas. This can lead to the glorification of certain historical events or figures while downplaying or ignoring others, depending on the prevailing political ideology. In contrast, Frazer (2018) wrote that public history, which includes academic research, public discourse, and cultural expressions of history, offers a broader and often more critical perspective. Public historians and scholars may challenge official narratives, uncover suppressed or marginalized histories, and offer alternative interpretations that provide a more nuanced understanding of the past.

The proposed study indicates that several factors can contribute to the search for a “golden mean” and to avoiding confrontation between official versions and public discussion of historical events. First of all, we are talking about Russian aggression, against the background of which it is necessary to find compromises in overcoming the most massive Russian propaganda attacks. Also, modern digital technologies create numerous platforms for public discussion of historical events. This provides an opportunity for free exchange of ideas and constructive criticism. The interaction between these two spheres can be contentious. Official narratives may seek to suppress or co-opt alternative interpretations, while public historians may face challenges in disseminating their research or interpretations, particularly if they diverge from the state-sanctioned narrative. This dynamic has a profound impact on the formation of societal historical consciousness. The narratives and interpretations of history that prevail in public discourse, education, and cultural representations shape how individuals and communities understand their past, present, and future. They influence notions of identity, belonging, and collective memory, and can impact political, social, and cultural developments. To navigate these complexities and establish a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between public history, historical politics, and societal historical consciousness in Ukraine, it is essential to foster an open and inclusive dialogue that respects diverse perspectives and encourages critical engagement with the past. This can help bridge the gap between official narratives and public interpretations, leading to a more holistic and democratic approach to historical discourse.

The research methodology employed in this study is robust, utilizing thematic, comparative, and content analysis to comprehensively examine public policy and historical policy in Ukraine. However, several methodological limitations should be noted. First of all, the study focuses on public history and historical politics in Ukraine, limiting its generalizability to other countries or regions. The findings may not be directly applicable to contexts outside of Ukraine. It is important that the interpretation of themes and patterns in

the data is subjective and may be influenced by the researchers' biases or preconceptions, impacting the objectivity of the analysis. Despite these limitations, the research provides valuable insights into the complex interplay between public history, historical politics, and societal historical consciousness in Ukraine, contributing to a better understanding of these dynamics in the context of the country's historical and political landscape.

6. Conclusion

The analysis of historical politics and public history reveals their significant impact on shaping historical consciousness and collective memory in Ukraine. Historical politics, understood as the selective interpretation of history for political purposes, has become a prominent feature of governance in many developed nations, including Ukraine. This phenomenon has been particularly pronounced in Ukraine, where historical narratives have been utilized to counter Russian propaganda. This strategic alignment of historical politics and public history has facilitated the dissemination of historical knowledge and has contributed to a more nuanced understanding of Ukrainian history among the public.

Historical politics in Ukraine has been instrumental in asserting certain ideas about the collective past and has influenced cultural infrastructure, educational policy, and legislative regulation. This form of politics has been closely intertwined with the construction of political myths, which are essential for the consolidation of the community and civil concord. The political use of the past, regardless of its coherence, has been a common practice among political, cultural, ethnic, and social leaders seeking to shape national identity and political identity.

The development of public history in Ukraine has been closely linked to the country's historical policy, which has shaped the utilization of historical narratives for political purposes. State endorsement of specific historical events or personalities has significantly impacted their visibility in public discourse and educational curricula. Conversely, the evolution of public history has influenced the formulation of historical policy, with the dissemination of historical knowledge altering societal perceptions of the past and impacting its stance on contemporary political affairs.

The contemporary development of public history in Ukraine represents a crucial phase in the cultivation of national identity and historical consciousness. It has played a pivotal role in shaping collective memory and the perception of the past, fostering a positive national image and upholding democratic principles. The exploration and dissemination of

the history of the Ukrainian people and their struggle for independence have been central themes in modern public history, along with the exposition and analysis of darker episodes of the past. These efforts have contributed to the acknowledgment and condemnation of historical atrocities, constituting a crucial step towards the establishment of a just society.

Russian aggression has significantly affected public history in Ukraine, leading to political and historical changes in the perception of the past and the formation of historical consciousness. This has underscored the importance of historical politics and public history in shaping societal narratives and identity, highlighting the need for continued scholarly investigation and analysis in this field.

Amidst the ongoing war, the convergence of Ukraine's historical policy and the advancement of public history emerge as a crucial factor in countering Russian propaganda. This convergence represents a key strength of contemporary Ukrainian historical politics. It involves the proactive engagement of academic historians with the public through the utilization of public history methods and mass communication channels. Consequently, timely dissemination of information to the public regarding sensitive issues, which the Russian side has exploited for disseminating disinformation, is achieved.

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