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“THE OTHER,” OFFICIAL HISTORY, AND MEMORY OF THE CITY IN SOVIET GUIDEBOOKS TO CHERNIVTSI¹

The paper examines attempts to create new interpretations of the memory and history of Chernivtsi during the Soviet era through the prism of guidebooks and tries to deconstruct it. Guidebooks are considered primarily as textual representations of official policies on reconstructing Chernivtsi's past and valuable narrative sources for understanding how the totalitarian state ideologically dominated this culturally diverse city. A linguistic approach based on the theoretical model of *newspeak* is applied to the study of publications in order to identify discourses and analyze them. Soviet *newspeak* in guidebooks functions as a means of constructing narratives and an instrument for their internalization in society. The author also examines the guidebooks in the context of official historical and national policies in the post-Stalin USSR, which, in the case of the annexed territories of the Ukrainian SSR in the aftermath of the Second World War, involved the assimilation of new regions by Ukrainians along with the cleansing and demonization of local “Others.” The ideological framework for these actions included discourses on “Old Russian ethnicity” (*davnoruska narodnist*) as “a cradle of three brotherly peoples,” “Russian-Ukrainian friendship,” “Great Patriotic War,” and others. The study also seeks to understand the motivations of the guidebooks' authors, drawing on their biographies. It concludes that Soviet guidebooks to Chernivtsi, adhering to the official doctrine, create an exclusive and sanitized image of the city's past, aimed at erasing the history and experiences of the local “Others,” represented primarily by Romanians, Jews, and Germans, who, before the Soviet annexation, were demographically dominant ethnic groups in the city. In specific contexts, markers of “Others” create the illusion of presence and agency; however, the guidebook's texts mostly ignore the multicultural past of Chernivtsi. Simultaneously, when the “Others” are not excluded from the narrative, their very presence in Chernivtsi's history was mainly interpreted as a hostile phenomenon, a historical mistake, and a consequence of colonial oppression in the city declared by the Soviet authorities to be primordially Ukrainian. As publications aimed at tourists and guests of the city, guidebooks appropriately represent Soviet memorials and objects of the symbolic space of Chernivtsi, through carefully crafted textual interpretations. Tourist guides are regarded as significant sources for researching local memory and history policies.

Keywords: city, region, Chernivtsi, Bukovyna, guidebooks, tourist guides, travel guides, city guides, USSR, Ukrainian SSR, “Others,” history, memory.

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2 This case is described in: Svetlana Frunchak, "Commemorating the Future in Post-War Chernivtsi," *East European Politics and Societies: And Cultures* 24, no. 3 (August 2010): pp. 435–63.

3 "Historia to dyskurs władzy." Hereinafter quotations translated on English by the author. In: Michel Foucault, *Wykład z 28 stycznia 1976*, w: tegoż, *Trzeba bronić społeczeństwa. Wykłady z Collège de France, 1976*, przekł. Małgorzata Kowalska (Warszawa: KR, 1998), 74.

4 «Політика пам'яті перетворилася на здійснювану новою владою політику Історії». In: Domańska, 15–16.

5 Several works of the mentioned authors: Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory*. 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2010).; Svitlana Frunchak, "The Making of Soviet Chernivtsi: National 'Reunification,' World War II, and the Fate of Jewish Czernowitz in Postwar Ukraine, A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of History University of Toronto" (dissertation, 2014).; Karolina Koziura, "Memory, Monuments, and the Project of Nationalization in Ukraine: The Case of Chernivtsi," *The Burden of the Past*, November 2020, pp. 167–182.; Niklas Bernsand and Barbara Törnquist-Plewa, "Memories of Ethnic Diversity in Local Newspapers: The Six Hundredth Anniversary of Chernivtsi," in *Whose Memory? Which Future? Remembering Ethnic Cleansing and Lost Cultural Diversity in Eastern, Central and Southeastern Europe* (New York: Berghahn, 2016), pp. 110–142.; Valentyna Bohatyrets and Liubov Melnychuk, "Kulturna pam'iat v urbanistychnomu prostori yak chynnyk formuvannia iden-

CHERNIVTSI, MEMORY, AND SOVIET TEXTS

Almost immediately after the entry of the Red Army into Chernivtsi in 1944, the Soviet authorities encountered the challenge of finding an anti-Nazi underground in the city and region to honor them. During WWII, a large underground group was active in Chernivtsi, consisting mainly of Bukovynian Germans and Jews who politically belonged to the non-Soviet, predominantly Jewish leftists affiliated primarily with the Romanian Communist Party and the Bund. This organization, consisting of around 150 members, resorted to anti-Nazi agitation, sabotage actions, and the "defense of socialist property." They managed to make a homemade radio for listening to Soviet and Allied radio broadcasts. The members of this group hoisted the red flag over the town hall of Chernivtsi on March 29, 1944, when Soviet troops entered the city. Despite this, the Soviet authorities did not recognize these underground groups due to their so-called "*non-communist nature of the organization*" and because "*they allegedly caused more damage to the USSR than to the Romanian occupiers of the city*." Instead, Soviet memory policy in Chernivtsi and Bukovyna regarding the underground during World War II centered on the Khotyn Komsomol members, executed by the occupying forces, and the underground regional organization of the Communist Party of Ukraine, whose activities were under Soviet control. These groups were officially recognized as the underground, with monuments erected in their honor and frequent mention by authority representatives in public.²

This story may best illustrate how the politics of memory and official historical narrative are formed in a totalitarian state. Michel Foucault asserted that "*history is the discourse of power*."³ The politics of memory as the public quintessence of official history narratives, aimed at internalization among society is no exception. As Ewa Domańska points out, after the emergence of interest in memory as *anti-history* (*przeciw-historia*), humanities came to the conclusion that memory is dispositional due to ideological influences, since, as the researcher notes, "*the politics of memory turned into the politics of History carried out by the new authorities*."⁴

The memory of Chernivtsi and its related policies have garnered significant research interest, as this city is an interesting case of (trans)formations of the memory of a border multicultural local community in East-Central Europe, which had suffered numerous upheavals and tragedies in the recent centuries. Researchers pay particular attention to the history and memory of the Jewish community in Chernivtsi – notably, the works of Leo Spitzer, Marianne Hirsch, and Svetlana Frunchak. The dynamics of local memory and the symbolic space of Chernivtsi from various perspectives were studied by Karolina Koziura, Niklas Bernsand, Valentyna Bogatyrets, Liubov Melnychuk, Eleonora Narvselius, Oleg Surovtsev, and others.⁵ However, the role of guidebooks in shaping local memory and related policies remains largely unexplored. The Soviet period is no exception.

tychnosti," *Istoryko-politychni problemy su-chasnoho svitu*, no. 40 (2019): pp. 160-183.; Eleonora Narvselius, "Introduction. Remembering Diversity in East-Central European Cityscapes. Special Issue. Remembering Diversity in East-Central European Cityscapes," *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 5, no. 2 (2019): pp. 13-40.; Oleg Surovtsev, "Bukovynski yevrei v chasy Holokostu: problema zberezhennia istorychnoi pamiaty," *History Journal of Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University*, no. 49 (June 2019): pp. 93-100.

6 Oksana Sidorchuk, "'The Encyclopedia of Impressions': the Source Potential of the Guides of the XIX-XX Centuries," *Interexpo Geo-Siberia* 6, no. 1 (2017): 31.

7 Oleh Zhurba, "Miski putivnyky piznoho radianskoho chasu ta vizualna samoreprezentatsiia Dnipropetrovska." *IV Vseukrainski Yavornytski naukovi chytannia, prysviache-ni 165-richchiu vid dnia narodzhennia aka-demika D. I. Yavornytskoho* (2020): 155.

8 Inga Kozlova, "Obraz mista Lvova u chasovii retrospektyvi: zmina symbol-ichnykh aktsentiv (na prykladi analizu tury-stychnykh putivnykiv)," *Ukrainskyi sotsiolo-hichniy zhurnal*, no. 1-2 (2017): pp. 219-28.

9 Dovilė Bataitytė, "Shaping of textual and visual representations of the cityscape of Klaipėda in the period 1945 to 1990. Sight-seeing tour of Soviet Klaipėda." *Istorija: mokslo darbai* 106, no. 2 (2017): pp. 68-93.

Researchers generally agree that the official Soviet memory of Chernivtsi was exclusive, overshadowing the memory of the local "Others," primarily Jews, elevating the city's Ukrainian and Russian memory on a pedestal to construct the Ukrainian Soviet identity in the city. However, the textual instruments of creating "a new remembrance" for Chernivtsi aimed at public consumption, their structural elements, and their means of constructing narratives have not been studied yet. Soviet travel guides, overlooked in scholarly discourse, represent such unexamined texts.

Travel guides contain much information about local and regional memory policies. These books not only provide factual information but also subtly include narratives, serving as tools for their internalization. Guidebooks, as narrative sources, uniquely preserve and present the values and meanings of a specific time.⁶ Paraphrasing Oleh Zhurba, guidebooks perform the function of representing the modern urban environment thoroughly showcasing the city, and rallying society around important urban symbols and landmarks. Moreover, they not only inform but also form a sense of the value and uniqueness of the city with its myths, heroes, and sites of memory (*lieu de mémoire*).⁷ In totalitarian states, guidebooks published by state-sanctioned publishing houses specifically reflect the state's memory policy, highlighting their value as research sources in the study of memory politics. Similarly, guidebooks are also informative, for instance, for examining the symbolic city space, as they not only list monuments deemed important by authorities but also highlight and contextualize certain ones within the state's official memory narrative. Accordingly, researchers are beginning to pay attention to travel guides, including the Soviet ones. For example, sociologist Inga Kozlova studied Soviet tourist guides to Lviv in her comparative analysis of the city representation in different historical periods⁸, and Lithuanian historian Dovilė Bataitytė studied the textual and visual images of Soviet Klaipėda through the guidebooks and instructions to guides.⁹

This article aims to incorporate guidebooks as a source in the study of memory politics, examining these politics through the lens of mass textual narratives primarily targeting tourists. Travel guides, with their specific format and audience, uniquely emphasize aspects of a city's past. The main objective of this research is to study the narrative features of the text in the Soviet guidebooks on Chernivtsi, their textual emphases, as well as linguistic means of constructing the image of the past of this city and region. How do Soviet travel guides to Chernivtsi describe the city's past? Why exactly in this way, given the specifics of guidebooks as a type of mass publishing product? What goals and more global politics of memory and Soviet nation-building processes stay behind the discursive frames and narratives of the guidebooks? To address these queries, a close reading approach was employed to analyze city guides, identifying key themes to reveal the core elements of the guidebooks' discourse and the main memory topoi in these publications. The analysis extends beyond discursive features to consider the authors' motivations and the selection of linguistic tools for articulating specific ideas in the travel guide texts.

10 Northern Bukovyna – the part of Bukovyna that the Soviet Union annexed; Northern Bukovyna was associated with the Chernivtsi *oblast* (province) of the Ukrainian SSR in Soviet times.

AUTHORS: WHY DID THEY WRITE TRAVEL GUIDES?

Unfortunately, it is difficult to name the exact number of travel guides to Soviet Chernivtsi or Northern Bukovyna¹⁰; at least, such a number was not found in historiography. It can be assumed that up to a dozen Soviet guides to Chernivtsi were issued. I was studying the three most known tourist guides: two, *Chernivtsi: putivnyk* (*Chernivtsi: A Guidebook*) by Vitalii Kolodii (1967) (Fig. 1) and *Chernivtsi: Shcho? De? Yak?* (*Chernivtsi: What? Where? How?*) (Fig. 2) by Yukhym Husar and Serhii Rozumnyi (1991), dedicated to the city, and one that reviews the region of Northern Bukovyna – *Radianska Bukovyna: dovidnyk-putivnyk* (*Soviet Bukovyna: A Handbook-Guidebook*) by Ivan Severchuk (1970) (Fig. 3). The inclusion of the latter guidebook stems from the observation that narratives about Chernivtsi and Bukovyna in Soviet guidebooks are intertwined, creating a unified discursive complex inseparable from each other.

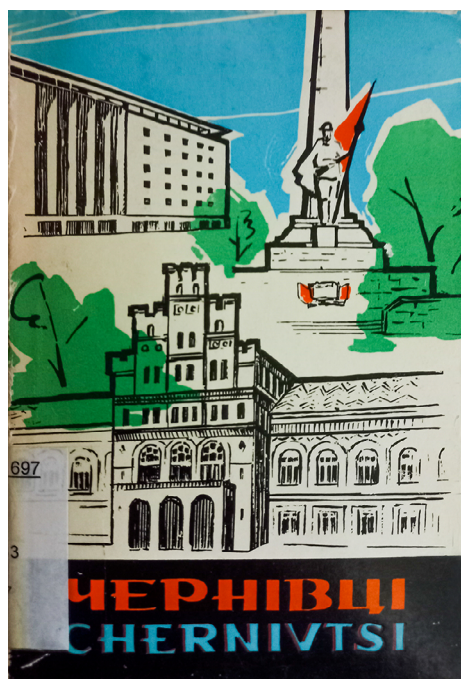


Fig. 1. Vitalii Kolodii, *Chernivtsi: putivnyk*, 1967

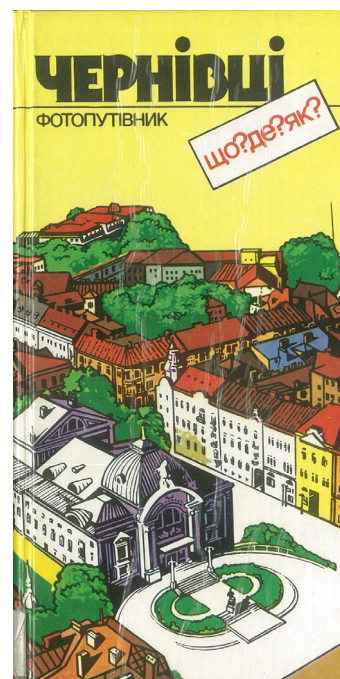


Fig. 2. Yukhym Husar, Serhii Rozumnyi, *Chernivtsi: Shcho? De? Yak?*, 1991

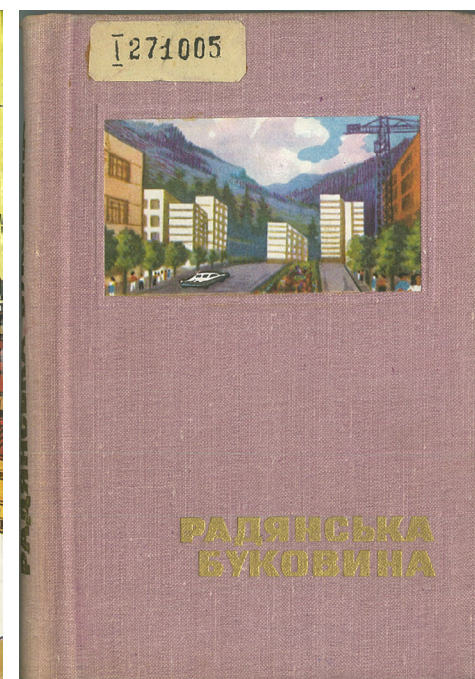


Fig. 3. Ivan Severchuk, *Radianska Bukovyna: dovidnyk-putivnyk*, 1970

11 Bohdan Melnychuk, “Kolodii Vitalii Demianovych”, *U Entsyklopediia Suchasnoi Ukrainy*, eds. Ivan Dziuba et al. Kyiv: Instytut entsyklopedychnykh doslidzhen NAN Ukrainy [online], 2014. <https://esu.com.ua/article-4154>

12 It is about the publication: Roman Lubkivskyi, *Misto ochyma pysmennyka*. (Lviv: Kameniar, 1985).

Who are the authors of these publications? Why did they write these tourist guides after all? Due to specificity, guidebooks are not ego-documents – discerning the authors’ intentions directly from the text is challenging. However, some assumptions can be made based on the author’s biographical data.

Vitalii Kolodii (Fig. 4), a writer, poet, and translator, was originally from Pervomaisk in southern Ukraine. He received a philological degree from Chernivtsi University. After graduation, Kolodii worked as the head of the culture department at the regional newspaper *Radianska Bukovyna* (Soviet *Bukovyna*), becoming a member of the official state-controlled Union of Writers (eventually leading its provincial department). His creative work as a writer predominantly centered around stories from Bukovyna.¹¹ During his work at *Radianska Bukovyna*, the guidebook was published under his authorship. His involvement in the Bukovynian context made him well-suited to write an insightful city guide to Chernivtsi. Since guidebooks in the Soviet Union were issued by state order, for an employee of *Radianska Bukovyna*, such an order could be both the fulfillment of public and professional duty as well as a certain income. Writing guidebooks could be both an act of loyalty to the authorities and a way to earn money with texts for writers in the Soviet era. For example, the poet from Lviv, Roman Lubkivskyi, who later became a key figure in “*Narodnyi Rukh Ukrainy za Perebudovu*” (People’s Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika), a pioneering organized opposition movement in Soviet Ukraine, published the city guide *Misto ochyma pysmennyka* (*The City Through the Eyes of a Writer*) in 1985. This book presented the typical Soviet perspective on Lviv’s history in an artistic form and guided the reader through the notable city locations.¹² Perhaps a similar story was behind Vitalii Kolodii’s guidebook.

The backgrounds of the authors of the other two guidebooks in this study differ from that of Vitalii Kolodii. Ivan Severchuk, hailing from a village in the Zhytomyr region, has a less detailed public profile. Since 1959, he was a member of the Communist Party. In 1964, he graduated from the Historical Faculty of the Chernivtsi University and studied at the Institute of Scientific Atheism under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Between 1972 and 1973, he led the Department of Marxism-Leninism at the Bukovyna Medical Academy, and in 1973, he became the head of the Leninskyi city district of Chernivtsi committee of the Communist Party.¹³ It is plausible that for Ivan Severchuk, a historian by education, the publication of the travel guide to Bukovyna in



Fig. 4. Vitalii Kolodii.
Source: <https://esu.com.ua/article-4154>

13 Sydorenko, M., Troianskyi, V., Shutak, L, "Istoriia stanovlennia i rozvytku kafedry suspilnykh nauk ta ukrainoznavstva BDMA". *Bukovynskyi medychnyi visnyk* 8 (1) (2004): 197.

14 Havryliuk O., Lupan A, Yukhym Husar: *biobibliohr. pokazhchyk (do 65-richchia vid dnia narodzhennia)*. (Chernivtsi: Chernivetska oblasna universalna naukova biblioteka imeni Mykhaila Ivasiuka, 2010), 3.

15 «Північна Буковина – одвічно слов'янська земля. Більше чотирьох століть ця територія входила до складу древньоруської держави. Історія краю – це історія тривалої боротьби трудящих за своє соціальне та національне визволення. Шість віків буковинці перебували під владою іноземних держав, шість довгих віків вони були відірвані від матері-Вітчизни. Заповітна мрія трудящих збулась у незабутньому сороковому, коли Північна Буковина воз'єдналась в єдиній Українській Радянській державі». Term «древньоруська держава» was consciously translated as "Old Russian state" according to the politically engaged Soviet practice of translation of this term. The more correct and accurate translation would be "Kyivan Rus". In: Ivan Severchuk, *Radianska Bukovyna: dovidnyk-putivnyk* (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1970), 3.

1970 was one of the crucial steps in his party career and the search for a place among the local political elite.

Yukhym Husar was a native of Bukovyna and worked as a journalist for many local newspapers from the 1960s to the 1990s (Fig. 5). Simultaneously, he was an active party figure and wrote materials for agitators. Between 1983 and 1990, he led the press, radio, and television sector of the Chernivtsi provincial committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. During the last two years of Soviet rule, Husar published two books: one was dedicated to Mykola Kuznetsov, a Soviet intelligence officer during WWII¹⁴, and the other, *Chernivtsi: Shcho? De? Yak?* Perhaps for Yukhym Husar, the publication of the guidebook was part of his work as a journalist and party functionary.

The three guidebooks under study originate from authors with distinct backgrounds, suggesting potentially varied motivations for their publication. However, it is worth conducting a separate study involving oral testimonies, as well as materials from party and publishing house archives for a more in-depth and accurate analysis of the motivations of the authors. This topic deserves additional research attention.

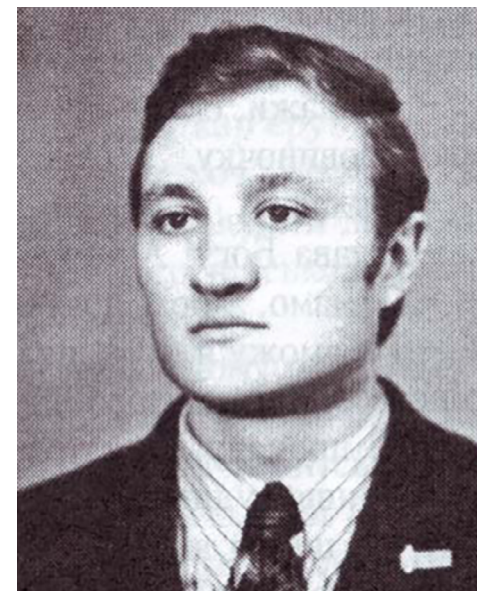


Fig. 5. Yukhym Husar.

Source: Havryliuk O., Lupan A. *Yukhym Husar: biobibliohr. pokazhchyk (do 65-richchia vid dnia narodzhennia)*. Chernivtsi: Chernivetska oblasna universalna naukova biblioteka imeni Mykhaila Ivasiuka, 2010

GUIDEBOOKS: HOW AND WHY EXACTLY IN THIS WAY DO THEY DEPICT HISTORY?

"Northern Bukovyna has always been a Slavic land. This territory had been a part of the Old Russian state for over four centuries. The history of the region is the history of the long struggle of the working people for their social and national liberation. For six centuries, the Bukovynians had been under the foreign states' rule; for six long centuries, they had been separated from the Motherland. The cherished dream of the working people came true in the unforgettable forties when Northern Bukovyna was reunited into a single Ukrainian Soviet state."¹⁵

The three guidebooks under study originate from authors with distinct backgrounds, suggesting potentially varied motivations for their publication. Olena Matkovska notes, "George Orwell's concept of newspeak is based on the principle of linguistic relativity – the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis,

16 «Концепція Новомови Дж. Орвела ґрунтується на принципі лінгвістичної відносності – гіпотезі Сепіра-Ворфа, за якою мова визначає мислення, а мовні категорії детермінують когнітивні». In: Olena Matkovska, *Orvelivska novomova ta suchasnyi dyskurs. Naukovi zapysky Natsionalnoho universytetu «Ostrozka akademiia»*: Seriia «Filolohiia» 1 (26) (2012): 185.

17 Inna Renchka, *Leksykon totalitaryzmu* (Kyiv: Klio, 2018), 24.

18 «як дійове знаряддя у справі пропаганди й утвердження революційної ідеології, матеріалістичного світогляду і світосприйняття, багатогранної соціалістичної культури». In: Leonid Palamarchuk, *Ukrainska radianska leksykohrafiia* (Pytannia istorii, teorii i praktyky) (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1978), 198.

19 Nataliia Kupina, *Totalitarnyj jazyk: slovar i rechevye reakcyi* (Ekaterinburg, Perm: Ural'skij Gosudarstvennyj Universitet, 1995), 138.

20 Larysa Masenko, *Mova radianskoho totalitaryzmu* (Kyiv: Klio, 2017), 19.

21 Masenko, 25–26.

22 Oksana Zabuzhko, “Mova i vlada”, In: *Khroniky vid Fortinbrasa. Vybrana eseistyka.*, 4th ed. (Kyiv: Fakt, 2009), 121.

according to which language determines thinking, and language categories determine cognitive ones.”¹⁶ In the Soviet period, language was defined as the essential form of objectification and the instrument for transmitting ideology¹⁷, “effective tools in the matter of propaganda and the establishment of revolutionary ideology, materialistic outlook, and worldview, multifaceted socialist culture.”¹⁸ Perhaps the most crucial feature of Soviet *newspeak* was the reliance on binary oppositions¹⁹, an example of which in Soviet Marxist theory is a clear dichotomous divisions of “our” vs. “other’s,” “new” vs. “old,” “progressive” vs. “backward,” etc.²⁰ Such dichotomies are reinforced by the dominance of the assessment over the meaning of the word, thereby imposing a polarizing value judgment that brooks no doubt or denial.²¹ In the Soviet Union, this manifested not only in Russian but also in other languages, including Ukrainian. According to Oksana Zabuzhko, Ukrainian “double-*newspeak*” (*dubl-novomova*) was essentially a replication of the Russian variant.²² Such features of the language of the Soviet era official publications, in particular travel guides, are important in the study of their texts since *newspeak* in the Soviet guidebooks in various languages are a means of forming narratives and images. Likewise, the official rhetoric of memory is replete with linguistic *newspeak* instruments, as demonstrated below.

As reference publications, one of the essential functions of city guides is to highlight the general framework of the city’s history. Each of the analyzed Soviet guidebooks to Chernivtsi offers the reader a list of important dates and events in the city’s history, constructing a narrative that mirrors the official portrayal of the city’s past. It is worth noting that essentially all Soviet guides to Chernivtsi present the consistent image of the city’s history (Fig. 6). Each of

Ю.С. ГУСАР С.М. РОЗУМНИЙ		ЧЕРНІВЦІ ФОТОПУТІВНИК	
		ЩО? ДЕ? ЯК?	
	1 ЗАПРОСИНИ ДО СЕРЦЯ БУКОВОГО КРАЮ	ЗАПАМИ ДУХОВНИХ СКАРБНИЦЬ	8 
	2 ПОГЛЯД У ГЛИБИНУ ВІКІВ	ОБРІІ ЗНАНЬ	9 
	3 ЖОВТНЯ БУРЕМНЕ ВІДЛУННЯ	ДУШІ ЧАРІВНИЙ СВІТ	10 
	4 ШЛЯХ ДО ЩАСЛИВОГО ЧЕРВНЯ	ЖИВІ АРТЕРІІ МІСТА	11 
	5 У СЯЙВІ СОНЯЧНОЇ ДНИНИ	ДО СПОРТИВНИХ ВЕРШИН	12 
	6 РАТНИМ ПОДВИГОМ ЗВЕЛИЧЕНІ	ЗЕЛЕНЕ НАМИСТО	13 
	7 З ЧУТТЯМ ЄДИНОЇ РОДИНИ	ЩО? ДЕ? ЯК? довідки	14 

Fig. 6. Contents of Chernivtsi: Shcho? De? Yak?

23 Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 14.

24 «Ще на зорі своєї історії у слов'янських племен Прикарпаття разом з усіма східними слов'янами була єдина матеріальна та духовна культура, яка згодом стала джерелом і основою культур трьох братніх народів – російського, українського і білоруського». In: Severchuk, 22-24.

25 Severchuk, 24-25.

26 Severchuk, 25-26.

27 Severchuk, 26-27.

the authors can cover one or another of the topics within the scope of the “permitted” official discourse and thus differ somewhat thematically from other authors (especially, in this case, the guidebook by Yukhym Husar and Serhii Rozumnyi stands out, published during the late *Perestroika*). In addition, Alexei Yurchak notes that in the late Soviet period, forms of ideological representation became normalized, fixed, and predictable, to the point where they did not necessarily have to be interpreted literally to convey the dominant discourse²³. However, this thesis is primarily about the functioning of the discourse not “according to the plan and intention” of the authorities, but among its recipients, Soviet society. This article, in contrast, focuses on the general features and discursive framework of the guidebooks in order to form a representative synthesis of official Soviet historical policies in Chernivtsi, in other words, to highlight what visions of the past the authorities planned to implement among the urban population.

Travel guides typically begin Chernivtsi's historical narrative by focusing on the Slavic settlement of Bukovyna territories during the 1st millennium AD and the period of Kyivan Rus. *Radianska Bukovyna: dovidnyk-putivnyk* focuses its attention on the belonging of the medieval population of Bukovyna to the “cradle of three brotherly peoples” – a formation that existed according to the official Soviet theory on the origin of the East Slavic peoples: “Still at the dawn of their history, the Slavic tribes of Prykarpattia together with all the Eastern Slavs had a single material and spiritual culture, which later became the source and the basis of the cultures of three brotherly peoples – Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian.”²⁴ According to Soviet guidebooks, this period of the history of Bukovyna, which includes Chernivtsi's settlement, was declared a period of prosperity. In the guidebooks, the decline of Bukovyna is also connected with the fall of the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia, the heir of Kyivan Rus' in the region. After the description of the “Moldavian boyars” capture of Bukovyna, the tourist guides for the first time mention the “*anti-feudal struggle of the Bukovyna peasants*,” which is associated here with Mukha's movement, the rebels (*opryshky*) of Oleksa Dovbush, Myron Dytynka, and others.²⁵ The Cossack campaigns to Bukovyna, particularly by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, described in cheerful tones, are also significant for the guidebooks' authors. As the narrative reaches the 18th century, the Russian army, who defeated the remnants of the Swedish army near Chernivtsi in 1709 and the Ottomans at Stavchany in 1739, seats the Cossack's place of the vivacious, positive actor.²⁶ Guidebooks indicate that the Russian military “liberated” these areas during the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768-1774, but Bukovyna became part of the Habsburg monarchy. The period of Habsburg rule in this region was traditionally described in the darkest possible tones.²⁷ “*Freedom-loving residents of the city languished under the rule of the Moldavian hospodar, suffered injustice from Polish szlachta, Turkish and Tatar hordes, officials of the Austrian monarch, and Romanian boyars. They languished but never obeyed*

28 «Волелюбні жителі міста знемагали під владою молдавського господаря, терпіли кривду від польських шляхтичів, турецьких і татарських орд, чиновників австрійського монарха і румунських бояр. Знемагали, але ніколи не корилися їм. Зі зброєю в руках боролися проти гноблення, рабства, проти чужинців, які віками прагнули, щоб у свідомості цих людей не було й згадки про їхню історичну приналежність до слов'ян». In: Yukhym Husar and Serhii Rozumnyi, *Chernivtsi. Shcho? De? Yak? Fotoputivnyk*. (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1991), 8.

29 Severchuk, 27.

30 «Не раз на площі майоріли червоні знамена. Пам'ятний день 28 листопада 1905 року. [...] П'ятнадцять тисяч робітників на повний голос заявили свій протест проти визиску, продемонстрували свою солідарність із революційною Росією». In: Vitalii Kolodii, *Chernivtsi: putivnyk* (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1967), 25.

31 «Ще одна меморіальна дошка – згадка про перебування у Чернівцях російських військ в роки першої світової війни. Читаємо на ній: “В цьому будинку 28 березня (10 квітня) 1917 року було обрано Раду військових депутатів Чернівецького гарнізону”. Далеко від буремного Петрограда замайорів прапор революції» In: Kolodii, 17.

32 «Третього листопада 1918 року багатолюдне народне віче, що зібралося у Чернівцях, проголосувало за возз'єднання Північної Буковини з матір'ю-Україною. Однак в місто через тиждень увірвалися посіпаки румунських бояр...» In: Kolodii, 8.

33 Severchuk, 31.

them. With weapons in their hands, they fought against oppression, slavery, against foreigners, who for centuries tried so that in the minds of these people there was not even a mention of their historical affiliation with the Slavs” – this is how one of the authors summed up the historical path of Chernivtsi.²⁸

The closer the guidebooks' narrative approach modern times in their presentation of the history of Chernivtsi and Bukovyna, the more detailed their past is overviewed. Soviet travel guides began to write in more detail about the history of the city and the region from the year 1848, which was considered a turning point. Due to the tourist guides' perception, that year was a turn from feudalism to capitalism, and with the development of capitalism, the working class and the revolutionary movement appeared.²⁹ From that moment on, the socialists, and later the communists, were declared to be the leaders of the national and social movements in Chernivtsi and Bukovyna, and all the stories about the opposition and resistance to the authorities were exclusively related to them. The city guides vividly talk about various rallies and strikes, which, according to the guidebooks, took place *en masse* in Chernivtsi from the end of the 19th century until 1940. The most important stories, which are repeated in various editions, concern rallies in support of the revolution in the Russian Empire between 1905 and 1907, as well as the events that followed in the city after the beginning of the Russian Revolution in 1917. Examples of two stories that relate to these periods of the history of Chernivtsi include the following: “More than once red flags were waved on the square. The memorable day of November 28, 1905. [...] Fifteen thousand workers loudly protested against expropriation, demonstrating their solidarity with revolutionary Russia.”³⁰ “Another memorial plaque is a reference to the stay of Russian troops in Chernivtsi during the First World War. It reads on it: ‘On March 28 (April 10), 1917, the Soviet (Council) of Military Deputies of the Chernivtsi Garrison was elected in this building.’ Far from turbulent Petrograd, the flag of the revolution was flying.”³¹ Much attention is also paid to the transportation of the Bolshevik press and literature to the Russian Empire through Bukovyna. November 3, 1918, was recognized as an important date, when “a large people's assembly in Chernivtsi voted for the reunification of Northern Bukovyna with Mother Ukraine. However, a week later, myrmidons of Romanian boyars stormed into the city...”³² The tourist guides also pay attention to the Khotyn Uprising and the mutiny of the 113th Bukovynian Regiment of the Romanian Army, which took place in 1919.³³ These and other acts of disobedience to the Romanian authorities in Chernivtsi and Bukovyna were attributed to a communist character.

The description of the Romanian rule in Bukovyna is discursively identical to the description and presentation of the regional history during the Austrian period. The only noticeable

34 Severchuk, 30.

35 Husar and Rozumnyi, 85.

36 «Та щастя і радість, дружню працю радянських людей перервав віроломний напад фашистської Німеччини». In: Husar and Rozumnyi, 101.

37 Husar and Rozumnyi, 125.

38 «На постаменті стоїть танк Т-34. Ніби з димного чаду боїв зійшов сюди і застиг навічно. В нерівному поединку бився його екіпаж. І переміг, знищив дев'ять ворожих танків на підступах до Чернівців. Та бійців після жорстокої сутички не привітав їхній командир – гвардії лейтенант Павло Федорович Нікітін...» In: Kolodii, 15.

difference is the emphasis on the activities of the Communist Party of Bukovyna (in 1926, incorporated into the Romanian Communist Party), which was formed in November 1918.³⁴

June 28, 1940, the day Soviet troops entered the city, was declared as the most crucial date in the history of Chernivtsi.³⁵ The period from June 1940 to June 1941 was traditionally portrayed as the city's golden era as the guidebooks credit this time with socialist socio-economic transformations and rapid development. This time was defined as the liberation of the Bukovynian Ukrainians and the reunification of Northern Bukovyna with Soviet Ukraine.

The final historical era covered in the guidebooks is the “Great Patriotic War” of 1941-1945. On June 22, 1941, “the happiness and joy, the friendly work of the Soviet people were interrupted by the treacherous attack of fascist Germany.”³⁶ As previously noted, the Soviet government chose for memorialization only the acts of resistance to the German and Romanian occupation in Chernivtsi and Bukovyna, which was directed from Moscow. An interesting exception is a mention of city residents who participated in Western European resistance movements in Chernivtsi. *Shcho? De? Yak?*, published during the late Perestroika. However, it refers only to those who returned to the city after the war or were members of communist resistance in Western countries.³⁷ City guides also describe the day when Soviet troops entered the city in 1944 framing it with the hagiographic and martyr-like story of the first Soviet tank in the city: “The T-34 tank stands on the pedestal. It was like he came down here from the foggy smoke of battles and froze forever. His crew fought in an unequal match. And he won, destroying nine enemy tanks on the outskirts of Chernivtsi. However, after the fierce battle, the soldiers were not congratulated on the victory by their commander-guard lieutenant Pavlo Fedorovich Nikitin...”³⁸ (Fig. 7). These events marked the end of the Second World War for Chernivtsi, as well as the presentation of the city's history in Soviet guidebooks, marking the beginning of “restoration and working days.”

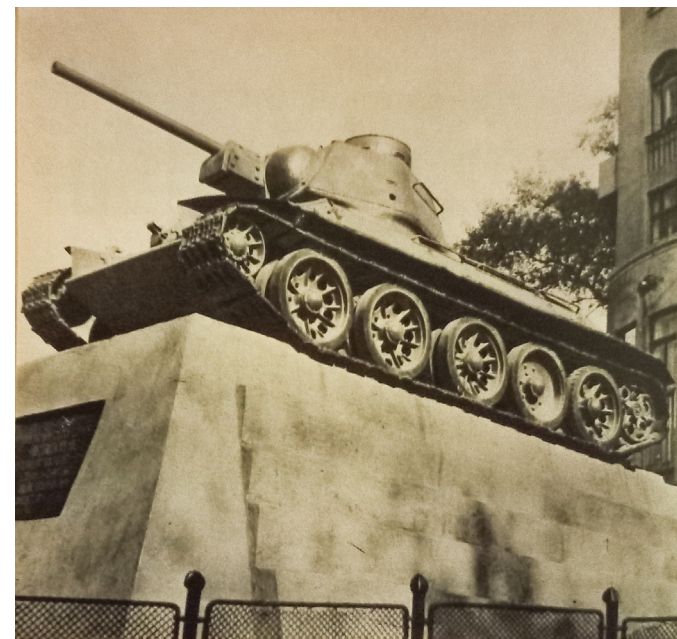


Fig. 7. Monument to the soldiers of the First Ukrainian Front.
Source: Kolodii, Vitalii. Chernivtsi: putivnyk. Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1967.

39 «Звістку про возз'єднання України з Росією буковинці зустріли з великою радістю». In: Severchuk, 25.

40 «Сподіваючись визволитись від тяжкого гніту турецьких поневолювачів, українське і молдавське населення Молдавського князівства звертало свої погляди на схід, до українського і російського народів». In: Severchuk, 25.

41 «Буковинці звернулися за допомогою до російських воїнів». In: Severchuk, 26.

42 «Між російськими солдатами і буковинськими трудящими встановились дружні відносини. В період Лютневої революції в Росії трудящі-буковинці разом з російськими солдатами виступили проти царизму». In: Severchuk, 28.

43 Frunchak, 439.

44 Kolodii, 24.

45 «В умовах колоніального гніту промисловість Буковини розвивалась дуже повільно. [...] За рахунок напливу румунських, польських, німецьких колоністів різко зростає населення». In: Husar and Rozumnyi, 46.

As seen from the plot, the historical narrative presented in the guidebooks, as well as the broader policy of local and regional memory in Soviet travel guides, is primarily anchored in the topos of “Ukrainian-Russian friendship.” The text of the tourist guides forms this topos not only by choosing (or imagining) the historical facts relevant for this purpose and ignoring the opposite ones but also by appropriate evaluations of certain events. Referring to the Pereiaslav Rada, the guide indicates, “The news of the reunification of Ukraine with Russia was greeted with great joy by the people of Bukovyna.”³⁹ Discussing the region’s period within the Moldavian Principality, the author observes: “Hopeful to be freed from the heavy oppression of the Turkish enslavers, the Ukrainian and Moldavian population of the Principality of Moldavia turned their eyes to the East, to the Ukrainian and Russian peoples.”⁴⁰ The story about the events of 1709 has the following note: “The Bukovynians turned to the Russian soldiers for help.”⁴¹ Regarding the Russian occupation of Bukovyna during WWI, the guidebook notes that “friendly relations were established between Russian soldiers and Bukovynian workers. During the February Revolution in Russia, workers of Bukovyna, together with Russian soldiers, opposed tsarism.”⁴² As these examples illustrate, the entire historical framework of Bukovyna is enveloped in the theme of “Ukrainian-Russian friendship” from the Middle Ages to the present. Such emphasis is logical given that the idea of the “Ukrainian-Russian friendship” was one of the fundamental historical discourses in the Soviet reception of history and memory.

The narrative in guidebooks to Chernivtsi ignores the memory of the city and region’s diverse national communities through two primary methods. The first one is omitting the stories of the “Others,” focusing only on the ideologically-colored Soviet version of Ukrainian and Russian history. The second method provides leveling the role of the “Others,” reducing it to a hostile one. Given that the city’s population in 1930, just before the Soviet occupation, was composed of 38% Jews, 27% Romanians, 14.5% Germans, 8% Poles, and only 10% Ukrainians, it is challenging to entirely overlook the “Others.”⁴³ Therefore, periodically “permitted” elements of the history of the “Others,” primarily Romanians, without a threat to the general narrative and the “new” memory, are positively yet marginally mentioned. For example, travel guides positively assessing the historical role of the Romanian communists of Bukovyna and mention a notable figure of Romanian literature, Mihai Eminescu, who lived in Chernivtsi for a while⁴⁴. Nevertheless, the presence of the “Others” in the city’s history is attributed to the past colonial policy: “In the conditions of colonial oppression, the industry of Bukovyna developed very slowly [...] Due to the influx of Romanian, Polish, and German colonists, the population was growing sharply.”⁴⁵ As a sign that the presence of the “Others” in Chernivtsi was a consequence of the colonial policy, it is announced that “Ukrainians formed the basis of the city’s population, as was written by the court secretary of the

46 «Українці, а вони становили основу населення міста, про що писав двірський секретар трансільванського князя Лестар Дьюлафі, який 1577 року проїжджав через Чернівці, шість довгих і важких століть були відірвані від українського і російського народів». In: Husar and Rozumnyi, 30.

47 «У східній частині Чернівців було створено гетто, де перебували в ув'язненні близько 50 тисяч громадян». In: Husar and Rozumnyi, 109.

48 «Крім українців, на Буковині живуть молдаване, румуни, росіяни, євреї, поляки та інші національності. Завдяки ленінській національній політиці всі вони – рівноправні члени сім'ї радянських народів, всі вони своєю самовідданою працею будують комуністичне суспільство». In: Severchuk, 20.

49 Severchuk, 24.

Transylvanian prince Lestar Dyulafi, who passed through Chernivtsi in 1577, six long and heavy centuries were separated from the Ukrainian and Russian peoples.”⁴⁶ Therefore, the very presence of other national communities in Chernivtsi was declared a historical mistake. It is worth noting that the Soviet narrative of Chernivtsi's memory also largely ignores the Jewish community, barely acknowledging their presence in the city. Even the Holocaust and the existence of a ghetto in Chernivtsi during WWII is briefly and blurry mentioned only once: “A ghetto was created in the eastern part of Chernivtsi, where about 50 thousand citizens were imprisoned.”⁴⁷ The modern-time situation in tourist guides also deprives national minorities of agency, creating the illusion of presence in the narrative: “Moldovans, Romanians, Russians, Jews, Poles, and other nationalities live in Bukovyna in addition to Ukrainians. Thanks to Lenin's national policy, all of them are equal members of the family of Soviet peoples, and all of them are building a communist society with their selfless work.”⁴⁸

In Soviet guidebooks, Chernivtsi's “Others” are also eliminated by distorting their role in the city and reducing it to a binary opposition to Ukrainian and Russian figures of history. This aligns with the linguistic means of Soviet *newspeak*, previously discussed in the article. When describing the “Others,” Soviet guidebooks use a wide variety of definitions, which in their wording contain a negative assessment, equating a class or status definition with a national identifier: “Moldavian hospodars,” “Polish szlachta,” “Turkish janissaries,” “Austrian monarchs,” “Romanian boyars,” and others. Notably, this pattern of negating the “Other” predominantly targets non-Ukrainian and non-Russian characters. In contrast, positive characters in the narrative, usually Ukrainian or Russian, are afforded varied social statuses: “brave warriors of Rus” oppose “nomads with dark thoughts,” and Galician ruler Yaroslav Osmomysl (1153–1187) protects Bukovyna from “wild hordes of Ugrian nomads and Polovtsians.” The negative (in the Soviet sense) epithet “feudal” describes foreign states, while the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia, as a vivacious actor in history, avoids this definition.⁴⁹ Positive heroes, events, and phenomena usually have such markers as “Slavic,” “anti-feudal,” “people,” “peasant,” “worker,” “progressive,” “democratic,” “socialist,” “communist,” “Ukrainian,” “Russian,” “revolutionary,” and others. In contrast, the negative ones are “savage,” “feudal,” “colonial,” “capitalist,” “bourgeois,” “fascist,” “foreign,” and so on. Thus, the evaluations embedded in various epithets are markers of the positive or negative role of characters, phenomena, and events in the narrative formed around black-and-white binary oppositions. The texts in travel guides use such markers to navigate the reader in the appropriate direction.

An important part of the narrative is demonstrating Ukrainian cultural figures of the past, officially appropriated by the Soviet policy, somehow connected with Chernivtsi and Bukovyna. These figures were officially endorsed by Soviet policy. Among them, Yurii Fedkovych,

50 «Сьогодні велика, довгождана радість обгорнула моє серце. Сьогодні мене відвідали перші представники нашої великої Радянської Батьківщини... І нині наша зелена Буковина одягнула святковий одяг. Народ радіє та не забуває схилити тепер вже вільні голови в знак подяки Червоній Армії за визволення з-під соціального і національного гноблення, що тяжіло над ним цілими сторіччями. Хмари проступилися, і лагідне проміння сонця освітлює чарівний цвіт, прискорюючи його дозрівання в плоди правди і свободи». In: Husar and Rozumnyi, 91-92.

51 Svetlana Frunchak, "Studying the Land, Contesting the Land: A Select Historiographic Guide to Modern Bukovina: Volume 1: Essay." *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies* [Online], 0.2108 (2011): 48.

52 Svetlana Frunchak, "Tvorenna «davnoho ukrainskoho mista»: zberezhenia spadshchyny ta konstruiuvannia miskoi identychnosti u poviennykh Chernivtsiakh," in *Skhid/Zakhid: Istoryko-kulturolohichni zbiryk. Vypusk 15: Spetsialne vydannia : Problemy istorychnoi urbanistyky*, eds. Volodymyr Kravchenko, Helinada Hrinchenko (Kharkiv: TOV «NTMT», 2011): 178.

53 Tronko Petro, Kurylo, Volodymyr et al, eds. *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrainiskoi RSR: V 26 t. Chernivetska oblast.* (Kyiv: Holovna redaktsiia URE AN URSR, 1969), 9-62.

54 Tronko et al., 63-97.

Osyp Makovei, and particularly Olha Kobylianska stand out. Kobylianska's role is especially significant. Recognized as a classic of Ukrainian literature from Bukovyna, she lived through the first Soviet occupation of Northern Bukovyna and openly supported its annexation by the Soviet Union. The guidebooks frequently quote Kobylianska, "Today, a great, long-awaited joy enveloped my heart. Today I was visited by the first representatives of our great Soviet Motherland... And now our green Bukovyna has put on festive clothes. The people rejoice and do not forget to bow their now free heads as a sign of gratitude to the Red Army for liberation from the social and national oppression that has weighed on them for centuries. The clouds have parted, and a gentle ray of the sun illuminates the magnificent flower, accelerating its ripening into the fruits of truth and freedom"⁵⁰ Local Ukrainian cultural figures in the politics of memory in Soviet Chernivtsi represent the Ukrainian character of the city and region.

MASTERING THE "NEW" CITY: SOVIET POLICIES BEHIND THE GUIDEBOOKS NARRATIVE

A pertinent question arises: what sources did the authors use to write their texts? While authors typically do not list bibliographies in guidebooks, it is known that a range of works on the history of Bukovyna were actively published in the USSR, especially after the first Soviet occupation and post-1945, from materials for secondary school teachers to academic articles.⁵¹ In the very first years of Soviet power in the region, between 1940 and 1941, Ukrainian officials of cultural institutions created the first narratives and representations of Chernivtsi and Bukovyna. These early narratives laid the groundwork for later Soviet interpretations of the urban myth and regional history.⁵² The complete synthesis of the Soviet vision of the history of Bukovyna was published in 1969 in the 23rd volume of *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrainiskoi RSR* (*History of Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR*), dedicated to the Chernivtsi region. A close examination of the chapters on the region⁵³ and Chernivtsi⁵⁴ reveals a striking similarity in the construction, structure, and discursive elements between this edition and the guidebooks under study. However, it is not accurate to assert that the authors of the guidebooks unequivocally rewrote *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrainiskoi RSR*, at least because one of the studied guidebooks was published two years before it, the second – only a year after the mentioned volume. Nevertheless, the narrative in these tourist guides, along with the academic discourse in Soviet Ukraine at the time and the prevailing official ideology, present a consistent vision of the past, which, according to Svetlana Frunchak, created "the image of an authentic and primordially Ukrainian Bukovyna, connected to the "Mother Ukraine" by undeniable ties of ethnic brotherhood," which "was more than just a political

55 «Образ автентичної та примордіально української Буковини, пов'язаної із «материнською Україною» незаперечними зв'язками етнічного братерства, був більш ніж політичною декларацією радянських лідерів, що мала на меті привласнення ще однієї території на заході. Цей образ став основною засадою та генеральним планом для встановлення Радянської влади в Чернівецькій області». In: Frunchak, "Tvorenna «davnoho ukrain-skoho mista»: zberezhennia spadshchyny ta konstruiuvannia miskoi identychnosti u po-voiennykh Chernivtsiakh," 180.

56 Vitalii Yaremchuk, "Ukrainskaadianska istoriografii: suchasnyi stan doslidzhen". Naukovi zapysky Natsionalnoho universytetu «Ostrozka akademiia». Seriia «Istorychni nauky», no. 27 (2018): 245.

57 Yaremchuk, 243.

58 Some examples of such works: Terry Martin. *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*. (Cornell University Press, 2001); Ronald Grigor Suny, and Terry Martin (eds). *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*. (Oxford University Press, 2001); Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (1994): 414-52.

59 Jeremy Smith, "Was There a Soviet Nationality Policy?," *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 6 (2019): 972-93.

60 David Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity 1931-1956*. (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 243-244.

declaration of the Soviet leaders, aimed at appropriating one more territory in the west. This image became the main basis and general plan for establishing Soviet power in the Chernivtsi region."⁵⁵ Vitalii Yaremchuk points out that the party's historical doctrine in Ukraine promoted the primary role of national identity in the development of Ukrainian history, which was centered around the affinity with Russians, their "brotherly help" and historical ties; such a grand narrative became dominant in Ukrainian Soviet historiography from the late 1930s.⁵⁶ According to Yaremchuk, historians in Soviet Ukraine from the 1930s to the 1980s adhered to at least the basic professional standards, which included aligning their texts with the official historical doctrine, the most significant element of which in Ukrainian case was *Tezy do 300-richchia vozziednannia Ukrainy z Rosiieiu* (Theses for the 300th Anniversary of the Reunification of Ukraine with Russia), approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.⁵⁷

It raises the issue of national policies in the USSR. Most of the works on this issue relate to the period of the 1920s and 1930s when national policies in the USSR were most clearly defined – from the nation-building *korenizatsiia* policies of the 1920s to the Stalinist rejection of the achievements of the previous decade.⁵⁸ At the same time, the post-Stalinist period in the context of national policies is much less studied. Jeremy Smith even concludes that there were no clear centralized national policies in the USSR, and decisions in this area were made primarily at the level of the republics through initiatives and compromises with Moscow.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, we can state that the authorities continued to construct a new imaginary community in the post-Stalin USSR, the "Soviet people"⁶⁰ with Russians perceived as its foundation. Ukrainians occupied one of the highest positions in the Soviet hierarchy of nationalities, which led to the propaganda of Ukrainian Soviet identity in the Ukrainian SSR.⁶¹ Thus, Ukrainians, who were supposed to occupy an important place in the supranational community of the Soviet people, were allowed to cover the newly annexed Western Ukrainian territories of the Ukrainian SSR with the Soviet Ukrainian vision of history to instill a Ukrainian-centric memory there.

One of the goals of the guidebook as a publication primarily for tourists and guests of the city is to present specific locations and objects within the city. Tourist guides' texts describe, envelop, and conceptualize the symbolic space of the represented city. In addition to the appropriate toponymy, Soviet Chernivtsi was full of memorial objects; museums were also an essential element in the functioning of the politics of memory.

Soviet travel guides primarily focus on three museums in Chernivtsi: the Museum of Local History, the Olha Kobylanska Museum, and the Yurii Fedkovych Museum. *Chernivtsi. Shcho? De? Yak?* provides a comprehensive list of Soviet memorial objects in Chernivtsi as of 1990 on the last page. This list includes 18 items linked to local and regional memory, predominantly consisting of

61 Frunchak, "Tvorenna «davnoho ukrainskoho mista»: zberezhenia spadshchyny ta konstruiuvannia miskoi identychnosti u poviennykh Chernivtsiakh," 181.

62 Here is a list of those related to local and regional memory. Monuments - to Olha Kobylyanska; the grave of Khotyn Komso-mol members; the tank of Pavlo Nikitin; Memorial plaques - to Pavlo Nikitin; Olha Kobylyanska; Augusta Kokhanovska; Osyp Makovei; Hierotheus Pihuliak; Shuldiner; the Central Committee of the revolutionary party *Vyzvolennia* (*Liberation*) and the editorial office of its newspaper *Borets* (*Fighter*); in honor of the first mass workers' protests in Bukovyna in support of the revolution in Russia; on the honor of the election of the Soviet (Council) of Military Deputies of the Chernivtsi Garrison; to Izydor Vorobkevych; Yurii Fedkovych; Wolf Stern; on the uprising of the 113th Regiment of the Romanian Army; to Mihai Eminescu; Mykola Ivasiuk. In: Husar and Rozumnyi, 265.

memorial plaques.⁶² Most of these objects are conceptualized textually in guidebooks with stories about the personalities and events to which these memorials are dedicated. The absolute majority of memorial objects are dedicated to Ukrainian or Russian figures and events, the actors of which are Ukrainians and Russians. The characters of the history of other national communities are quantitatively on the margins of the city space, and the events of their past are generally absent from the city space and Ukrainian-centric museum exhibitions.

CONCLUSIONS

The portrayal of official history, as well as regional and local urban narratives of memory in Soviet Chernivtsi, presented in guidebooks, can be characterized as extremely exclusive. The narrative approach in these city guides systematically suppresses and erases the memory of the "Others" by highlighting select aspects of history and omitting those deemed inconvenient. This approach is further reinforced by the use of Soviet *newspeak*, which, through binary oppositions and definitive evaluations, renders the memory of the "Others" unnecessary, undesirable, and even unacceptable, often demonizing them. Soviet tourist guides to Chernivtsi, in turn, align with and are confined within the official doctrines of history and memory. As a mass product, the guidebooks represent the most important principles of these doctrines. It can be said that Soviet guidebooks to Chernivtsi were a part of ideologizing and cleansing policy in the field of (trans)formation of the local memory. This policy allowed Soviet authorities to ignore and eliminate inconvenient memory, becoming an instrument of legitimization of the Soviet presence in the city, a tool for mastering it. It also prepared a justification for the almost complete absence of the noticeable pre-Soviet "Others" in the process, aiding the process of Soviet-related Ukrainization in Chernivtsi.

Soviet guidebooks are invaluable resources for studying the history of memory and historical policies. Unlike official documents or academic works of the time, they target a mass audience and are among the few types of mass publications focusing on local history and context. Perhaps travel guides are one of the most important sources for studying local and regional policies of memory and history in the Soviet Union. Soviet city guides are the quintessence of the most crucial theses and discourses that the state was trying to implement in a society. They act as a filter, in which the most important postulates are preserved and the secondary ones (for publishers and authorities) are absent from what can be traced in other sources to memory policies in a totalitarian society. Nevertheless, Soviet guidebooks as sources in this field of history can hardly be called self-sufficient and require the use of other materials, including official documents or oral testimonies, when it comes to studying global issues of high-level memory policies, their implementations, or authors' motivations.

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Орест Костів

«ІНШИЙ», ОФІЦІЙНА ІСТОРІЯ ТА ПАМ'ЯТЬ МІСТА У РАДЯНСЬКИХ ПУТІВНИКАХ ЧЕРНІВЦЯМИ⁶³

Стаття розглядає спроби створити нові візії пам'яті та історії Чернівців у радянський час через призму путівників та робить спробу її деконструкції. Путівники тут розглядаються передусім як текстуальні репрезентанти офіційних політик влади у сфері (ре)конструкції минулого Чернівців та як цінні наративні джерела до історії ідеологічного опанування тоталітарною владою цього складного мультикультурального міста. До вивчення дискурсів та задля їхнього виокремлення до розгляду видань застосовано лінгвістичний підхід, заснований на теоретичній моделі *новомови* (*newspeak*). Радянська новомова в путівниках виступає засобом конструювання наративів та інструментом їхньої інтерналізації в соціумі. Також автор розглядає путівники в контексті офіційних історичних та національних політик в післясталінському СРСР, які у випадку приєднаних в результаті Другої світової війни територій Української РСР полягали в опануванні нових територій українцями, витісненні та демонізації локальних «Інших». Ці процеси проходили в ідеологічній обгортці, складеній дискурсами «давньоруської народності» як «колиски трьох братніх народів», «російсько-української дружби», «Великої Вітчизняної війни» тощо. На основі біографічних даних авторів путівників зроблено спробу віднайти мотивації до написання цих видань. Зрозумовано, що радянські путівники Чернівцями, відповідно до офіційної владної доктрини, витворюють ексклюзивний та стерильний образ минулого міста, спрямований на витіснення з пам'яті історії та досвідів місцевих «Інших», представлених передусім румунами, євреями та німцями, які напередодні радянської анексії були демографічно домінантними етнічними групами в місті. Маркери «Інших» у специфічних контекстах створюють ілюзію присутності та агентивності, проте тексти путівників переважно ігнорують мультикультурне минуле Чернівців. Тоді ж, коли «Інший» не виключений з нарації, сама лише його присутність в історії Чернівців переважно трактувалась як вороже явище, історична помилка та наслідок колоніального гноблення у місті, яке було проголошено радянською владою споконвічно українським. Також путівники як видання, спрямовані на туристів та гостей міста, відповідним чином репрезентують радянські місця пам'яті та об'єкти символічного простору Чернівців, текстуально концептуалізуючи їх та надаючи їм «потрібні» значення. Путівники розглядаються як вагомні джерела до дослідження локальних політик пам'яті та історії.

Ключові слова: місто, регіон, Чернівці, Буковина, путівники, СРСР, Українська РСР, «Інший», історія, пам'ять.