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Securitization Model and Referenda-2014 in Scotland and Catalonia

ABSTRACT

The article deals with role of historical memory in the context of two referenda which have been held in 2014 — in Scotland on the 18th of September and in Catalonia on the 9th of November, although not recognised by the Spanish government. Both of them reflect the issue of how the imperial past influences current political debates about independence. In spite of the different political and cultural contexts, the two referenda have been deeply connected with history and memory and have exploited imperial settings to explain the 'security choice'. This article argues that traumatic experience of transition between the imperial and national contexts has been the decisive factor in the process of securitization of memory. Although memory has been considered as a strategic recourse in the two regions, the way it has been utilized is different. The memory of the past was shifted from the sphere of politics to the sphere of security, and memory has been utilized as a means of securitization. Desecuritization of the national memory in the Scottish and the Catalan contexts is connected with its politicization as well as with placing it within the cultural context. British and Spanish imperial pasts have been sublimated in the form of cultural symbols and memories.

Key words: *Scotland, Catalonia, referendum, memory, identity, security, Securitization Triangle, cultural symbols, nationalism.*

I. The Model of Securitization Triangle

In the May 2014 one of the main figures of Scottish nationalism, Margo MacDonald, died, and European press published some her interviews and notices about the future of Scottish independence. Answering final question in which she was asked about her prediction of the referendum outcomes, in her last interview Margo MacDonald commented: 'It is hard to believe [in win]. If you'd ask me six months ago, I'd have said yes. Now I don't know. We can do it but it'll be difficult'. When expressing condolence, Scottish Tory Leader Ruth Davidson said: 'She sat as an independent, and independent she was — independent of thought, independent of mind and independent of spirit' (Reaction: Margo MacDonald dies, 2014).

The discourse of independence has been central part in the discussions about Scottish and Catalan referenda. Although, they might be consider as a totally different in their legal foundation, how they are preparing, and in their international context, all of them are parts of Imperial projects and in experienced post-imperial trauma, and thus, can be considered on the similar background of the memory-studies.

In 2006 when discussing new possible directions of development of critical approaches to security studies, the authors of the Networked Manifesto expressed an idea that it could be explored along two complementary lines, one of them is 'the line of time and historicity — through, for example, the question of memory' (Critical Approaches to Security in Europe: A Networked Manifesto, 2006, pp.470). A little was done since that time in the mentioned direction. Memory studies and security studies has been developing in the substantial degree, but they progressed in parallel ways, crossing just very occasionally in different researches. There is an interesting remark by Pinar Bilgin in her chapter on Identity/Security. She mentioned that 'critical approaches to security have revealed the identity/security nexus as one of co-constitution, which allowed for considering identity as a source of security as well' (Belgian, 2010, p.81) This extremely important comment that recognises the constructibility of identity seems a bit sophisticated since the author did not analyse the role of memory in the process of identity construction.

Historical memory as it was considered in the contemporary memory studies is a source and result at the same time of collective identity. Since any identity is a product of 'self' / 'other' opposition in synchronic or diachronic terms, to keep and re-produce memory is one of the ways how to securitize the identity. Maurice Halbwachs have done a lot in the first half of twentieth century in the direction of comparison and correlation between individual and collective memories. His main work, forgotten in the mid of the last century, came again to the centre of memory-studies just few decades ago, and since 1980s, period that corresponded with development of Critical security studies, inspired a lot of researches on special cases such as Holocaust, Gulag etc. Maurice Halbwachs offered the concept of 'collective memory' as a social phenomenon which is required by any society. When recognising this, he considered collective memory as a basis for the social identity. Thus, social context was supposed as substantial part of the constructing mechanism of memory (Khal'bvaks, 2005, p.8).

Thinking the identity, which is caused by transformation of collective memory, as an integrating feeling which produces a sense of security/insecurity among many other meanings, we could consider it as a main mediator between memory and security. Therefore, any changes of identity (in a form of trauma or soft transformation between imperial and post-imperial regimes etc) influences dynamic between security and memory. Moreover, under the process of new identity shaping securitization became the main tool of memory transformation. Thus, memory, identity and feeling of security has been always connected by means of collective imaginations and consciousness and form the space of securitization where the popular imaginations has been change.

The consciousness, both individual and collective, has always been a subject of securitization since people try to securitize their identity in terms of official and everyday practices, visual and discourse measures. The European national identities which forced with a lot challenges in the last few decades, including European integration, regionalism, migrations etc, started to mobilise a different recourses to protect their values. Memory in this context has long been recognised as one of the measures that can bring struggle for identities from hard security sphere to the soft process. At the same time in some Eastern European countries, where national identities are not formed yet or has been

weak because of historical circumstances of the second half of the twentieth century, the radicalisation of memory provoked some hard conflicts. Everyday securitisation is caused by such radicalised and conflicted memory.

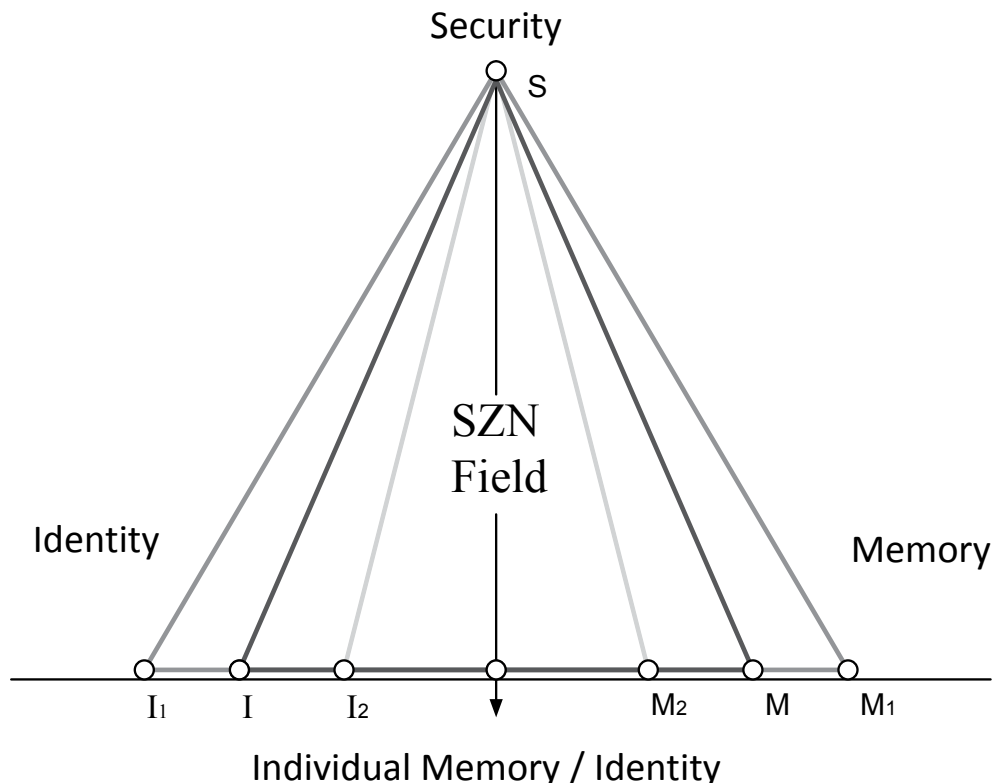
In the contemporary Europe radicalised memory has been inspired by few factors. For the most parts of Europe the process of the European Integration and shaping of a new supra-national institutes is the main reason for the conflict memories. European Integration followed by regionalisation, such in the Scottish and the Catalan cases, caused requirement for elaboration of non-conflict image of the past and making the ‘peace with past’. In some cases regionalisation of memory has been added by conflict connected with inflow of new ethnic population. Ethnic migration in Western Europe considered as a security dilemma complicated the process of ‘pacification of a memory’. Eastern Europe has also been a special case since its socialist past. The Cold War has been factor of mutual stereotypes in some cases (as it considered in one of the book chapters), but probably more important that imperial consciousness has been survived in relations between some post-communist countries.

Traumatic experience of transition from one type of society to another can causes a amnemonic aphasia which does mean that people can understand the history situation and has a very rational goals for development, but they lost categories both discourses and verbal and visual which history process can be explained by. The memory of such society is broken (aberrated memory), but not destroyed at all, and it is required for restoration of lost elements. In such context memory plays the active role and aims to reconstruct past in the particular social conditions. As usual, this activity aims to securitizy present by means of selective past. According to M. Halbwachs, any gaps which appears in process of this activity are filling up by perceived contemporary experience (2007, p.53).

Re-writing of traumatic experience has been possible only in the context of social dialog and it has been called ‘work of memory’ by Paul Ricoeur. In the collective memory paradigm this work includes any process of overcoming of traumatic past by means of therapeutic influence such as social dialog towards most painful spots of memory, critical rethinking of the past, sorrow and reconciliation. But the most important thing is that ‘work of memory’ will effective only if social tradition that caused the trauma has not been repeats in the present, i.e. the tradition is transformed into the memory. In this context, the question raised by Maurice Halbwachs – where does tradition ends and memory starts – could obtain the new sense.

The main function of the ‘work of memory’ is to serve to only idea: it has to protect and remove threats associated with the past. An an object of this protection is identity, this makes memory important element of identity-building. This function of memory has been exaggerated in the crisis or transition periods such as destroy of traditional institutes, collapse of political systems, wars and military conflicts and especially in the emerging of new nation-states. Since memory is an integral part of identity, from one hand, and since identity is an central issue of feeling of security (personal and collective), we can consider it in the form of Securitization Triangle which is forming by security, identity and memory points (SIM).

In this model the level of security (that can be measured by official indicators and personal feelings) has been caused by different forms of identity (gender, cultural, religious, political, national etc) and mechanism of memory shaping that includes as many memories (individual and collective), memorial objects and narratives as it has been approved by the society as well as by memorial practices. The central field of this triangle is space where different processes has been going in political, cultural, inter-national etc spheres aiming to move feeling of collective threats to security and reverse, and thus influence identity by means of history memory. This inner triangle space we can consider as Securitization Field (SZN). Thus, SZN means interplay space of security, identity and memory where new senses of security has been emerging and re-producing.



*Graph to be insert
THE MODEL of Securitization triangle*

The area of the SIM Triangle can be changed by two methods. Firstly, authorities can pull up the S-point to raise the level of security to achieve indicators that will show rather positive attitudes towards government initiatives in security sphere. If this initiative has been not supported by increase of forms of identity and memorial narratives (constant length of SM and SI segments) it will result in moving M-point and I-point towards the Personal point of memory and identity that means the diminution of the area of the SIM Triangle. Vice versa, if new forms of identity cultivated by the authorities as a reaction on popular demands and new modes of memory and historical narratives stimulate by the civil society the second method of changing the SIM Triangle area can be realized. In this case increase modes of memory as well as forms of identity extends the area of SIM Triangle by means of prolongation of SM and SI segments. In fact, it does mean increasing of memorial and identical instruments for arguing the sense of security. Usually, the difference between these two ways correlates with authoritarian and liberal political regimes. As authoritarian systems tend to limit character of memories and identities directing them to favorable for authorities way, liberal regimes accept all forms of memory and memorial narratives even radicalized in some cases. The wide securitization field gives to authorities space for cultivating one or other forms and shapes of identity and memory and produce senses of security that that will satisfy as many people as consume the memory.

II. Historical context

The fact that independence has been part of security discourse hardly can be doubted but the dynamic of the securitization/desecuritization process was different in the three considered regions. On the eve of Treaty Union 1707 Scottish politician William Seton Pitmedden has argued that the change of political status of Scotland will contribute to strategic security of the region and the Kingdom. The Anglo-Scottish Union, as it was considered in the very beginning of the eighteenth century, had to guarantee not only military security, but also economic prosperity and success within the British Empire. Although he gave more emphasis than before to economic considerations, in line with the official view, he also offered the political argument that union would provide security from external forces and from the threat of popery, and might promote ecclesiastical 'moderation'. Included in the union commission, and satirized as 'solid Pitmedden', he nevertheless proved responsive to the specific concerns of his constituents on questions of trade, and was the only Scottish commissioner that George Lockhart could persuade into opposing integrated taxation. In the Scottish parliament he 'read a long speech' (later published) in favour of the first article of the treaty, concentrating on economic arguments but incorporating his favourite theme of the enervation of public virtue. Also, drawing on classical texts and on precedents from Scottish history, he denied that the treaty would abrogate national sovereignty and dismissed the notion that parliament lacked the authority to take this step without consulting 'the people' (Hayton, Cruickshanks, & Handley, 2002). When discussing outcomes of the Union in the next century only few commentators can express scepticism about its economic and social consequences. Memory of the Scottish past was forced out to kitsch and connected with romantic dreams. Even Sir Walter Scott and Geoffrey Cockburn who were Scottish patriots considered Scottish independence in terms of culture and history rather than in political categories.

Desecuritization of Scottish past was connected with transformation of Scottish collective memory. Scottish intellectuals, including historians and antiquarians, writers and poets, who were influenced by Enlightenment ideology, produced image of the Scottish Past that was corresponded to requirements of the industrialising present. By means of this process the Scottish pre-union past was desecuritized, and the national identity was brought in the sphere of culture and consciousness, and thus Scottish cultural tradition was transformed into the Scottish collective memory. Even struggle for independence which has been associated with the SNP and its 'Yes' campaign considered as part of political discourse rather than security issue.

The modern Catalan nationalism was started in the same century that Scottish one and was similar to it in economic and social terms since Catalonia, which was finally became the part of the Spanish Kingdom in 1714, was one of the the richest provinces. It contributed in the Spanish economic growth and social dynamic, but unlikely the Scottish integration Catalonia was suppressed part of the Kingdom. While Scotland was fully integrated in British colonial trade and development, the law that prohibited the Catalan trade with the American colonies was introduced in Spain in 1778. In terms of legal system the Catalan civic law was demolished in 1714 as well as Catalan language which was forbidden till the mid of the twentieth century. The Catalan territories were annexed by the Castilian State and Catalan was progressively ousted from all positions such as law, administration, education (Vila, 2013, p.73). The policy of castilianization of Catalans was started by the Royal dynasty and resulted in suppression of regional culture — the process that was culminated under the Franco dictatorship.

III. Memory Context

When considering memory as a social phenomenon it was mentioned that emerging in particular social and political context it reflects political relations, that 'might take on core or less hegemonic proportions with a corresponding impact on the recollections' (Parker, & Strath, 2013). At the same time, memory, as a social phenomenon, is a subject of intellectual constructivism that means its depending on historical, educational and teaching practices. Although political and intellectual image about the security has been inputting in the memorization process, the correlation between political and intellectual components of memory are differ and fully contextualized.

There are only some facts of the past has been keeping in personal and collective memory which means that any memory has been selective and engaged in wide social context. In liberal regimes memory has been formed as spontaneous and flexible phenomenon that has been concentrated on the traumatic experience and managed by civil society institutions. The civil society adapt the traumatic past and aberrate it, producing in some cases 'subverted past' as it was in Scottish case in Modern Era (Kidd, 1993). But this process resulted in wide securitization field that has been interplaying space of different memories, identities and idea of security.

The Catalan case has been both similar and different to Scottish one. It has been similar because of methods of securitization field shaping that include civil society activities, publications and arguments especially in the eve of the Referendum, without huge state intervention in this process. Thus, the field of securitization has been such wide as Scottish one. At the same time in contrast to Scottish case, the Catalan memories based on much more contemporary events including General Franco regime and his legislation towards autonomous regions such as Catalonia and Basque Country. In this case memory has not been overlapping by the recent experience, vice versa recent past has been exaggerated by contemporary situation.

In his recent interview Dr. Moises Broggi pointed out that Catalan issue was one of the reasons Franco declared the war. He argued this fact saying that 'The Republic had accepted an incipient form of devolution for Catalonia with the 1932 Statue of Autonomy... These greatly upset

the Spanish right and military... I do think anti-Catalan feeling was a key issue in the outbreak of the war. It's very similar, in that sense, to the current situation, in which the financial issue is what most seems to infuriate Madrid' (Strubell, 2011, p.104). The power of memory in some cases escalates fears connected with the past that means traumatic experience influence contemporary relations.

When dealing with reconstruction of traumatic experience such as Franco's repressions, there is a deep fear to mobilise memory that can be destructive for the feeling of security. In her interview Montserrat Armengou, Catalan TV documentarist who has been working on Franco regime films, as many other interviewers of 'What Catalans want' project, pointed out that 'there is still a tremendous amount of pain, and the feeling prevails that the true could once again become a synonym of danger, even death, I've interviewed too paralysed to utter a word, even quite recently' (Strubell, 2011, p.174) This fears result in strong unwillingness of a lot of people to think of old times and to look for archives and other 'lieux de memoir' that keep the feeling of continuity of the past (Nora, 1999, p.17). The Catalan Comissio de la Dignitat (The Catalan Dignity Commission), founded in 2002, aims to return of the millions of Catalan documents that were seized by Franco's troops at the end of the Civil war and sent to police archive in Salamanca to be used to identify, incriminate and sentence to death, imprisonment or forced labour those who opposed the Francist regime. The future of these documents is still debates in the Spain since traumatic experience that keeps by these 'lieux de memoir', but important important thing that the has been debates, and the way of the solving of the problem is investigating.

Fears and memory has been connected with each other and their mutual influence is mostly evident in memories that deal with national identities and prove itself in national conciseness, culture and even in politics. A memory can reflect fear and in some cases stimulate it, especially with connection with trauma experience. The Paul Ricoeur 'work of memory', if it has been dealing as collective phenomenon that develops without state intervention, will overcome the trauma which might be aberrated or even subverted by personal and collective consciousness.

That politics of memory has been one of the main cares of contemporary states might be illustrated by many cases. There was a special 'Historical memory' law in 2007 was passed by the Spanish parliament which some saw as a step forward in condemning Franco regime. As a reaction to lukewarm state' initiative the Commission de la Veritat (Truth Commission) was set by few activists who has been investigated the mass graves after the Franco epoch. In was civil initiated supported by European Commission and aimed to open the history that still scares a lot of people.

These attempts demonstrate two modes of memory management. From one hand, government activity aiming to securitize the past by means of state regulations. In fact, Spanish Law on History memory as well as Russian Law about the falsification of history mean shrinkage of Securitization field as state regulates memory and restricts its modes and forms. Another one option has connected with civil society initiative that was perceived by many people as painful investigation since it touched many people who has been still alive and were victims or accomplices of the Franco regime. But in reality, the process extended the Securitization field stimulating new forms of memory and dealing with overcoming of old fears.

Desecuritization of the national memory in the Scottish and the Catalan context is connected with theirs politization and putting in cultural sphere. British and Spanish imperial past has been sublimated in cultural symbols and memories. In Scottish context, activities of nineteenth century historians, writers, artists etc switched off security discourse and moved it to memory and romantic dreams. Professional history-writing has been important in this process as well as public historical consciousness. In his Inaugural Lecture as Professor of Scottish History at the University of Glasgow, Dauvit Broun pointed out the issue of origination of Scotland and people's solidarity instead of political struggle or security dilemma (Broun, 2014) putting on youtube site his presentation stimulate open discussion exaggerated by future referenda about the Scottish independence. Shaping of memory in postinformation society has been open process that feed on professional texts as well digital space with its historical, pseudohistorical and quasihistorical imaginations. Aberration of memory is an inevitable results of this communication, but the process has mainly been out of control and forced out to cultural sphere. Only occasionally, in the periods such as discussion about national referendum in Scotland and Catalonia, it has been appearing on the periphery of politics.

Spanish 'transition period' started after the Franco death has been not only connected with democratisation of the political structures, but also with overcoming of authoritarian society syndrome. As some commentators argue, the fact that former Falangists obtained positions in new political regime (the case of the late Sr. Samaranch, Honorary President of the International Olympic Committee is most mentioned) make a obstacles for the democratisation process. In fact, the words of Alex Reitman, a Dutch journalist who works in Barcelona, that 'enormous influence Franco's ideological heirs still wield today' (Strubell, 2011, p.224) can explain the difficulties with 'work of memory' that many Catalans faced with.

IV. Myth as a Tool of Securitization

Historical memory as well as identity are full of myths which are aimed to explain the most significant elements of the past and thus to securitize the past. The myth in this context, as George Sorel argued, is interconnection of multitude images which produce 'moral energy' and evoke cruelty, stress and passion (Sorel, 1961, p.127). Especially that is important for 'myth of nation' which is expressed in various embodiments, — institutional, physical, cultural, religious, social and political, and could be the basis for the different human activities such as wars, acts of aggression, political events, ideology and everyday behaviour based on the ideas of national culture. At the same time myth of nation unifies historical memory and identities of all types, and integrates the Securitization Field.

In fact, the myth of the nation can be determined as a type of meta-myth, because it includes a variety of ideas and concepts such as the myth of own territory bequeathed by the ancestors, the myth about biological identity (racial) of origin usually stipulated by genealogy of a common ancestor, the myth of political power integrating the nation, etc. However, the ideas about the common historic past has been the most important components, determining the existing order and supported the viability of the national meta-myth. At the same time, these two components of meta-myth of the nation are the most mythologized that makes them, on the one hand, more flexible and dependent on the political and geopolitical situation and on the other, makes them the manipulation means of public opinion.

Causing the securitization processes, the myth of the nation is the mobile system determining the evolution of ideas about the nation at the level of a group and depending on social-cultural circumstances and geopolitical situation. National myth, contributing to the evolution of culture, is able to "grind" and adapt those concepts which do not correspond to the idea of ethnic solidarity. Those who are engaged in the constructing of the national mythology represent the national identity by using ethnic symbols and ideas, including ideas about kinship, common roots of the groups in the past. The core of the ethnic identity is a mytho-symbolic complex — mixture of myth, memory, signs and

symbols, which determines the persons included into a group and the features of a member of the group. The existence, status and security of a group in this case are in direct dependence on the status of the symbols of the group. Therefore, the people are fighting and dying for these characters and ready to follow the leaders, who manipulate the symbols to achieve their interests (Kaufman, 2001, p.25).

The use and cultivation of the myth of the nation was stipulated by the necessity to maintain the public unity and secured by intellectuals, who substantiated and established a national mythology and political representatives. In some cases, as it was in Modern European history intellectuals included the myths of the nation into political programs and objectives and ensured the introduction of the myths in the nations. By means of the myth of nations national symbols to be connected with memory and identity. In this sense, the functions of the national myth fully correspond to the purpose of any myth — it should explain the essence of the ongoing social processes and prevent the entropy of the society in the conditions of any social changes i.e. the myth must securitize the present appealing to the past.

The myth of the nation-state that was based on the historical memory and that widely spread in the 19th-first half of 20th century became the political embodiment of the idea of the nation. In this context to securitize oneself meant to guarantee the security of their nation. The persistence of the myth of the nation was supported by a number of mythologized historical facts which supported by national elites and contemporary media has received the status of reality. Memory in these conditions plays connecting role between the society and its feeling of security.

One of the main ideas that have give guarantee the status and security of a nation has always been nation's historical roots. According the Scottish nationalists, the Declaration of Arbroath was and has been unequalled in its eloquent plea for the liberty of man and in its mixture of defiance and supplication, nonsensical history and noble thought, two things make the Declaration of Arbroath the most important document in Scottish history (Prebble, 1973). The words that “As long as but a hundred of us remain alive, never will we on any conditions be brought under English rule. It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honours, that we are fighting, but for freedom — for that alone, which no honest man gives up but with life itself”, has been using by Alex Salmond to make new Arbroath ‘Declaration of opportunity’. When visiting Arbroath Abbey in August 2014, the First Minister of Scotland pointed out that ‘Everybody agrees that Scotland is a country of extraordinary talent, resources and wealth’. (Translation of the Declaration of Arbroath — revised version, 2005, pp. 4-9).

The new opportunities that were declared by the the First Minister as a new Arbroath Declaration has exploited idea of the future security of the old Scottish nation. They include ‘the opportunity to protect our publicly owned, publicly run NHS forever from Westminster privatisation and cuts. The opportunity to create a fairer Scotland, ending the assault on the most vulnerable members of our society, and the unfairness which has seen a huge rise in the use of food banks in a land of plenty... And the opportunity for young people to stay in Scotland, to choose to build their future here because an independent Scotland has a strong economy, a just society and a good quality of life for all’ (Aiken, 2014).

The same discourse of uniqueness of Catalan nation that ‘has figured — since 1421 — as one of the first states to have a parliament in which the king was obliged to submit to parliamentary law’ (Strubell, 2011, 111) has been proclaimed by Catalan nationalists. As Scottish Covenanters who believed in Scottish special mission, contemporary Catalan activists argue that ‘Catalonia was a nation long before Spain ever had a Constitution. Long before Spain even existed’ (Aiken, 2014). The idea that ‘the situation we are going through cannot be seen as something entirely remote for a lot of people in Europe’ has been key element of the discourse of exclusiveness. One Catalan interviewer just added: ‘Like Scotland, Catalonia is waiting an opportunity to be free’ (Strubell, 2011, p.105).

The myth of roots and uniqueness has been powerful weapon for declaring the independence and comes out every time when contemporary struggle requires historical foundation. National identity in these intellectual constructions explained by the historical facts which in reality to part of historical memory. In national ideologies ‘we’ as exclusive society usually contradict to ‘them’ who is alien and who brings the danger. That is why myth of roots very often accompanies by the myth of difference from ‘them’. Dr. Moises Broggi argued that ‘there is outright antagonism between Catalonia and Spain. That’s nothing new. It has age-old roots. It’s a gut feeling both for them and for us. The reason is that we are completely different’ (Strubell, 2011, p.104). Memory explanation has been foundation for this difference as well as in the myth of roots.

When appealing to the myth of a nation and the idea of national historical roots those who aim securitize a present and future have to mobilise the memory that inevitable means that they have to explain some difficult episodes of the national past. In some cases it might be realised by means of putting an historical fact into the cultural context, emphasising the traditional and non-political elements of the event. The history of post-empire regimes gives us the most evident examples of securitization of the memory. All of the three cases were parts of Empires, and all of them were emancipated in the course of history. British Empire gave a lot of advantages to Scotland which participated in colonial development and profited by the Empire’s prosperity. Economic, social and cultural progress on Scotland was caused to great extent by British imperial success. A lot was done to guarantee Scottish positions not as peripheral part of the Empire but as part of the imperial centre. As result, in historical memory colonial period saved its place as a time of success and prosperity. The Scottish language was special part of this ‘britishness’ project. When associated with Jacobite revolt in the first half of eighteenth century, it was restored as an element of Scottish culture in the end of that century. The following century has been connected with Renaissance of Scottish language — a number of papers were published in the Scottish, which became a language of school teaching in some Scottish regions.

Catalan history as part of the Spanish Empire was also quite prosperous. The population growth and the economic success was based on agriculture, and more especially on the wine production. The trade with America expanded and it was connecting with a Catalan integration in the Spanish colonial issues. Unlike Scotland, Catalonia did not have its own political institutions, that is why private initiatives tended to create their own bodies to coordinate commerce.

Catalan anxiety for traditional cultural institutions has been much more evident in Modern Era than claim for political independence. The key issue has been Catalan language that has been subject of special care in almost all post-imperial states. Politics of language has been considered as strategic recourse by multi-national governments within the context of multilingualism. Unlike two other considered cases, Scotland solved the problem in the nineteenth century and moved linguistic issue in the sphere of culture. In the time when Scottish language reappeared after few decades of prohibition, since 1896 it was forbidden to speak in Catalan that was followed by series of bans for that language in different spheres (Tree, 2011, p.19). In the Franco Era was it was forbidden anywhere and people who used it were prosecuted. In post-Franco period the Law of Linguistic Normalisation (1983) and Law on Linguistic Policy (1998) has been keystones of Catalan government measures intended to re-establish the public role of Catalan. Among other things it establish a set of incentives for Catalan learners, and requirements of a certain level of Catalan for access to some areas of public employments. As result, catalan has been adopted as the main

language of administration in Catalonia, reinstated in educational sphere as the language of teaching, as well as adopted as the vehicular language in Catalan mass-media.

Contemporary discussions about the Catalan are discussions about the continued suppression on the language by Spanish government, and more often it is about politics rather than about culture. The idea that 'our language' has suppressed 'by them' inspires 'the fact the two languages have not been given an equal status by virtue of a Constitutional Court ruling should be a *causae belli* for our Government. Our opponents are very powerful, and have brute force on their side' (Strubell, 2011, p.160). Moving to political debates the linguistic question grew into the dilemma of confrontation and as result challenge of security.

Any memory, especially that connected with idea of a nation, has been influenced by many factors, and the main of them political and cultural context. Also collective historical memory has always been subject of spontaneous development, popular consciousness and fears, memory management has also been object of state concerns. Different methods of memory regulation as well as variety of instruments that are using by the governments are caused by political aims and experience of memory. When aiming to securitize contemporary identity, the people tends to choose single 'true' memory among many other versions of the past. The situation when liberal society has multiply memory has been so natural as dangerous since fraught with social entropy. In this situation any state has been anxious for common 'normative' version of memory by means of restricting versions of the past and giving only limited choice of memories. The grade of this limitation has been totally connecting with a level of development of the civil society.

Since any collective memory has been forming under the contacts with other groups and their memorial narratives, it may serve as a factor intergroup conflict as well as integrating instrument. The correction of memory must be considered as a result of changing political structures, disappearing of conflicts and even death of participants and changing of generations. Although most acceptable way of pacification of conflict versions of memory has been connecting with 'dialog of memories', it is hard-hitting situation, especially with the situation of traumatic post-imperial memory. To make peace with past has only been possible be means of open even painful dialog, extending of memory borders and multiplying of subjects and narratives of the past. In some cases it will results in confession of guilt and moral responsibility. Moreover, memory of the Empire can be transformed into the 'Empire of memory' since multiply memory narratives must be subordinated to single narrative and not to be factionalised on separated histories about the past. Otherwise, social (often — ethnic) group as a subject of memory to be fragmented and loose their group identity. Only after the few generations of a new context Scotland was able to elaborate non-conflict version of its past concerning the Anglo-Scottish relations. Post-franco Spain and post-soviet Russia has still been dealing with it.

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