

MEMORY POLITICS IN THE POST-SOVIET COUNTRIES: RESEARCH APPROACHES AND FEATURES

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Abstract. The article considers the approaches that allow us to identify the features of memory politics in the state, which is the subject of special political research. Using the example of memory politics in post-Soviet countries, the main stages of memory politics after the collapse of the USSR are considered, and the main features of historical memory and problems of memory policy in these countries are distinguished. The collapse of the USSR left behind a "historical disunity", overcoming this disunity implies a new approach to the implementation of the memory politics.

Today, in the era of globalization, when the boundaries of identity are erased, and in the era of the "struggle for identity", the policy of memory plays an important role in creating a certain model of national identity, as it seems, for each state. It includes socio-political, historical-symbolic, and media-technological resources, and this is an important direction in the preservation of identity.

Keywords: memory politics, post-Soviet space, identity, historiography, nationality, historical memory.

By the initial, established definition of the politics of memory, we consider it as the sphere of public strategies in politics, which is united by the development of methods for capturing and interpreting the past in the minds of the public and the combination of practices and norms that have an important role in regulating the functioning of collective memory. The present mentioned definition, when studying the politics of national memory, provides the possibility of using a structural-functional approach. Based on the application of the structural and functional approach, 6 fundamental components are identified: 1) install, aim and objectives of the use of the past for the process of legality in the political course; 2) narrative capital politics of memory and its discursive-symbolic, which replace the signification and switched to the past; 3) baseline the politics of memory in the form of institutionality and normativity; 4) the main actors of the memory policy, which may be interested in understanding the past, political representatives and professional figures active in various spheres of social life; 5) representatives of the mass media in the face of well-known and leading political commentators, journalists, network political scientists and the media technology system as a whole; 6) the influence of ideology and its transformation, the "sedimentation" of the memory policy plan in commemoration [1]. Since the commemoration refers to ideology, it means touching on national aspects. This case highlights the factor of national identity as one of the most important and fundamental components of memory policy. Today, in the era of globalization, when the borders of identity are being erased, and in the famous age of the "struggle for identity", the politics of

memory plays an important role in creating a certain model of national identity by political elites. It involves socio-political, historical-symbolic and media-technological resources and this is an important direction in preserving identity.

The above-mentioned structural and functional approach for studying the policy of national memory has an analog as the discursive approach. The discursive approach differs in that it analyzes competing discourses that conflict in the sphere of interpretation of the past and the process of struggle for leadership in the ideology of various discourses. A comparative approach is also important in order to conduct and produce high-quality comparative analyses of commemorative practices. The comparative approach in combination with the discursive approach perfectly cope with the task, but the comparative approach stands out in the analysis of memory management mechanisms, separating historical fact from distorted interpretation. Practices of national memory policy reveal the processes that unfolded in the post-Soviet space most interesting, since after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, new players appeared on the world map, which required the identification of new foundations of national identity and memory policy.

In the modern world, which has provided new conditions in which the processes of information confrontation and media play a developing role, the instrumental-technological approach is gaining popularity and importance in the methodological significance of the study of memory politics. With this approach, researchers pay considerable attention to the methods, technologies and techniques of professional actors of memory policy, which are aimed at a certain influence on mass consciousness. The instrumental-technological approach perfectly explains the technological methods of national memory policy that have been used in post-Soviet countries: 1) restoration from the archive of past facts and manipulation, reviving symbols of the pre-socialist period, and using primary sources such as mythology and archaic; 2) rewriting history textbooks for students, adding or removing certain texts that are an alternative to Soviet historiography; 3) viewing Russia in the negative prism of the occupier and colonizer, where the alleged proof can be the examples of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, in which the ruling elite tries to maintain friendly and economic relations with Russia, while simultaneously developing Western institutions; 4) renaming geographical objects such as streets, localities and other territories; 5) making changes and amendments to the names of holidays and events; 6) changing the alphabet from Cyrillic, which is supposed to have been implemented by the Soviet regime using force, to Latin, which brings with it a Eurocentric approach; 7) allocating special grants, holding various events and events to spread and cover stories through the creation of funds that promote the ideology of the newly minted national-state and geopolitical player in the international arena; 8) renewal of old and establishment of new memorials, monuments and other objects of a material and cultural nature that carry a deep and important symbolic meaning of the national identity of each country and people [2].

The policy of memory is becoming more and more relevant, as representatives of an individual state, as well as representatives of the research

community, increase their interest in the role of countries in this area of preserving and developing national identity. However, we must not ignore the fact that the symbolic significance of the past history increases its importance to the extent that international tensions and their influence on the transformation of the country's internal political processes are growing. Despite her development in the circle of professionals, from independent readers, the expression "memory politics" can cause ambiguity and uncertainty of understanding. Can it exist and develop as a real memory policy, not only in the theoretical aspect? How is the rationality of using this term evaluated in the modern, 21st century? What are the prerequisites for the philosophical and ideological interpretation of the state policy of memory in erasing the borders of national identity?

The study of memory politics provides a comprehensive view of the system of relations between countries in international relations, between domestic and other scientific and public organizations, existing political parties, developing institutions of law and business, groups of social activism around political appropriation and interpretation of the past. Both foreign and domestic researchers interpret the policy of state memory as one of the most important components of the policy itself, and it has also become accepted that the space of memory policy is a space of relationships and various practices of using the past.

The use of the term "state memory policy" in the interpretation of symbolic policy is considered reasonable, which actually helps in two cases. First, in the space of memory politics, this will help to find the important role played by the state, that is, the execution of the public appeal by different actors in the space. Secondly, it makes it possible to analyze memory policies as well as directed municipal policies that produce a plausible concept of events, in different ways, techniques and methods for their implementation, the same as policies for youth, the policy of a country, or the policy of education. It is important to note here that these two cases can not be defined as a country's monopoly on memory policy. This can be confirmed by the statement of G. A. Bordyugov, where He noted that not politicization, but the creation of all conditions and deep study leads to understanding the contents of the original and moralizing for the whole society [3]. Auxiliary factors for this are the contradictions between various statements and the variety of scientific schools that protect against the conjuncture and varieties of cults, the disagreement of confrontational images depending on oil prices, the overcoming of ethnocentrism and the development of the space of pan-European history, which is not a political lever. Instead, he suggests identifying problematic, difficult issues and finding new legal norms in relation to the violation of the law of humanity. As a result, it is important to emphasize the role of the country in creating such historical minds, which are particularly important resources in this area for any country.

These days, many researchers are cautious about assessing the importance of the role of global trends. Many years of research on globalization have led to the conclusion that globalization is a set of different types of phenomena. The other half of researchers highly assess the role of national States, not excluding their changing types, which also have an impact on politics and culture. According to A.

Diecoff that the final one did not mean the loss of the member States, but the withdrawal from their borders due to the strengthening of the pan-European public space, which, as expected, would eventually become the main socio-political platform. Nevertheless, foreign researchers note that nation States are the core of the international arena, thus describing different types of political globalization.

The current effectiveness of state memory policies is presented under three different conditions: 1) the Country should be open to constructive negotiations with other countries or organizations at the international level of the commemorative space, both within the country and outside its borders; 2) the Country should have its own political strategy that remembers, but does not allow mistakes of the past; 3) Avoid monistic policies, thereby combining academic interpretations of the past and interpreting past myths that have a constructive impact on various processes.

Various events, such as sharpened political revolutions, the emergence of a new state on the world map, lead to the fact that countries have to rethink their history, resulting in a critical attitude to history. Countries that were formerly part of the Soviet Union (USSR) remained in such critical States. An example of this is their legislative system (i.e., the "laws of memory"), the disclosure of the official position in the curriculum, and the creation of various monuments, i.e., the presentation of memorials. It is worth emphasizing the research works of V. A. Shnirelman, who wrote about the collapse of the great powers, their relationship between ethno-historical myths and the processes of politics and culture. There are also various educational materials that explain in detail the strategies of memory policy at the school and University level.

In current social anthropology, there is a broad concept that represents the Soviet Union and its States, where the Soviet Union itself is described as one Empire, and as a result of the collapse of its independent States, that is, the post-Soviet space is considered as a post-Imperial space, which has such definitions as institutional and socio-cultural.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union never had a civil society, although it had an authoritarian form of government. Its great advantage was that the development of power and its policies directly or indirectly strengthened the people's community, as well as the sense of adaptation to embryonic individualism. Thus, the ambivalence of the Imperial space, in which only the titular nation was represented and the mechanism of "Soviet" worked in the republics of the post-Soviet space, gave the opposite results, at a time when intellectual elites began to appear in other States [4]. First of all, they were defined by their ethnic characteristics and were distinguished by the fact that they built up their identity along with their history of autochthonism.

At the same time, one of the anchoring factors was the role of a policy called "frontier". It represented the security of the people from external challenges, such as "capitalists", representatives of foreign attributes such as rock and roll, sunglasses, or quite unusual things for the Soviet Union. In this way, the Soviet Union emphasized its "otherness" in relation to representatives of other societies

and regimes, which was considered necessary for the creation of a completely new social society.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the newly independent countries that were formed are trying to fully demonstrate their full independence, both de facto and de jure, by developing their strategies and deleting such expressions as "subordinates in the past" [5]. All this destroys the stable political situation at the international level, as post-Imperial countries seek to recognize them as completely independent, excluding the history of their origin. Thus, only the newly formed state is responsible for ending the regime. Russia can not be excluded. Having the status of the successor of the Soviet Union, Russia has not only become an interest for other States that are trying to develop their individualism, but also assumed responsibility for a non-existent state.

In general, in addition to including its history in the historical content of the newly formed state, the main wave of these processes was competition for a more significant place on the pages of history compared to other regions.

It can be stated that the time of innovation of world technologies and communications coincided with the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union, which led to the emergence of new ways to describe the pages of history and the innovation of global memory.

However, due to the rapid change in the social balance that has developed in the current political situation, it is impossible to consider the past as a stable model. Instead, it should be remembered that the policy of world memory is constantly updated with new factors aimed at rethinking the past with an innovative approach. Therefore, turning to history, we can state the current social situation, which occupies a special place in the minds of the common people. Also, political strategies related to the system of consciousness of citizens can be implemented by updating the past and turning it into a part of the daily life of the population.

Among the strategies of the memory policy of the countries of the former Soviet Union, the following can be noted.

- 1) reformatting the past Soviet period.
- 2) restoring historical justice by rethinking the time before and after the Soviet period.
- 3) find new pages of the past and search for strategies for their presentation.

Moreover, based on well-known approaches, the enrichment of political memory on the territory of post-Soviet States can be considered at the regional level. For example, if we take the Ukrainian crisis of 2014 or the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis from the CIS countries, then their arguments can be called distortion of historical memory. Despite the contradictions that have developed in the difficult times of the past, their unity today must be preserved on the basis of the same history. Because, although it does not pursue a single goal on a political basis, the unity of the region plays an important role on a voluntary basis [6]. Therefore, it is necessary to take the past with an innovative approach and implement a changed political order based on it. In this regard, Russia's desire to

adopt a soft power policy and the desire to direct regional common values to common goals and interests can be taken as a good start.

The national model of memory policy developed in the post-Soviet world can be considered as a comprehensive model that combines several ideological trends - Soviet and anti-Soviet, Pro-Russian and Western. The full systematization of such models is the main topic of a more in-depth study of modern national memory policy.

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ПОСТКЕҢЕСТІК ЕЛДЕРДЕГІ САЯСАТ ТАРИХЫ: ЗЕРТТЕУ ТӘСІЛДЕРІ МЕН ЕРЕКШЕЛІКТЕРІ

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Аңдатпа. Мақалада арнайы саяси зерттеудің құралы бола алатын, мемлекеттегі тарихи саясатының ерекшеліктерін көрсететін тәсілдер қарастырылған. Посткеңестік елдердегі тарихи саясатының мысалы ретінде КСРО ыдырағаннан кейінгі негізгі кезеңдер

қарастырылып, тарихи саясаттың негізгі ерекшеліктері және осы елдердің тарихи саясаты мәселелері ажыратылады. КСРО-ның ыдырауы өзінен кейін «тарихи бытыраңқылықты» қалдырды, бұл бытыраңқылықты жеңу – тарихи саясатын жүзеге асыруда жаңа көзқарастың қалыптасуын талап етеді. Бүгінгі таңда жаһандану дәуірінде, жеке басының шекаралары жойылып, "сәйкестік үшін күрес" кезеңінде есте сақтау саясаты әр мемлекет үшін Ұлттық сәйкестіліктің белгілі бір моделін құруда маңызды рөл атқарады. Ол әлеуметтік-саяси, тарихи-символдық және медиа-технологиялық ресурстарды қамтиды және бұл жеке басын сақтауда маңызды бағыт болып табылады.

Тірек сөздер: саясат тарихы, посткеңестік елдер, сәйкестілік, тарихнама, ұлт, тарихи сана.

ПОЛИТИКА ПАМЯТИ В СТРАНАХ ПОСТСОВЕТСКОГО ПРОСТРАНСТВА: ПОДХОДЫ К ИЗУЧЕНИЮ И ОСОБЕННОСТИ

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Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются подходы, применение которых позволяет выявить особенности политики памяти в государстве, выступающего предметом специального политологического исследования. На примере политики памяти в странах постсоветского пространства рассматриваются основные этапы политики памяти после распада СССР, разграничиваются главные особенности исторической памяти и проблемы политики памяти в данных странах. Распад СССР оставил после себя «историческую разобщенность», преодоление этой разобщенности предполагает новый подход в вопросах реализации политики памяти.

Сегодня, в эпоху глобализации, когда стираются границы идентичности, и в период эпохи «борьбы за идентичность», политика памяти играет важную роль в создании определенной модели национальной идентичности, как представляется, для каждого государства. Она включает в себя социально-политические, историко-символические и медиа-технологические ресурсы, и это важное направление в сохранении идентичности.

Ключевые слова: политика памяти, постсоветское пространство, идентичность, историография, национальность, историческая память.

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