Ерохин Алексей Михайлович

[Erokhin Aleksey M.]

УДК 323.2 DOI:10.37493/2307-910X.2023.1.12

РОЛЬ СОВЕТСКОГО НАСЛЕДИЯ В СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ПРОЦЕССАХ

THE ROLE OF SOVIET HERITAGE IN MODERN POLITICAL PROCESSES

ФГАОУ ВО «Северо-Кавказский федеральный университет», г. Ставрополь, е-mail: <u>a\_erohin@mail.ru</u>, ORCID <u>https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7381-5372</u>. North-Caucasus Federal University, Stavropol, Russian Federation, e-mail: <u>a\_erohin@mail.ru</u>, ORCID <u>https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7381-5372</u>

### Аннотация

Советское историческое наследие является не только инструментом государственной политики, но и значимым элементом современных социальнополитических процессов. Представления о советском национально-государственном наследии имеют большую значимость в формировании политического сознания современных россиян. Представления о советском национально-государственном наследии имеют большую значимость в формировании ценностно-мировоззренческих основ современной российской идентичности. В настоящее время в научной и общественной среде сложилось осознание необходимости обеспечения исторической преемственности и сохранения памяти на основе формирования общих представлений о советском прошлом и его роли в современной России. Государственная политика памяти конструирует объединяющие смыслы и нарративы во многом на основе советской истории и государственно-патриотических традиций. Советское наследие может быть включено в конструкт ценностно-политического образа будущего. Историческая память является одной из основ консолидации общества в полиэтничных и поликонфессиональных регионах, приводит к объединению людей различных поколений и социальных страт, оказывает важное влияние на политические процессы современной России. Для значительной части населения советские ценности и социальная направленность, а также память о величии страны на мировой арене выступают привлекательными ориентирами, которые могут стать отправными точками проекта будушего.

**Ключевые слова:** политические процессы, советское наследие, советская эпоха, историческая память, молодежь.

Финансирование: Исследование выполнено при финансовой поддержке Российского научного фонда, проект № 23-28-00237 "Риски конфликтности трансформации социокультурных оснований идентичности молодежи Северного Кавказа".

# Abstract

The Soviet historical heritage is not only an instrument of state policy, but also a significant element of modern socio-political processes. Ideas about the Soviet national-state heritage are of great importance in shaping the political consciousness of modern Russians. Ideas about the Soviet national-state heritage are of great importance in shaping the value and worldview foundations of modern Russian identity. At present, in the scientific and public environment, there is an awareness of the need to ensure historical continuity and preserve

memory based on the formation of common ideas about the Soviet past and its role in modern Russia. The state policy of memory constructs unifying meanings and narratives largely based on Soviet history and state-patriotic traditions. The Soviet legacy can be included in the construct of the value-political image of the future. Historical memory is one of the foundations for the consolidation of society in multi-ethnic and multi-confessional regions, leads to the unification of people of different generations and social strata, and has an important impact on the political processes of modern Russia. For a significant part of the population, Soviet values and social orientation, as well as the memory of the country's greatness on the world stage, are attractive landmarks that can become starting points for the project of the future.

*Key words:* political processes, Soviet legacy, Soviet era, historical memory, youth. **Funding:** The study is supported by Russian Science Foundation. Project No. № 23-28-00237 "Risks of Conflict in the Transformation of the Socio-Cultural Foundations of the North Caucasus Young People's Identity"

### Introduction

Ideas about the Soviet national-state heritage are of great importance in shaping the political consciousness of modern Russians. The process of forming ideas about the Soviet national-state heritage is quite complex due to the incompleteness of the formation of their cognitive foundations and the ambiguity of assessments that exist in the collective memory. The very content of the Soviet national-state heritage is multidimensional and consists of interrelated political, historical and socio-cultural aspects. An important role in them is played by the image of the Soviet statehood, which exists in social memory. The study of the significance of the Soviet national-state heritage, the role of the Soviet socio-political foundations in shaping the worldview will make it possible to determine their significance in strengthening Russian identity. In today's complex and rapidly changing geopolitical reality, the preservation of the continuity of generations, the restoration of the "connection of times" is due to the fact that in the initial period of the formation of modern Russia in the sociopolitical space there was a rejection of the Soviet historical past, distortion and falsification of the Soviet period of history. In connection with the growth of geopolitical challenges and threats, further manifestations of the falsification of history are currently taking place, distorting the role and significance of the USSR in the world history of the 20th century. The complexity of determining the role of the Soviet national-state heritage is also connected with the fact that the value and worldview foundations of building the Soviet socialist state were discredited without clearly expressed political and ideological principles for building a new Russia.

## Overview of research on this issue

Today, the discourse of the continuity of history and the preservation of historical memory is being formed in the scientific and political community based on the definition of general ideas about the Soviet past and its role in modern Russia. The role of the scientific community in the formation of the state policy of historical memory, the definition of models for its institutional development, its implementation in educational and cultural policy is important. The study of the role of the Soviet national-state heritage assumes a model that includes three main components: cognitive, value and emotional-psychological. Within the framework of the first, the interest of the population in the Soviet period of the history of Russia, its knowledge of the history of the Soviet era, its people and nation-building was determined. As part of the second component, ideas about the main Soviet values that are vital and form the worldview, life strategies and value-semantic content of identity are revealed. Along with this, reflection on the Soviet legacy, the main problems and achievements, which largely determine the current stage of Russia's development, is considered.

In connection with the rejection of many foundations of the Soviet socio-political heritage in the process of the formation of modern Russia, a radical change in the sociopolitical structure of the Russian state and the search for the foundations for the formation of historical narratives and value bases for the formation of political consciousness took place. There was an urgent need to determine the socio-political foundations of a new national-state identity, uniting and structuring a heterogeneous set of views, assessments and ideas of the multinational Russian people, constructing a new positive collective "I" [4, p. 141]. The most important basis of national unity is the interpretation of the historical past, which forms the national-state identity on the basis of ideas about language, culture and the common past passed down from generation to generation [2, p. 19-26]. Ya. Yadgar notes that "national identity reflects the dual definition of the collective I ("us"): a positive definition that answers the question "who we are, what our values are made up of, what are our features, what is our past and our common future"; and a negative definition, "answering the question of who and what we are not, what values, practices and characteristics "seem strange to us", what communities we identify as "other" [12, p. 52]. A. Assman notes the connection of the "I" with the "We-group", which goes far beyond personal experience and transmits the memory of the social group, the political collective of the nation and culture [1, p. 17-19].

The formation of a modern political nation involves reliance on representations of the past [9]. This is especially important in the context of the current geopolitical struggle, which is also unfolding in the format of a "war of stories". One of the tools to achieve current political goals is the distortion of the historical past. The ability of memory to focus on historical interpretations and symbols that are significant from the point of view of modern political goals and objectives turns memory into an instrument of real politics. "The memory of the recent past is used by various subjects of the political process as an available resource for mobilizing forces around current management priorities" [8, p.17]. The politicization of the past and the historicization of modern political discourse turns historical memory into a political resource for solving contemporary political problems. This leads to serious sociopolitical transformations that are painful.

The policy of historical memory is also one of the foundations for the consolidation of society in multi-ethnic and multi-confessional regions, leading to the unification of people of different generations and social strata. One of the tools for the formation of common historical narratives is commemoration [5]. Modern commemorative practices involve the preservation of the memory of significant events of the past in the public mind through the use of modern technologies, audiovisual images and the disclosure of the era by focusing on personal stories and eyewitness accounts. They become a significant tool of social interaction that ensures the translation and reproduction of the historical and cultural foundations of identity [3; 10; 11].

### **Description and analysis**

The significance of the Soviet national-state heritage lies in the fact that modern interpretations of history include interpretations and assessments of the past. Turning to them becomes the key to determining the meaning of the historical existence of a people or nation [6, p. 12], constructing future goals, values and guidelines. "It is the power of memory that determines the features of identity and makes the past a projection of the future" [7, p. 38–62]. The politics of memory acts as a tool that links the past, present and future. Its importance increases significantly in the context of the growing geopolitical confrontation and "memory wars". The Soviet layer of the history of Russia is one of the key ones in terms of the semantic content of the construct of the Russian national-state identity and the content of social memory. Between the Soviet and post-Soviet Russian stages, there was no radical break in the historical and sociocultural continuity that was characteristic of the imperial and Soviet periods. The memory of young people about the Soviet past is shaped by intergenerational relations through the transmission of personal stories. State policy constructs unifying meanings and narratives based on Soviet history and state-patriotic traditions. The

Soviet socio-cultural heritage is also included in the construct of the value-political image of the future; without it, the reorganization of the post-Soviet space that meets the geopolitical interests of the country is also impossible. The constructed nature of the national-state identity implies its transformation through the production of collective meanings, values and common historical narratives. At the same time, its formation depends both on the purposeful influence of the state and on the existing political and sociocultural realities, which sometimes significantly limit the constructivist potential of historical politics. The Soviet historical heritage is not only an instrument of state policy, but also a significant element of modern socio-political processes.

The values of the Soviet era are one of the foundations for the formation of traditional Russian spiritual and moral foundations. Their significance is growing in connection with the intensification of geopolitical confrontation, the content of which is gradually moving from the ideological to the value plane. The contradiction between traditional and modern Western values is becoming one of the main markers of the modern era, acquiring a global character. The main Soviet values are of a traditional nature and can become one of the foundations of the socio-cultural platform of Russian identity. It can be assumed that the high significance of these Soviet values for Russians is associated with a significant socio-economic differentiation of the country's population, a drop in living standards, a low level of social obligations of the state, a decrease in the significance and depreciation of creative labor.

### **Conclusion**

The Soviet national-state heritage is significant for modern Russians in connection with the fact that it offered an alternative model of socio-political development, an original system of socio-political institutions that determine the foundations of socialization and form a new supranational identity that has not only a state, but also a socially significant character. The Soviet period of history was characterized by large-scale socio-political and economic transformations and a new social development project aimed at overcoming social, national and cultural differences. A high degree of social guarantees and ensuring social equality, socio-cultural unity of peoples of different ethnic and confessional affiliations. The socio-political and socio-cultural unity that has been achieved today is largely based on the Soviet national-state legacy. The collapse of the USSR, in the minds of young people, became the trigger for many social and political problems and interethnic conflicts that have not been overcome even today.

The study of young people's ideas about the Soviet national-state heritage can become the basis for the formation of general ideas and the attitude of modern young people to the rather complex and ambiguously interpreted events of the Soviet era. It can be assumed that today's Russian youth does not see an unambiguous attractive image of the future of the country. The retro image of the Soviet past, which has developed in her mind, is ambiguous and contradictory, often supported by myths and distortions. For a significant part of the youth, Soviet progressivism and the social orientation of the state, as well as the memory of the country's greatness on the world stage, can become attractive landmarks that will act as starting points for the project of the future, which implies a greater social responsibility of the state to the multinational people of Russia.

### ЛИТЕРАТУРА

- 1. Ассман А. Длинная тень прошлого. Мемориальная культура и историческая политика. М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 2014. 328 с.
- 2. Ачкасов В. А. Национальная идентичность как исторический нарратив // Управленческое консультирование. 2018. № 10. С. 19-26.
- 3. Гофман И. Представление себя другим в повседневной жизни. М.: «Канон-пресс-Ц», «Кучково поле», 2000. 304 с.

- 4. Малинова О. Ю. Официальный исторический нарратив как элемент политической идентичности в России: от 1990-х к 2010-м годам // Полис. Политические исследования. 2016. № 6. С. 139-158.
- 5. Миллер А. Роль экспертных сообществ в политике памяти в России // Гефтер. 20.01.2014. URL: http:gefter.ru/archive/11115 (дата обращения 13.10.2021).
- 6. Репина Л. П. Историческая память и национальная идентичность подходы и методы исследования // Диалог со временем. 2016. Вып. 54. С. 9-15.
- 7. Рюзен Й. Кризис, травма и идентичность // «Цепь времен»: проблемы исторического сознания / Отв. ред. Л. П. Репина. М.: ИВИ РАН, 2005. С. 38-62.
- 8. Семененко И. С. Новые ракурсы политики идентичности: трудная память в музеях истории XX века // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. 2020. Т. 64, № 5. С. 16-32.
- 9. Calhoun C. Nationalism, Political Community and the Representation of Society: Or, Why Feeling at Home is Not a Substitute for Public Space // European Journal of Social Theory. 1999. Vol. 2, No. 2. P. 217-231.
- 10. Social Identity and Intergroup Relations. Ed. By Tajfel H. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982. 532 p.
- 11. Turner J. Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1987. 216 p.
- 12. Yadgar Y. Between 'the Arab' and 'the Religious Rightist': 'Significant Others' in the Construction of Jewish-Israeli National Identity // Nationalism and Ethnic Politics. 2003. Vol. 9, No. 1. P. 52-74.

#### REFERENCES

- 1. Assman A. Dlinnaya ten' proshlogo. Memorial'naya kul'tura i istoricheskaya politika. M.: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2014. 328 p.
- 2. Achkasov V. A. Natsional'naya identichnost' kak istoricheskii narrativ // Upravlencheskoe konsul'tirovanie. 2018. No. 10. P. 19-26.
- 3. Gofman I. Predstavlenie sebya drugim v povsednevnoi zhizni. M.: «Kanon-press-TS», «Kuchkovo pole», 2000. 304 p.
- 4. Malinova O. YU. Ofitsial'nyi istoricheskii narrativ kak ehlement politicheskoi identichnosti v Rossii: ot 1990-kh k 2010-m godam // Polis. Politicheskie issledovaniya. 2016. No. 6. P. 139-158.
- 5. Miller A. Rol' ehkspertnykh soobshchestv v politike pamyati v Rossii // Gefter. 20.01.2014. URL: http:gefter.ru/archive/11115 (data obrashcheniya 13.10.2021).
- 6. Repina L. P. Istoricheskaya pamyat' i natsional'naya identichnost' podkhody i metody issledovaniya // Dialog so vremenem. 2016. Vyp. 54. P. 9-15.
- 7. Ryuzen I. Krizis, travma i identichnost' // "Tsep' vremeN": problemy istoricheskogo soznaniya / Otv. red. L. P. Repina. M.: IVI RAN, 2005. P. 38-62.
- 8. Semenenko I. S. Novye rakursy politiki identichnosti: trudnaya pamyat' v muzeyakh istorii KHKH veka // Mirovaya ehkonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya. 2020. Vol. 64, No. 5. P. 16-32.
- 9. Calhoun C. Nationalism, Political Community and the Representation of Society: Or, Why Feeling at Home is Not a Substitute for Public Space // European Journal of Social Theory. 1999. Vol. 2, No. 2. P. 217-231.
- 10. Social Identity and Intergroup Relations. Ed. By Tajfel H. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982. 532 p.
- 11. Turner J. Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1987. 216 p.

12. Yadgar Y. Between 'the Arab' and 'the Religious Rightist': 'Significant Others' in the Construction of Jewish-Israeli National Identity // Nationalism and Ethnic Politics. 2003. Vol. 9, No. 1. P. 52-74.

### **ОБ ABTOPE / ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

**Алексей Михайлович Ерохин,** доктор социологических наук, профессор, заведующий кафедрой философии ФГАОУ ВО «Северо-Кавказский федеральный университет», г. Ставрополь, ул. Пушкина, 1, Российская Федерация, е-mail: <u>a\_erohin@mail.ru</u>, ORCID <a href="https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7381-5372">https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7381-5372</a>

**Aleksey M. Erokhin**, Dc. Sci. (Soc.), Head of the Department of Philosophy, The North-Caucasus Federal University, Stavropol, Pushkin Street, 1, Russian Federation, e-mail: a\_erohin@mail.ru, ORCID https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7381-5372

Дата поступления в редакцию: 07.11.2022 После рецензирования:22.11.2022 Дата принятия к публикации:03.02.2023