

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES FOR THE FORMATION OF THE CONCEPTUAL MODELS OF MEMORY IN THE SOVIET INFORMATION SPACE

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This article analyzes the institutional foundations of implementation of Soviet «politics of memory». The communicative strategies of formation of conceptual models of memory, the methods of organization of narrative and discursive events in the aspect of regulatory and media resources of the state are defined.

The empirical research base (a set of regulations, monitoring of numerous speeches and reports of party ideologists thematical media content) led to the conclusion that the directive means for the implementation of the state concept of memory was the cultivating of the two main conceptual models of collective organization of mass consciousness («national» and «consolidative») which on the one hand contribute to the national « education», and the other - the creation of a single Soviet community. Ideological platform of this process was the total identification of the «state» and «nation» in the way of the formation of a unified social concept of «Soviet», which became the nucleus of creation of a new collective narrative.

The basis of the Soviet socio-cultural design and mechanism of formation of conceptual models of memory was an attempt of the party ideologists to reflect the life in the texts of legislative documents. Generated «social illusion» in the form of narrative completing texts «attacked» the historical reality and was cultivated in the numerous media discourses through a centralized ideological advocacy.

Thus, the Soviet communicative environment can be described as a closed space of «history management». Its destructive nature was due to the total destruction and the leveling of the opposition of communicative strategies, the formation of a discrete type of continuum of understanding, based on the principle of solidarity and trust of the audience, which was a convenient form of programming of historical consciousness . The use of communicative strategies averaging portrait of the «ideal» recipient («shaping a human of social type») in

the Soviet conceptual model of memory helped to increase the effectiveness of the broadcasted discursive practices and the conceptualization of semantic meanings of the Soviet narrative.

The absence of the convention was the leading feature of the manipulative strategies of the party leadership, a form of total control of the mass consciousness towards the formation of a new type of society, as a necessary condition of constructing of the Soviet model of memory consolidation.

Keywords: *historical memory, communicative strategies, conceptual model, the mass consciousness, the media discourse, narrative, propaganda.*

ДИСКУРСИВНЫЕ СТРАТЕГИИ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНЫХ МОДЕЛЕЙ ПАМЯТИ В СОВЕТСКОМ ИНФОРМАЦИОННОМ ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ

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В статье анализируются институциональные основы реализации советской «политики памяти». Определяются коммуникационные стратегии формирования концептуальных моделей памяти, способы их нарративной организации и дискурсивной трансляции в аспекте нормативного и медийного ресурса государства.

Эмпирическая основа исследования (совокупность нормативных документов, мониторинг многочисленных выступлений и докладов партийных идеологов, тематический контент медиа) позволила сделать выводы, что директивным средством реализации государственной концепции памяти было культивирование двух основных концептуальных моделей коллективной организации массового сознания («национальной» и «консолидирующей»), которые с одной стороны способствовали национальному «воспитанию», а с другой — созданию единой советской общности. Идеологической платформой этого процесса было тотальное отождествление «государства» и «нации» на пути формирования

унифицированного социального концепта «советский», ставшего ядром создания нового коллективного нарратива.

Основой советского социокультурного проектирования и механизма формирования концептуальных моделей памяти была попытка партийных идеологов отразить жизнь в текстах законодательных записей. Создаваемые «социальные иллюзии» в форме нарративно завершенных текстов «набрасывались» на историческую реальность и культивировались в многочисленных медиа-дискурсах путем централизованной идеологически-пропагандистской работы.

Таким образом, советскую коммуникационную среду можно охарактеризовать как закрытое пространство «управления историей». Ее деструктивный характер был обусловлен тотальным уничтожением и нивелированием оппозиционных коммуникационных стратегий, формированием дискретного типа континуума понимания, основанного на принципе солидарности и доверия со стороны аудитории, что было удобной формой программирования исторического сознания. Использование стратегии усреднения коммуникативного портрета «идеального» реципиента («формовки человека социального типа») в советской концептуальной модели памяти способствовало эффективности транслируемых дискурсивных практик, концептуализации семантических смыслов советской наррации.

Отсутствие конвенции стало ведущим признаком манипулятивных стратегий партийного руководства, формой тотального контроля массового сознания на пути формирования нового типа общества, как необходимого условия конструирования советской консолидирующей модели памяти.

Ключевые слова: *историческая память, коммуникационные стратегии, концептуальная модель, массовое сознание, медийный дискурс, нарратив, пропаганда.*

Throughout the XIX-XX centuries Ukraine was the scene of fighting between different versions of historical memory. And not only Russia but also other «lords» of Ukrainian territories had a consistent policy of imposing of their understanding of Ukrainian historical memory – Polish, Romanian, Hungarian, and the Ukrainians adopted and internationalized the negative projections of the dominant culture, including secondarity and subordination. However, the most effective were the manipulative-totalitarian means of Russian-Soviet period, which rooted quite firmly in the Ukrainian mentality and nowadays prevail in cyberspace, accumulating social conflicts and identifying behavioral motives of individuals or social groups towards the approval or denial of the existing versions of historical memory. Mediasphere became a source of cultivation of these phenomena, and not only in replication but also in initiating of the public debates (confrontations), which are embodied in numerous discourses (from formal to everyday) and appear in opposition of mythologized conceptions of speakers of different ideologies.

According to Ya. Prymachenko, it is possible explore the origins of the conflict only within the framework of the approaches proposed by the history of everyday life [Prymachenko, 2011, p. 98]. The everyday Soviet reality, fixed and documented in the numerous regulatory and literary-artistic heritages and reproduced in the media, has laid the certain patterns of thinking which we are dealing with till this day. The starting point of these processes was the consistent management policy and the direct involvement of state leadership in the shaping of the major discourses of memory. Operating the unlimited institutional resources and using the government regulations, the leading elite had transformed the «historical memory» into the instrument of political manipulation and technology, forming an independent sphere of government – «public policy» of memory. «The government has always required a retrospective legitimization and prospective perpetuate, and society in their own image, knowledge of themselves» [Savelyeva, Poletayev, 2005, p. 194]. An important role in this process relied on the media sector, which had become an effective means of propaganda and

contributed to the formation of the Soviet collective identity marginalizing any national manifestation.

Legislative function in the direction of public policy relied on the memory of the ideological apparatus of the CP(b), which regulatory framework demonstrates the specificity of the basic flow of information in society and reflects the level of communicative strategies of the state in creating the concept of «consolidating the Soviet model». Its ideological basis was the total identification of «state» and «nation» and of the common social concept of «Soviet», which became the basis for creating new collective narrative. The effectiveness of its distribution and learning guided by the «top» large-scale propaganda and agitation work, which methodological improvements were anchored institutionally with the numerous decrees and orders («About the formulation of propaganda», 1903, «About the propaganda and agitation», 1905, «About the propaganda» , 1917, «About the promotion of political, cultural and educational work in the countryside», 1919, «About the press and propaganda», 1922, «About advocacy for the near future», 1934, «About the organization of research and education propaganda», 1945, etc.). Thus, the Soviet communicative space can be described as a closed space of «control of history». The absence of the convention between the main actors of communication relations has become a leading feature of manipulative strategies of the Soviet leadership, a form of total control of the mass consciousness towards a new type of society.

The consequences of this widespread and consistent work is the object of attention of contemporary postcolonial studies of different scientific schools that represent the interdisciplinary research within the overcoming post-Soviet mass consciousness. Methodologically these discussions are related to the English-speaking tradition of study of the (post)colonialism. The first proof of connotation between the Russian imperialism and the Soviet colonialism described the Ukrainian historians in the Diaspora in 1950-1960-ies. Among the Ukrainian scientists of the diaspora who payed attention to the communication aspects of the formation of the Soviet «politics of memory», S. Velychenko, M. Shkandrij,

M. Kyrchaniva, G. (Gregory) Hrabovych, M. Pavlyshyn, S. Yekelchyk, E. Thompson, A. Kaminsky are worth mentioning. The question of existence of national historical memory and communication methods of correction and broadcast in the Soviet and post-Soviet era was devoted in a number of works of Russian researchers: G.M. Bordugov, V. Buhareva, V. Tishkov, P. Vartanovskoho, A.M. Stepin, R. Hondozhka. During the last two decades a number of Ukrainian researchers, including I. Gyrych, S. Grabowski, V. Kulik, V. Karpenko, J. Kolesnik, B. Potiatynyk, G. Pocheptsov, M. Riabchuk, M. Skulenko, T. Yashchuk were actively seeking the sources of contemporary postcolonial phenomena, and were analysing the Soviet destructive communication.

However, it should be noted that the present socio-communicative question about the nature of «historical memory» as a result of political influence in social communication in scientific communication has been developed insufficiently. This approach allows us to speak of a «politics of memory» without the quotation marks that emphasize the metaphorical nature of this concept. Therefore, one of the most promising areas of the current research we consider the analysis of socio-communicative model of «historical memory» (manipulational, conventional, traditional, genetic, artificial, hybridized and others). The technology of broadcasting of the images of the past in the Soviet pragmatic concepts of «policy of memory» was the absolute monopoly power of the government.

The purpose of this research is to analyze the communication strategies shaping of Soviet conceptual models of institutional memory in the system of implementation of the state «politics of memory». Methodological tools are due to the specific object of study and are implemented by the analysis of the documented legal acts in the sphere of public administration, monitoring, public measures of institutional subordinated institutions.

The design of the conceptual models of memory, their discursive retranslation to the masses became the main institutional means of Soviet communication space and an effective mechanism to influence the formation of collective historical consciousness and the adjustment of national versions of historical memory.

According to the construction of the communicative strategies, the Soviet information space had the totalitarian model of socio-cultural design, which destructive nature was due to the total destruction and leveling of the opposite communicative strategies. Thus, the representing of the closed (discrete) type of continuum of understanding, which was based on the principle of solidarity and trust of the audience, was a convenient form of the programming of the historical consciousness.

The basis of the Soviet socio-cultural design and mechanism of formation of conceptual models of memory was the attempt of the party ideologists to show the life in the texts of legislative records. Thus, the «social illusions» were created, that in the form of the completed narrative texts «assaulted» the historical reality and were cultured in media discourses through centralized ideological advocacy. For example, in order to form a semblance of democracy, Soviet propaganda pronounced everything on behalf of all the people in their «interest», explaining the immediate tasks of the party as a necessary means of improving the lives of people. The methodological basis of specific targets of propaganda as the main subjects of implementation of «politics of memory» was clearly defined by the normative resolutions of the CPSU (b) [Voroshylova, Zorina, 1950]. The documentary analysis of the framework allows to state that the instruments of public representations were: films, radio, newspapers, wall newspapers, concerts, theater, clubs, production meetings, open meetings, the work of «individualists», the live links with the masses in production, educational and cultural spheres.

Typological guidance of the presses, its tools of propaganda and discursive forms of representation of «social illusions» were fixed institutionally in the numerous decrees, resolutions, decrees and regulations, in particular: «The Party and the Soviet newspapers» (1917), «About the press and propaganda» (1922), «The Press» (1924), «About broadcasting guidance» (1927), «About improving the quality and increasing the national and the regional newspapers» (1945), in some publications of government leaders «The nature of our newspapers» (V.I. Lenin, «The Truth». – № 202. – 1918, September, 20). The institutional submission and

the total control of the media resource was a necessary means of social programming of «ideological» method of thinking». An idea that the spiritual processes define themselves is connected with this method due to the creation of *(in the concept of genetic models of historical memory, in fact, is the result of «throwing» artificial narratives as a very fast means of constructing historical forms of consciousness based on stereotypical thinking – emphasis added by the author)*, it is characterized by mental criticism, subjectivity and fabrication of causation, teleologism, lack of critical thinking in historical forms of consciousness» [Prymachenko, 2011, p. 5].

The analysis of state documents indicates that the Soviet politics of memory directly depends on the national policies of the governing elite of the social and ideological transformations. On the one hand it contributed to the formation of national identities, on the other – pursued a policy of a unified Soviet society. These guidance documents became the basis of the formation of the Soviet conceptual models of memory. «The result of the first trend was that the rules of nationalism against promoting internationalism had rooted in the mass consciousness» [Kysla, 2011, p. 2]. In particular, an important strategy impact on historical forms of consciousness to form the Soviet versions of Ukrainian historical memory was the fact that the Ukrainian language in the USSR (as opposed to imperial Russia) was not formally forbidden, but a perfect system of education, advocacy, administrative measures successfully marginalized its functioning. The proclamation of the national framework of government was an important discursive means of opposing the imperial narrative, Soviet, which communication aspects were tied and replicated by the propaganda arsenal. For example, the resolution to the XII Congress of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in «The National Question», stated: «Talking about the benefits of Russian culture and the nomination of provisions of the inevitability of the victory of the higher Russian culture over the culture of the more backward peoples (Ukrainian, Azeri, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, etc.) is nothing more than an attempt to consolidate the rule of Great nationality» [Voroshylova, Zorina, 1950, p. 128]. Thus, with a direct link to

the document and its quote in the newspapers «Pravda» and «Communist» in 1923, more than 160 materials, which condemned the Great and positively interpreted the «progressive» Soviet nationality policy, were published.

An important means of forming a «national» of a conceptual model of memory was the cultivating of inversions of national stereotypes – autostereotypes of a negative view of themselves in the mass consciousness, which were fitted into the public discourse and highlighted by a number of ideologists, that formed the attitudes of dependence and inferiority. «The question of who is the bearer of the will of the nation, CP(b) is on the historically-class point of view, according to the stage of historical development of the nation: on the way from the Middle Ages to bourgeois democracy or from bourgeois democracy to the Soviet or proletarian democracy. It is possible to create the conditions for a truly lasting, voluntary national unity of diverse elements only with such a policy» [Voroshylova, Zorina, 1950, p. 72]. The Ukrainian experience was quite fitted in circumscribed theoretical paradigm.

«Great twist» in the invention of a conceptual model of the Soviet politics of memory occurred in 1930, when the party leaders had changed the course of proletarian internationalism to industrialization. «The remnants of capitalism in the minds of people are far more tenacious in the national issues than any other industry. They are hardier, because they have the ability to disguise themselves well in the national costume. Many people think that the fall of Skrypnyck is an isolated case, an exception to the rule. This is not true. The fall of Skrypnyk and his group in Ukraine is not an exception» [Voroshylova, Zorina, 1950, p. 301]. «Slope to the nationalism is dangerous in the republics of several nationalities, where a slope to chauvinism can be formed (Ukraine, Azeybarzhan, Georgia). Slope to the nationalism makes difficult to join the proletariat of different nationalities» [Voroshylova, Zorina, 1950, p. 131]. «The fight against nationalist survivals and especially with chauvinistic forms of remnants is another task of our Party» [Voroshylova, Zorina, 1950, p. 129]. These calls reinforce the various ethnic phobias, everyone who is in some way was trying to preserve their identity

was pronounced as a class enemy and a Contrary to the Soviet Russian-communist unification. The concept of «bourgeois nationalism» became a kind of ideological label and criminal charge. «This is especially true in Ukraine, where various decrees proclaimed the ideas of « international» values, while the secret police persistently limited «bourgeois nationalism». The term was effectively used to destroy any «nationalist» sentiment along with their bearers, as well as to the total discreditation of almost all Ukrainian leaders» [Ryabchuk, 2011].

Prewar and wartime period of Soviet history is characterized by another change of communicative strategies of party ideologies of «national» conceptual model of memory. Their empirical basis are not only new management regulations (3 and 6 July, 1941), but performative resources mediapropaganda. In public discourse, the formula for success of this campaign was a combination of the rehabilitation of the national heroes and the replication of the national-patriotic concepts: «great Ukrainian people», «Ukrainian sacred land», «freedom-loving Ukrainians», «indomitable people», «Sons and daughters of the United Ukraine!».

After the war, the vector of the state politics of memory inclined to the joint Soviet conceptual model, which main tendency was to form the civic nation based on «proletarian internationalism» and «Soviet patriotism». From the beginning, the governing strategy was to «educate» the all-Soviet mind through the ideologemes «friendship of peoples», «brotherly nations», «common cradle», «everlasting brotherhood», «Soviet people», «Soviet patriotism», «fraternal union», «unbreakable alliance» and others. The semantic field of Soviet narrative in the first ten-year period was presented by the discourses of Ukrainian-Russian community, mutual combat, by the consolidating of the historical episodes that helped to build a common pre-Soviet and Soviet historical memory, denying the «previous» Ukrainian one. During the Second World War the conceptual model of memory in the Soviet historical narrative was based on the individual and collective actions and heroic deeds, self-sacrificing work of the people in the rear and so on. In the later texts the heroes of narration became the prominent Soviet leaders, scientists – the symbols of Soviet collective historical memory. The

concepts of «development», «progress», «construction», «victory», «experience» dominated in the public sphere.

Unlike the previous, the narrative basis of that conceptual model of memory formed on the political level and was directly dependent on the current socio-political problems of party ideologists. Its empirical basis was the mode of social memory, which appeared in the accumulation of the common life and professional experience, material and spiritual values, as the main resource of creating «social illusion» and the mobilizing vehicle to perform regular management tasks of economic and political unitary state. An important communicative strategy of the Soviet conceptual model of memory was the cultivating of the stereotypical thinking as a convenient form of collective «learning». The institutional subordination of the public sphere, including media resource as an important means of guiding decisions and advocacy instructions, promoted massifications of the joint Soviet narrative. For this purpose the media narrative was mostly based on the linear model of communication that had one of the highest levels of suggestion as it affected not only on mental abilities of the recipients, but on the emotional state of perception and was designed for a generalized aesthetic and the cognitive level of collective consciousness.

A strategy of averaging became the primary means of design of communicative portrait of an «ideal» recipient («shaping a human of social type») in the Soviet conceptual model of memory, which standards were fixed by the party ideologists in the numerous regulations and were cultivated in all spheres of social, political, professional and cultural educational life. The process of «molding» was a necessary step in the design of the Soviet targeted communication, based on solidarity and trust of the mass audience, thus accumulating the new collective works within a single historical narrative.

Leading discursive means of «Soviet consolidating model» was a factor of collective identification by «separating» and contrasting of the phenomena that did not fit into the ideological model of socio-cultural design. The stereotyped installations of the negative attitude to everything outside the Soviet (labeled

specific internal and external events) were formulated at a state level and were fixed narratively in the numerous reports, resolutions, regulations and so on. The fight against any «deviation» that contradicted or slowed down the construction of Soviet society was leading communicative strategy of the formation of the Soviet model of memory, based on common (consolidating) symbols: «In view of the class struggle in the country, the intensification of the ranks of the national bias toward great-power and local chauvinism, the party should strengthen the fight against both biases that undermine the unity of the peoples of the USSR and play into the hands of intervention» [Voroshylova, Zorina, 1950, p. 267].

Criticism and negative image of capitalist countries became the basis of contrasting ideological concepts «Capitalism – Socialism» and the formation in the field of anti-bourgeois media discourse: «Irreconcilable contradiction between the process of economic integration of peoples and the imperialist ways of this association has identified the inability, helplessness of bourgeoisie found the right approach to solving the national issues. Inevitable conflicts and wars, the collapse of the old colonial and multinational states ... indicate about the instability and fragility of multinational bourgeois states» [Voroshylova, Zorina, 1950, p. 125].

Anti-religious controversy and organized propaganda of atheism in the public sector were the means of the creation of a new type of consolidation of public consciousness in the Soviet conceptual model of memory: «The efforts of the Party to destruct all religious beliefs is complicated by the considerable growth of some sects, which leaders were ideologically linked with the certain elements of European and American bourgeoisie The population of the Union republics preserved untouched numerous religion medieval superstition used to counter-revolutionary purposes, it is necessary to develop the forms and methods of elimination of prejudice of these superstitions, considering the specialties of the different nationalities» [Voroshylova, Zorina, 1950, p. 133]. In media discourse, this process was displayed by the contrasting ideological markers «medieval fanatics», «obscurantist» – «progressive Soviet citizen».

The analysis of Soviet regulations, monitoring of numerous public appearances party ideologues and thematic content of media resources have identified the key communicative strategies of formation of state policy of memory and its institutional resource. It is shown that a prescriptive means of implementation of the concept of public memory was the cultivation of two main conceptual models of collective mass consciousness, which, on the one hand, promoted national «education», and on the other – created a united Soviet identity.

We consider that the promising area of future research is studying a social-communicative structure of constructing models of «historical memory» in the Soviet communicative environment and the analyses of their semantic field towards decoding the contents of symbolic manipulation facilities and resources.

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