

The Post-Soviet Contrasts: Memory, Ideology, Conflict

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The Post-Soviet Contrasts: Memory, Ideology, Conflict

Editorial introduction

Hegel's idea that “Reason is the Sovereign of the World; [... and] the history of the world therefore, presents us with a rational process” has been denied many times by philosophers and politicians in the 19th-21st centuries — and the post-Soviet political reality takes an active part in this denial.

The third issue of *Ideology and Politics Journal* is devoted to the ideological processes that design the post-Soviet practices of escape from freedom. This specific design takes place through political and ideological conflicts; participation and victory in these conflicts lead to the attempts to reassess the importance of freedom. The conflicts of collective memories have been the source of hope in maintaining political pluralism and overcoming the limitations of the “historical track” of post-Soviet nations. Today we are witnessing how the conflicts of narratives reveal their winners, both in internal and external political battles. This *IPJ* issue is dedicated to the fighters, winners and losers in these conflicts.

This *IPJ* volume starts with an article by Andrei Tsygankov, presenting an analysis of Alexander Panarin's ideological development. A passionate, Soviet liberal and a bright, post-Soviet Eurasianist, Panarin lived through an ideological evolution that is indicative of the restless generation of 1960s. Beginning his life in an industrial environment of Donbass and completing it in Moscow's intellectual circles, Alexander Panarin changed his role of defender of liberal ideas to guardian of Russian political traditions. According to Tsygankov, Panarin gives us lessons in the dangers of freedom for Russia. His visions of the need to frame political freedom with social responsibility, free market with “the serving ascetism,” and the Modern Reason with Eco-socialism, make Alexander Panarin a mirror of the Russian conservative revolution at the end of 20th century and the beginning of 21st century.

The author of the second article, Yevgenia Sarapina, writes about competition between alternative versions of collective memory in Kiev. The urban space as such is the setting for the constant (re)production of its past; and, in the case of Kiev, the results of these productive processes and the effects of these results' symbolic exchange make an impact far beyond the administrative limits of the city. Sarapina describes three competitive strategies of the Kiev narratives: sacred-imperial, super-ethnic Soviet, and fragmented post-Soviet. Heterogeneity and the inability to settle the conflict of memories makes Kiev a symbol of the post-Soviet struggle for ideological dominance.

In the next article, Leonid Storch compares public reactions to the Pussy Riot case with debates around the Beilis case a century ago. The analytical perspective proposed by the author is frighteningly impressive. In contrast to the victory of right over ideology in the Beilis case, the criminal sentence for the “priestesses of the punk-mass” seems to embody the historical revenge of anti-Westernism. It also adds to a suspicion that the last century represents a turn away from the Hegelian spiral unfolding the freedom in the history of Eastern Europe/Western Eurasia. The recent criminalization of blasphemy manifests the success of pre-Modernity — not post-Modernity as many expected — in the post-Soviet political transformation.

The final article in this *IPJ* volume indoctrinates us into conceptual debates in post-Soviet, symbolic geography. The polemical text by Vladimir Papava describes a variety of conservative ways to re-determine the space formed after the Soviet Union's disappearance. As an argument against Russian Eurasianists' geopolitical ideas, Vladimir Papava introduces the concept of Central

CaucAsia. As a side effect of these polemics, this article provides us with a chance to better understand geopolitical argument with its ideological grounds and purposes.

Hegel called for “a belief... a desire, a trust” in the fact that there is Reason in the history of the world. The post-Soviet history provides us with a rare constellation of obstacles that test such a trust.

Mikhail Minakov

Andrei P. Tsygankov

Alexander Panarin as a mirror of Russian revolution

Abstract. *This article focuses on the evolution of the ideas of Russian philosopher and publicist Alexander Panarin, whose worldview changed in just one decade from liberal Westernism to conservative Eurasianism. The author follows the changes in the philosopher's ideas and tries to solve the puzzle of Panarin's motivation for taking such a contradictory path. Among the causes of the evolution the author points to disappointment in the changes of post-Soviet Russia, the philosopher's belief in the unseemliness of the role of the West in these processes, as well as Panarin's own temperament. The author attempts to draw lessons from this phenomenon, which is typical for numerous Russian intellectuals who experienced their ideas transform from liberalism to conservative Eurasianism.*

Key words: *Russian Revolution, civilizational process, national liberalism, zapadnichestvo, Westernism, ievraziistvo, Eurasianism, ideology of revival*

The entire article is available in Russian
(http://ideopol.org/sites/default/files/ideopol.org/www/sites/default/files/3/___3.1.%20Tsygankov%20Panarin%20RUS.pdf).

Ievgeniia Sarapina

Kiev/Kyiv: Crossroads of memory politics

Abstract. *This article examines the localization of memory politics in the space of Kiev — today's capital of Ukraine. This case study is based on the analysis of Kiev guidebooks (from the late 19th century through the early 21st century) as an articulation of dominant versions of collective memory. The author's diachronic view provides readers with an opportunity to juxtapose legacies and transformations in the significance of city space with general, memory narratives of states — a part of which Kiev used to be for the last 150 years. Kiev's capital-city status allows for the consideration and assemblage of diverse mythologem elements in the city's current, collective-memory narrative, as a representation of the general post-Soviet situation in Ukraine.*

Keywords: *collective memory, city, politics of memory, mythologem, Kiev, narrative.*

The entire article is available in Ukrainian

(http://ideopol.org/sites/default/files/ideopol.org/www/sites/default/files/3/___3.2.%20Sarapina%20Memory%20UKR.pdf).

Leonid Storch

The Campaign against Pussy Riot: Anti-Westernism in the Paradigm of the Beilis Case

Abstract. *The performance staged by Pussy Riot (a Russian punk-feminist group) in Moscow's Cathedral of Christ the Savior should be rightfully viewed as one of the major events in the wave of international protest movements in 2012. Serving as a litmus test for liberalism, the Pussy Riot case divided the Russian society, drawing fierce criticism from the radical, pro-Putin majority. As shown in this article, one of the leading themes of this campaign was anti-Westernism. This article identifies and analyzes the major ideological components of the campaign's anti-Western rhetoric. Furthermore, it juxtaposes the Pussy Riot case against the 100-year-old Beilis case, showing their striking similarities both in terms of the polarized impact on the Russian society and in terms of their assessment of liberal values. While the acquittal in the Beilis case signified democratic trends in pre-WWI Russia, the author concludes that the conviction in the Pussy Riot case became a triumph of anti-democratic, anti-Western values, marking the completion of a transition to authoritarianism in present-day Russia.*

Key words: *anti-Westernism, ideology, liberalism, russocentrism, opposition, anti-Semitism, de-sacralization, Pussy Riot, Beilis Case*

The entire article is available in Russian (<http://ideopol.org/sites/default/files/ideopol.org/www/sites/default/files/3/3.3.%20Storch%20Pussy%20Riot%20RUS.pdf>).

Vladimer Papava

Eurasianism of Russian Anti-Westernism and a Concept of Central CaucAsia

Abstract. *There is an evident need to review the post-Soviet regional geography after the collapse of Soviet Union. In Russian Eurasianism, Russia is considered to be equal to Eurasia. This idea gains more popular support in post-Soviet countries — and foremost in Russia. Basic ideas of Eurasianism are used to enforce and manifest contemporary Russian anti-Westernism. The author of this article offers a new approach to defining and naming the emerging post-Soviet regions. Specifically, his idea is that Central Caucasus (Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia) and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) create a new region — Central CaucAsia. The author argues that the concept of Central CaucAsia represents the national interests of new independent states in the region and contradicts the main ideas of Russian Eurasianism.*

Key words: *Eurasianism, anti-Westernism, Russia, Central Eurasia, Central Asia, Central CaucAsia, geopolitics, post-Soviet*

The entire article is available in Russian
(<http://ideopol.org/sites/default/files/ideopol.org/www/sites/default/files/3/3.4.%20Papava%20Caucasia%20RUS.pdf>).

Yehor Stadnyi

Review: «The next generation in Russia, Ukraine and Azerbaijan: youth, politics, identity and change» by Nadia Diuk¹

Review is available in Ukrainian

(http://ideopol.org/sites/default/files/ideopol.org/www/sites/default/files/3/___3.5.%20Stadnyi%20Review%20UKR.pdf).

¹ Diuk, Nadia. 2012. *The next generation in Russia, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan: youth, politics, identity, and change*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth, UK, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 210 p.

Mykhailo Koltsov

Book review: «Metaphysics of Donetsk»²

Entire text of review is available in Ukrainian (http://ideopol.org/sites/default/files/ideopol.org/www/sites/default/files/3/___3.6.%20Koltsov%20Review%20UKR.pdf).

² Білокобильський О., Гуржи В., Додонов Р., Золотаренко О., Левицький В., Луковенко І., Козловський І., Коржов Г., Мошовський Т., Пасько І., Пасько Я., Сидорова К., Сирюешкін Д., Тараненко О., Халіков Р., Черенков М. 2012. *Метафізика Донецька. Філософські есе*. Донецьк: Донецьке відділення Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка, ТОВ «Східний видавничий дім», 2012, 190 с.

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- 2013. *International Relations: Traditions of Russian Political Thought* / in Russian: *Международные отношения: традиции русской политической мысли*. Москва.
- 2012. *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin*. Cambridge.
- 2009. *Anti-Russian Lobby and American Foreign Policy*. New York.

Ievgeniia Sarapina, alumna (MA in Cultural Studies) of the National University of Kiev-Mohyla Academy, is a PhD Student at National Academy of Culture and Arts Management. Sphere of her academic interests includes: memory studies, post-structuralism, cultural geography, Kiev history, history and theory of culture. Recent publications:

- 2013. Memory-Trace: The Other Side of Memory Politics / in Ukrainian: Пам'ять-слід: зворотній бік політик пам'яті. *Наукові записки НаУКМА : Теорія та історія культури*. Т. 140. Київ: Національний університет «Києво-Могилянська академія».
- 2013. Memory-Trace: A Place for Bricolage / in Ukrainian: «Пам'ять-слід: місце для бріколажу». *Матеріум. Культурологія*. Вип. 41. Київ: Національний університет «Києво-Могилянська академія».
- 2012. The Memory Day: Politics of Presence / in Ukrainian: День пам'яті: політики присутності. *Historians*. Електронний документ [<http://historians.in.ua/index.php/avtorska-kolonka/487-yevheniia-sarapina-den-pamiati-polityky-prysutnosti>] (перевірено 24 лютого 2013 р.).

Leonid Storch graduated from Department of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg State University, where he majored in Chinese Language and Literature, and thereafter earned a J.D. Degree from the Florida State University College of Law. After practicing law in Florida for 10 years, he returned to academia and is currently lecturing at the Department of Cross-Cultural Studies, Srinakharinwirot University, Bangkok, Thailand. Running his own blog at the Echo of Moscow website (echo.msk.ru), he has authored numerous essays on political issues, a number of academic articles on Chinese Studies and Law, and several books of prose and poetry. Recent publications include:

- 2012. The Case of Woody Allen vs. Dostoevsky: Judeo-Cinematographic Philosophy of Crime and Non-Punishment, *Fine Arts International Journal*, vol. 14, No. 1.
- 2012. Pussy Riot: The Legacy of Skomorokhi Tradition, *Jawaharlal Nehru International Conference on Russian and Eurasian Studies: Proceeds*, New Delhi, India.

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- 2012. *Economic Reforms in Post-Communist Georgia: Twenty Years After*. New York, NOVA.
- 2010. *Rethinking the Central Eurasia* (in co-authorship with E. Ismailov). Washington.
- 2005. *Necroeconomics: The Political Economy of Post-Communist Capitalism*. New York, iUniverse.

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- 2013. Why rectors support draft bill on higher education by deputies of ruling party / in Ukrainian: Чому ректори підтримують законопроект від депутатів-регіоналів? *Osvita.UA*. Електроний документ: [http://osvita.ua/vnz/high_school/35036/] (перевірено: 19.03.2013).
- 2013. Status of national university: political dimension / in Ukrainian: Статус національного університета: політичний вимір. *Osvita.UA*. Електроний документ: [http://osvita.ua/vnz/high_school/35036/] (перевірено: 19.03.2013).

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- 2010. Methodological Influence of Isaac Newton upon Philosophy of David Hume and David Hartley / in Ukrainian: Методологічний вплив Ісаака Ньютона на філософію Д. Г'юма та Д. Гартлі. *Наукові записки*. Київ, Вид. дім "КМ Академія", Т. 102, С. 20-25.
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