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NATIONAL CELEBRATIONS AS A SIGN OF TOLERANCE AND UNIFICATION OF ALL PEOPLE IN POST-SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

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Abstract. In sovereign Kazakhstan the transformation of people's lifestyle and values caused the need for new holidays and rituals, in accordance with the ideas of the modern system, new relationships between people. In the country along with old traditional Soviet holidays, a number of new state and national holidays were formed with the aim to construct the new Kazakhstani society. A great role in celebrations of all state and national holidays belong to Assembly of People of Kazakhstan which symbolizes prosperity, peace, stability and unity. However, the most Kazakhstani holidays inherited Soviet features of ritual process: special style of officials' behavior, demonstration of collective happiness, folk dance festivals, effect of emotional contagion and involvement of only urban population. Kazakhstani mass holidays as well as Soviet ones practically exclude improvisation, provided accurate execution, regularity of all movements and gestures.

Key words: Interethnic harmony, cultural identification, public holidays, Soviet symbols

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ҰЛТТЫҚ МЕРЕКЕЛЕР-ПОСТКЕҢЕСТІК ҚАЗАҚСТАННЫҢ БАРЛЫҚ ХАЛЫҚТАРЫНЫҢ БІРЛІГІ МЕН ТОЛЕРАНТТЫЛЫҒЫНЫҢ БЕЛГІСІ

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Түйіндеме. Егемен Қазақстанда халықтың өмір салты мен құндылықтарының трансформациясы қазіргі заманғы жүйе, адамдар арасындағы жаңа өзара қарым-қатынастар туралы түсініктерге сәйкес келетін жаңа мерекелер мен салттарға деген қажеттілікті туындатты. Елімізде ескі дәстүрлі кеңестік мерекелермен қатар жаңа қазақстандық қоғам құру мақсатында бірқатар жаңа мемлекеттік және Ұлттық мерекелер қалыптасты. Барлық мемлекеттік және ұлттық мерекелерді тойлауда қазақстан халқы Ассамблеясы үлкен рөл атқарады, ол өркендеуді, бейбітшілікті, тұрақтылық пен бірлікті бейнелейді. Алайда, Қазақстандық мерекелердің басым бөлігі салттық үдерістің кеңестік ерекшеліктерін мұра етті: шенеуніктердің мінез-құлқының ерекше стилі, ұжымдық бақыттың көрінісі, халықтық би фестивальдері, эмоциялық залалданудың әсері және тек қала тұрғындарын тарту. Қазақстандық бұқаралық мерекелер, кеңестік мерекелер сияқты, барлық қимылдар мен ым-ишаралардың нақты орындалуы, жүйелілігі жағдайында импровизацияны жоққа шығарады.

Кілт сөздер: кеңестік, мәдени сәйкестендіру, мемлекеттік мерекелер, кеңестік рәміздер

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НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ПРАЗДНИКИ-СИМВОЛ ЕДИНСТВА И ТОЛЕРАНТНОСТИ ВСЕХ НАРОДОВ ПОСТСОВЕТСКОГО КАЗАХСТАНА

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Аннотация. В суверенном Казахстане трансформация образа жизни и ценностей народа вызвала потребность в новых праздниках и обрядах, соответствующих представлениям о современной системе, новых взаимоотношениях между людьми. В стране наряду со

старыми традиционными советскими праздниками сформировался ряд новых государственных и национальных праздников с целью построения нового казахстанского общества. Большая роль в праздновании всех государственных и национальных праздников принадлежит Ассамблее народа Казахстана, которая символизирует процветание, мир, стабильность и единство и служит уникальной платформой общественного согласия и межэтнического диалога. Однако, большинство казахстанских праздников унаследовали советские черты ритуального процесса: особый стиль поведения чиновников, демонстрация коллективного счастья, народные танцевальные фестивали, эффект эмоционального заражения и вовлечения массового населения. Казахские массовые праздники, как и советские, практически исключают импровизацию, при условии четкого исполнения, регулярности всех движений и жестов.

Ключевые слова: советскость, культурная идентификация, государственные праздники, советская символика

Introduction. Public holidays are a powerful factor in the ideological consolidation and manipulation of people to provide spiritual and cultural identification with nations, enabling them to develop a sense of pride for their country, and reproduce and transmit spiritual and moral values. At the same time, a holiday is a reflection of a particular era and its specific features as, usually, holidays emerge in crucial historical moments of socio-political changes in countries expected to solve certain tasks such as constructing new historical state traditions, justifying systems of national ideas as longstanding and legitimizing existing political structure (Zakowicz, Zots, 1980: 165).

For example, during the Great Patriotic War, Soviet holidays and rituals were one of the most effective moral and political factors that helped unite the Soviet people in the fight against the Nazi invaders. One of the most striking examples of a solemn event of that time was the military parade on November 7, 1941 on Red Square on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the Great October Socialist revolution, which left an indelible mark on the memory of the Soviet people. It was held in the difficult conditions of the first year of the war and, in our opinion, played a huge role in strengthening the morale of the army, as well as had great international and military-political significance.

In this regard, the process of re-valuation of the symbols and attributes of the past which began after the collapse of the Soviet Union was an absolutely objective phenomenon. The formation of new states in post-Soviet countries logically led to changes in attitude to pre-existing holiday dates and the emergence of new celebrations, as each epoch tends to form a new layer of cultural memory represented through the prism of holidays. However, in some former USSR countries, despite the constant innovations and changes in the names of holidays, the Soviet celebrations are still in demand today. Using the example of Kazakhstan, the author analyzes the Soviet impact on state and national holidays that reflect the cultural policy of a new state towards its past, contributing to a better understanding of the origins of many processes and phenomena of modern Kazakh public holidays, still in the process of formation.

In sovereign Kazakhstan, the transformation of people's self-consciousness and values caused a need to form a new cultural memory, in accordance with new ideologies in the nation-building process, different interpretation of events of the past, and a new historical, cultural and national identity. However, the modern Kazakh festive culture still has a strong influence on the culture of the Soviet period. The main features of Soviet public holidays were as follows: banners with slogans, portraits of leaders, fireworks, military parades, solemn meetings of party leaders, celebration concerts, sports events and folk dance festivals, which gave an impression of collective happiness and a bright future.

The Soviet holidays were part of the building of a new society and education of the "new man", connected to the change in government and affirmation of new social relations. The Soviet power had to create its own set of symbols necessary for its legitimacy with the aim to destroy the old religious traditions of the population and create new Soviet rituals able to consolidate people around common values. Gradually, the authorities managed to instill a sense of a single idea of the revolution and power among the people through revolutionary holidays. In such celebrations there was no place for spectators as everyone turned into participants in the procession, which symbolized movement towards the future. Thus, official holidays constructed a reality that had yet to be created because the country rejected any

remnants of the old regime. The Soviet man lived only for the future under the slogans of building socialism and communism.

Literature Review. According to the theory of festive culture, new holidays accompany the turning points of society's life (Bakhtin, 1990:14). The Soviet holidays that were born as a result of regime change became a kind of symbolic communication between the government and society. On public holidays, a special ritual was formed that not only demonstrated an imitation of a happy life in the Soviet country, but also constructed a new political reality. The government kept the most important information for the society but isolate information which contradicted its ideological attitudes, contributed to the construction of a new social reality (Luman, 2005:160).

As Rolf (Rolf, 2009:24) mentions that the representation of power is considered as one of the main conditions for maintaining the stability in the society which requires that the subject and object of power have a common symbolic language of communication, and their identities coincide in a certain way. Shchepanskaya (Shchepanskaya, 2006), Hall (Hall, 1997), Moore and Myerhoff (Myerhoff, 1977) note that the process of representation, both the production of new meanings in the form of symbols and images, and their exchange between carriers of a certain culture occur. At the same time, symbols and images are created as a power that seeks to manipulate the public consciousness for their own purposes, as well as the society itself, which perceives power in the form of images and symbols based on the traditional, archaic consciousness.

The study of Soviet holidays started with their formation and was initially under authority control, which explains the lack of criticism in these works. The 1980s represented a new stage in the study of Soviet post-revolutionary festivals. There were many works which attempted to reveal the essence of Soviet holidays in the conditions of political instability and struggle for power within the party. (Hall, 1997; Moore and Myerhoff, 1977) argue that Soviet holidays and rituals were created in order to represent the Soviet way of life, formalized Soviet values as standards of human social activity, promoted the norms of the socialist life. American historian William Husband considered Soviet holidays in the context of the Bolshevik struggle with religion, describing holidays as part of the struggle for a new way of life declared by the authorities. According to him the Soviet holidays are unable to fully eradicate religion (Husband, 1998: 75), (Rolf, 2013:300) came to similar conclusion.

With respect to Kazakhstan, it can be argued that content analysis of state symbols provides important information about state's nationality policies. In order to understand the meaning and functions of symbols it is necessary to investigate the latter through the prism of code-language theory of semiotics (Smith, 2009:6; Peirce, 2012:105). Different myths, memories, symbolism and especially language as mechanism of socio-cultural survival play fundamental role in analyzing formations of national identity. The importance of ethno-symbolic approach thorough semiotic system in nation building process were covered by (Shnirelman, 2005:114, Sebeok, 2001, Knowlton, 2012, Tarasti, 2002).

Methodology. Sovietness in modern Kazakh holidays is analyzed using three criteria: *form, content and spirit*.

The Soviet culture was national in *form* (*blossom of all nationalities' cultures*), socialist in *content* (*construction of new socialist society and identity*) and international in *spirit* (*friendship of people*). The Soviet holidays were assigned the task of representing "a school of raising a number of new generations of the Soviet people" joined by one common language and a unified culture.

In Kazakhstan, public holidays follow a similar pattern with some national features: (ethno) national in *form*, Soviet in *content* and international in *spirit*.

Form: Attributes of national statehood expressed exclusively through Kazakh symbols of national identity.

Content: Military parades, festive processions, demonstrations, solemn meetings, grandiose performances of multi-culturalism, festive fireworks and setting kurts (traditional tents) in many villages.

Spirit: International (Unity in Diversity)

Despite the fact that the formation of new states entails the creation of new sets of beliefs which are opposite to previously held values, a new regime has to use and adapt old symbols and national and cultural values which people mostly like and support. This was especially true for Kazakhstan, where the elite borrowed various traditions from the Soviet Union.

In Kazakhstan, there are two types of official celebration – one national and nine public holidays:

1. *National Holiday: Independence Day – 16–17 December*
2. *Public Holidays: New Year – 1–2 January;*
3. *International Women's Day – 8 March;*
4. *Nauryz – 21–23 March;*
5. *Unity of Nations Day – 1 May;*
6. *Defender of the Fatherland Day – 7 May;*
7. *Victory Day – 9 May;*
8. *Capital Day – 6 July;*
9. *Constitution Day of the RK – 30 August;*
10. *Day of the First President – 1 December.*

The official public holidays of Kazakhstan are regulated by the Law on Holidays (The law of RK on Holidays, 2001 and the Labour Code, 2007). According to the law of (RK), “On Holidays in the Republic of Kazakhstan,” *national holidays* are established holidays to commemorate the events of special historical significance which have had a significant impact on the development of Kazakhstan’s statehood. The celebration of national holidays is accompanied by official events run by central and local government bodies.

Public holidays are holidays dedicated to events of social and political importance, as well as traditionally celebrated by citizens of the RK. The celebration of public holidays may be accompanied by official events.

Independence Day, 16–17 December

Independence Day is one of the most common national holidays celebrated by many countries of the world, on the occasion of the foundation of a state, separation from other countries, regions, the end of occupation, and so on. On December 16, 1991, the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR adopted the law “on the Independence and Sovereignty of the State”. It should be noted that the Republic of Kazakhstan was the last among the republics of the Soviet Union to adopt the law on independence. This law, together with the Declaration of sovereignty of Kazakhstan, adopted on October 25, 1990. The main state holiday of the Republic of Kazakhstan is celebrated in Kazakhstan annually on December 16-17. This day is considered the most important holiday for Kazakhstanis. Like most public holidays, it is used to demonstrate the cultural and ethnic diversity of the peoples and nationalities inhabiting the Republic. This is an opportunity to show national costumes, dances, culinary traditions and other cultural elements of ethnic groups that coexist peacefully in a free and independent Republic.

This is a two-day annual celebration. Independence Day is the single most important national holiday in the country. It has Soviet content with round numbers marked with particular pomp. The celebration style is comparable with the celebrations for the Great October Revolution on 7 November every year. Both holidays use the same trappings – flags, slogans and appeals – but for ordinary people it has become more personal, involving visiting relatives and friends and gathering together around the festive table. This holiday is also marked by amnesties for some prisoners and award ceremonies.

It is noteworthy that there was another competing holiday with the same meaning of “Independence” – Republic Day, celebrated between 1995 and 2009 on 25 October. In 2010, Republic Day quietly disappeared from the holiday calendar. During the years of independence, Kazakhstan has passed nine criminal amnesties, one of which in 2016 was initiated by the head of state personally for the first time in the history of sovereign Kazakhstan. After 28 years, the reins of government passed to Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, who at that time held the post of speaker of the Senate. Over the years of independence, more than 1 million compatriots, ethnic Kazakhs (oralmans) returned to the country.

New Year, 1–2 January

From 1918 to 1935, New Year was not an official public holiday, but most families traditionally celebrated it along with Christmas. Thus, in the first decades of the Soviet Union, the holiday was considered more “family”. On January 1, 1936, Pravda published a photo of Joseph Stalin on the front page with the message “Happy New year, comrades, with new victories under the banner of Lenin-Stalin!”. In the same year, for the first time on the radio, the new year’s greetings of the Chairman of the CEC of the USSR Mikhail Kalinin were heard. His speech was dedicated to the events on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War. On

December 23, 1947, January 1 was declared a “holiday and non-working day” by the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In fact, since that time, the phrase “the Main Christmas tree of the country” has acquired an official status.

As in the days of the Soviet Union, in Kazakhstan the New Year has remained a favorite holiday with unchanging Soviet attributes: decoration of a Christmas tree, exchanging gifts, Olivier salad, champagne, a message from the president on TV, bells and fireworks. The tradition of delivering a TV speech on 31 December at 23:50 belonged to the First Secretary of CPPS, L. Brezhnev, who introduced it in 1971. It is interesting that in the late 1980’s there was an unusual tradition—the celebration of the New year was accompanied by a mutual exchange of congratulations with American citizens. Then us President Ronald Reagan addressed the citizens of the USSR, and Mikhail Gorbachev congratulated the Americans. This was the case between 1986 and 1988. However, recently, much debate has taken place in the country, mainly among three groups in society who tend to struggle for religious and national identity, with the aim of eliminating this public holiday from the calendar.

First, on the eve of New Year, official religious leaders of many mosques have regularly said prayers to abandon the celebration of the New Year, arguing that this holiday contradicts Islam. According to the Imam of the central mosque in Almaty, because of the Soviet legacy many Muslims have an “inferiority complex” and therefore adopt foreign culture. Some Muslims with radical views also declare people who celebrate this holiday as public enemies. National patriots also believe that the celebration of the New Year has come to the steppes from the outside, which means that it is not originally a Kazakh holiday but alien, arguing that it should therefore be subject to oblivion.

It appears that the principles of existence in a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, secular and democratic state are also foreign concepts for some groups in the country. All these trends somehow affect society and have resulted in a number of Kazakh families refusing to take part in this holiday and considering Ded Moroz and Snegurochka as hostile characters. A sociological survey from 2017 shows that 17% of Kazakhs do not recognize this holiday, and more than 70% do not represent this day without Ded Moroz and Snegurochka.

International Women’s Day, 8 March

Until 1966, 8 March was not considered a holiday in the USSR. On this day, women were dedicated to the pages in the newspapers, praising their socialist spirit. Published interviews with well-known activists, athletes and shock workers. The women went to the demonstration and organized conferences, but they continued to work. For the first time, people started talking about making March 8 a holiday in 1961. However, the Minister of culture Y.Furtseva did not like the idea of International Women’s Day. She argued that in the Soviet Union, women and men were equal therefore it would be an insult to women to celebrate this day only once a year. However, five years later, by decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, March 8 still became a holiday. According to the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 8 May 1965, International Women’s Day has been a holiday and a non-working day since 1966.

Usually, on the eve of the holiday in the residence of the president of Kazakhstan, Akorda, there are award ceremonies and a solemn meeting between the president and representatives of the female community as well as regional leaders (akims). The holiday of spring and flowers is viewed in a positive light among different groups except religious circles. Adherents of Islam celebrate “women’s day” conditionally with just an extra day off for women as Islam teaches that every day a man should give maximum respect and kindness to women, not just for one day in a year.

Nauryz, 21–23 March

Nauryz has been the main holiday of the year among many Asian peoples, celebrated for more than five thousand years. Nauryz is a holiday of spring, renewal of nature, the beginning of a new year, a new life which has pagan roots, it is a celebration of nature worship. Nauryz is celebrated on March 22 on the day of the spring equinox. On this day, the heavenly bodies: constellations and stars after a year-long cycle come to the points of their original stay and begin a new path—the circle.

According to the Doctor of art history, professor and cultural critic Asiya Mukhambetova, *Ulystyn Uly kuni* (New Year), now called Nauryz, is an integral part of the ancient Tengri cyclical calendar which has been known as the 12-year animal, Chinese or Eastern calendar that was the basis of nomadic civilization and the regulator of all aspects of life of nomadic society.

The Kazakhs called it *mush'el* which means the 12-year animal cycle. It was known to any Kazakh at least because the nomads kept track of the years of life exactly by the bushels. And everyone knew their age. This calendar is a valuable source for studying the traditional worldview, spiritual life, and national character.

The very origin of the holiday of *Nauryz* goes back to ancient times, according to some scientists, it is associated with the ancient Iranian cult of the Sun and the name of the legendary prophet Zarathustra. However, all solar holidays (solstice holidays) are the most ancient on the planet, which were understood by both nomadic and sedentary peoples. Then people were closer to nature, watched it, understood the solar-lunar rhythms. Later, the celebration of the arrival of spring is mentioned in the historical Chronicles of the Kalmyks, Saks and Huns. In the era of the Golden Horde, *Nauryz*, like today, had the status of a state holiday.

The holiday started to be celebrated following the Decree of the President of Kazakh SSR 'On People's Holiday of Spring - *Nauryz*' of 15 March 1991. With the law 'On introducing changes into the Law on Holidays in the Republic of Kazakhstan' #152-IV, of 21 April 2009, the number of days off was expanded from only one day (22 March) to three (21–23 March). *Nauryz* is an ancient Turkic holiday, a symbol of spring renewal, when the New Year is celebrated in Kazakhstan on 21–23 March. The Kazakh people believe that the spring fully arrives on 21 March, meaning that this day signifies the start of the *Nauryz* celebrations. On this day, many people dress in national costume, various events are held in cities and villages (for example, concerts, theatrical shows and competitions in national sports), and traditional dishes such as *Nauryz-kozhe* are prepared. In Kazakhstan, the celebration of *Nauryz* has been banned since 1926 as a religious holiday, resuming only in 1988. Official recognition was received on 15 March 1991, when the decree of the president of Kazakh USSR "on the national holiday of spring" on 22 March declared the day of the vernal equinox a holiday called "*Nauryz*." Since 2001, it has been a public holiday and, since 2009, it has been celebrated for three days from 21 to 23 March. In March 2019, the Minister of Culture and Sport, A. Muhameduly, offered to change the format of the *Nauryz* celebration and fill it with new ideological content with the aim of uniting and involving all the people of Kazakhstan on the basis of moral values.

Unity of Nations Day – 1 May

In Soviet Union, May 1 was initially called "International Day" and then renamed "Day of International Solidarity of Workers". This day was designated as one of the two main public holidays – along with the anniversary of the revolution, which was celebrated on November 7.

In 1918 this day was declared as weekend, and a decade later in 1928, the second day was added to the non-working 1 May thereby made people happier. Despite the political coloring, May Day gradually became a favorite holiday of the Soviet people with demonstrations that held all over the country. People shouted politically correct songs in unison, carried holiday slogan, posters, red flags and balloons at biggest squares of the country.

After the demonstrations, people went home and continued to celebrate May Day at the festive table. And on the second of May, there was a tradition to get out of the city for a fun may day with family and friends. There was a really festive atmosphere all over the country these days. Leaving slogans and policies to officials, people enjoyed the first warmth, young may greenery, and two extra weekends with family and friends. The Soviet Union is in the past, but May Day continues to be celebrated in different countries in their own ways.

The 1 May celebration replaced the previous Soviet holiday of International Workers' Solidarity Day in 1995. This holiday is designed to demonstrate the friendship and mutual understanding of all ethnic groups living in the country. Traditionally, at the end of April, there is an annual session of the Congress of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan chaired by N. Nazarbayev, who gives a speech on the importance of ethnic harmony in the country and approves the appointment of new vice-chairmen of the APK. Members of more than 100 ethnicities come with their national souvenirs to Nur-Sultan to express their respect to the Leader of the Nation. However, the content of the holiday is similar to the celebration of 1 May during Soviet times with the same festive processions, demonstration of friendship of people, solemn meetings, and grandiose performances of multi-culturalism for the first part of the day. The second part of the holiday is usually marked by visiting relatives and camping with friends.

Defender of the Fatherland Day – 7 May

This holiday is a direct replica of Soviet Army Day on 23 February. This was moved to 7 May

when the national guard of RK was formed in 1992. However, 7 May was only a professional holiday of the Kazakh military. Only after changes in the legislation did it gain a new status and become a red day in the calendar. Since 2012, 7 May has been widely celebrated with all the attributes of the military holiday of 23 February in the Soviet Union.

Despite the fact that 23 February is not an official holiday in Kazakhstan, the tradition of celebrating the Defender of the Fatherland Day has remained alive. This day is considered a day of the “real man,” and they receive congratulations and gifts from their mothers, sisters and wives at work, home and even school. In the evening, they visit their friends or lay a festive table at home, inviting guests. This holiday is particularly popular among older generations in their fifties as they lived and worked in Soviet times and some served in the Soviet Army. However, a small number of people strongly oppose the day of the “real man” and believe that this day is connected with the colonial past of the country.

It can also be argued that 23 February is more popular than 7 May among people in the country. The authorities alone decided that there is no holiday on 23 February in Kazakhstan, but most people do not agree with them and believe that the history of the Soviet Army is part of the history of Kazakhstan. There is no doubt that the new holiday – 7 May – has its own special meaning and a place in independent Kazakhstan, but it still has a long way to go to win the hearts and minds of people to catch up with 23 February, as the traditions of the new Kazakh army are only being developed and are not marked yet with any heroic deeds and fame.

Victory Day, 9 May

The tradition to celebrate this holiday has changed little since 1991 and retains almost all the same features as in Soviet times. Almost all educational and cultural institutions hold various festive events dedicated to the memory of the Great Patriotic War. An important part of the celebration is the laying of flowers at the Eternal Flame in every city in Kazakhstan. On the eve of the celebration and throughout the month, charity events and various other events are held to honor war veterans, including WWII veterans, workers of the rear front and disabled people.

In big cities on Victory Day, it has been a tradition since 2015 to hold processions of the “immortal regiment,” the international public civil-patriotic movement, on preservation of the personal memories of generations of the Great Patriotic War, which covered 80 states. Participants march in a column through the streets of cities with photos of relatives who participated in the war and record family stories about them in the national chronicle on the movement’s website. In 2018 25,000 people in Astana and more than 100,000 Kazakh people in Almaty took part in this event and these numbers have been on the rise. The most common attributes of the movement are images showing Stalin, red flags, St George or blue national ribbons and Soviet military uniforms of the Great Patriotic War. Perhaps the secret of the popularity of the movement is that it gives people the opportunity to join family memories, ancestral tradition and the public, uniting representatives of different generations and nationalities on the basis of common values.

Opponents of the movement – national patriots in the “immortal regiment” – argue that millions of Kazakhs became victims of the “Russian propaganda machine” of brainwash and witnessed the failure of the national program, “Ruhani Zhangyru” (Spiritual Revival). In addition, on the eve of 9 May, disputes over the St George ribbon emerge every year. Opponents of using this as a symbol of victory instead insisted on blue national ribbons.

Capital Day, 6 July

The day of the capital of Kazakhstan has been celebrated on 10 June since 1998 as a symbol of maturity and state power (Nazarbayev, 2017: 414). However, in 2006 the parliament made the decision to change Capital Day to 6 July, which coincides with the birthday of the first president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev. The creation of Astana represents an ideological and cultural symbol (Shnirelman, 2005:114). It also became a tradition to celebrate the anniversary of Astana on an unprecedented scale and with luxury which overwhelmed even the celebration of the whole country, Independence Day. It is apparent that this is so because the Astana day coincides with the president’s birthday (Adams and Rustemova, 2013:186). Such manifestations attract people’s attention and remind them about the role of the ‘first president or leader of nation’ in nation and state building processes (Lancaster, 2012:20; Donnacha U Beachóin and Kevlihan, 2011:13).

Nowadays, the new capital is presented to the world as the brainchild of the first president of Kazakhstan which came into existence exclusively as a result of the personal efforts.

In March 2019, less than a day after the resignation of N. Nazarbayev from the post of president of Kazakhstan, Astana was renamed in his honor – Nur-Sultan. This proposal was made by the new president, K. Tokayev, who believes that it “is necessary to perpetuate the name of the great contemporary – the first president of the Republic of Kazakhstan and unanimously supported by the parliament. On the contrary, the re-naming of Astana caused much disagreement and even protest. On 23–24 March 2019, several protests were held in the country, with dozens of people detained.

On the whole, the process of re-naming cities and streets was a major and regular phenomenon in post-Soviet states after the collapse of the USSR. In the early stages of independence, it was understandable that the elite of these countries wanted to raise the patriotic spirit of their people through reviving historical memory. However, the recent re-naming of Astana raises a lot of questions in terms of its benefits for politics, the economy, the education of patriotism, solving social problems and the international authority of Kazakhstan.

Constitution Day, 30 August

The adoption of the constitution has been celebrated in Kazakhstan on 30 August since 1995 (Decree of the President, # 2534, 1995). According to the president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, the constitution of Kazakhstan is the foundation of freedom and therefore gave the people of Kazakhstan the fundamental right to choose. There had been no similar holiday in the USSR since 1977 after the replacement of Stalin’s constitution. However, in Kazakhstan, its celebration follows the pattern of Independence Day and its standard content. Traditionally, on Constitution Day, festivities, sports events and concerts by amateur artists from ethno-cultural centers are held in all regions and cities nationwide.

The constitution has been amended four times with the aim of strengthening the president’s power – in 1998, 2007, 2011 and 2017. The last amendments to the main law were signed by the president in March 2018, with a total of 26 amendments to 19 articles. The current constitution is the second in the history of independent Kazakhstan. It differed from the first constitution of 1993, signed on 28 January, in that wide powers of parliament passed to the president, the parliament lost its control functions and the constitutional and arbitration courts were abolished.

As a result of the document’s multiple changes, protest ensued. In 2019, on 30 August, two separate movements appealing to return to the 1993 constitution were held in Nur-Sultan and Shymkent. A group of activists argue that the current basic law does not reflect citizens’ interests. In addition, experts from the international organization Freedom House called the constitutional amendments an attempt to limit the real separation of powers and another “layer of paint” on the old democratic facade with a “consolidated autocratic regime” behind it.

The Day of the First President, 1 December

The Day of the First President of Kazakhstan was established to celebrate and recognize the great merits of N. Nazarbayev for the Republic. Nazarbayev’s political career started during the Soviet period at the end of the 1980s and he ruled the country for 30 years. The new president, K. Tokayev, directly supports this trend through mass re-naming of the central streets of cities and changing the name of the capital from Astana to Nur-Sultan. In 2010, in the lower chamber of parliament, Mazhilis approved a bill to grant the president the title of “Leader of the Nation,” which Nazarbayev did not sign. In accordance with loopholes in Kazakhstan’s legislation, unsigned law which is submitted for signature to the president and not returned to parliament by the president after 30 days comes into effect. Thus, from 14 June 2010, N. Nazarbayev unwillingly became the “Leader of the Nation” for life. In this context, these characteristics of charismatic authority differ from the classical concept of charisma developed by Max Weber, who describes charismatic leadership as a “certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities” (Weber, 2009:358). The leadership of Nazarbaev can be defined as charismatic because he has been successful in trying to change the attitudes of his followers towards the acceptance of advocated vision (Conger and Kanungo, 1987:640). Therefore, the idea of Nazarbaev’s charismatic leadership can be perceived as a consequence of successful counter- challenge struggle in favor of nationhood and nation building (Isaacs, 2010: 439).

On 10 December 2011 on the initiative of the prime minister, K. Massimov, the senate of the parliament passed a bill to award him the title of “People’s Hero” because of his historical role in the formation of independent Kazakhstan but N. Nazarbayev refused to accept it. The

authorities believe that the refusal of the Leader of Nation can be explained by his deep natural humility. However, parliament was very insistent about the issue of respect for the president and on the same day passed amendments to the law “on holidays in the Republic of Kazakhstan.” 1 December was thus declared the Day of the First President and has been celebrated since 2012. Nazarbayev himself noted that 1 December is a great day of unity in Kazakhstan as, for the first time in its history, the people elected a head of state in direct alternative elections. Interestingly, because of the number of awards Nazarbayev has received, he is often compared to the first secretary of the CPPS, Leonid Brezhnev, who entered the Guinness Book of Records as “the most awarded person in the world”.

Conclusion. Soviet holidays which have existed for more than 70 years continue to influence the modern festive landscape of Kazakhstan because the period of socialist construction in the sphere of social relations, in terms of dissemination and assimilation of values and the principles of a socialist way of life, formed universal and stable ideas, views, norms and aesthetic values of lasting significance. In addition, as the system of post-Soviet holidays is currently being formed, it is necessary to take into account experiences, including negative experiences (expressed mainly in terms of excessive ideologization), of the organization of Soviet holidays.

Analyzing the essence of public holidays, Plaggenborg reached the following conclusions: first, it would be wrong to talk about the transformation of holidays into magnificent events of regime self-praise; second, the state, organizing the celebrations, created forms, patterns and frames for holidays, designed to create the impression of unity of people and government; third, while initially revolutionary, holidays have become state events. It was necessary to enlighten the population, enlist the support and consent of all actors in the political process, and achieve mutual understanding. The legitimation of power institutions was closely linked to various forms of visual communication technologies that were ultimately used to gain fictitious mass acceptance of politics powers'. State holidays were symbolically rich and were an expression of «higher values», which was manifested in monumentality and the desire for epic power (a large number of participants and a large area of festive actions – city streets and squares).

Kazakhstani public holidays were addressed to the past of society and at the same time focused on the present and helped to establish a link between modernity and what happened in the past, there was a consistent inversion of various social ties and social roles that make up the framework of the «everyday» social space, everyday values, rules of behavior. Public holidays helped to create a myth about the solidarity of society and the feeling of each person as a member of the team. They give us a vivid example of myth-making and ritual creation, both on the part of the authorities and on the part of society. The festive culture in Kazakhstan's society during the is characterized by the diversity and solemnity of the holidays, but the meaning remained the same for everyone — to work for the Motherland.

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МРНТИ 07.00.06

ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ВОЗЗРЕНИЯ ОБЩЕСТВА СРЕДНЕЙ АЗИИ В ЭПОХУ МЕТАЛЛА

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Аннотация. В статье автор раскрывает специфические особенности духовной жизни кочевников в эпоху бронзы и раннежелезном веке на основе погребального обряда. Выявляет такие погребальные обряды как: кремация и ингумация. Определяет, что погребальный обряд тесно связан в этот период был тесно связан с культом огня, который своими корнями уходит ещё в эпоху неолита. Установил, что погребальные сооружения также отражают идеологическое мировоззрение общества кочевников. Например, «курганы – оградки» отождествляются с «Домом мёртвых». Указывает, что поза умершего и его ориентировка была не случайным явлением в обряде погребения, так как они отражали своего рода путь и способ преодоления данного пути для перехода в потусторонний мир «Мир мёртвых».

Ключевые слова: погребальный обряд, андроновская культура, кремация, ингумация, культ огня, табу.

ФТАХР 07.00.06.

МЕТАЛЛ ДӘУІРІНДЕГІ ОРТАЛЫҚ АЗИЯ ҚОҒАМЫНЫҢ ИДЕОЛОГИЯЛЫҚ КӨЗҚАРАСТАРЫ

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Түйіндеме. Мақалада автор жерлеу рәсімі негізінде қола дәуірі мен ерте темір дәуіріндегі көшпенділердің рухани өмірінің өзіндік ерекшеліктерін қарастырады.: Кремация