

ЖУРНАЛИСТИКА

STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION IN THE PRESS OF KAZAKHSTAN IN THE PERIOD OF SOVIET STAGNATION



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Abstract

The article reveals that the Soviet model of the national state had a decisive influence on the formation and subsequent deformation of the system of the Kazakh national press, as well as the coverage of issues of national self-identification in it.

Key words: command-administrative system; formal sovereignty; national self-awareness; interethnic relations; interethnic integration; the Kazakh press; the national question.

**СОВЕТ БОСҚИНИ ДАВРИДАГИ МИЛЛИЙ ДАВЛАТЧИЛИК ТИЗИМИ ВА
ЎЗЛИКНИ АНГЛАШ МУАММОЛАРИНИНГ ҚОЗОҒИСТОН МАТБУОТИДА
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Аннотация

Мақолада миллий давлат совет моделининг козоқ матбуоти тизими шаклланишига, унинг кейинги деформациясига, миллий ўзликни англаш масалаларини козоқ матбуотида ёритишга таъсири ўрганилган.

Калит сўзлар: маъмурий-буйруқбозлик тизими; формал суверенитет; миллий ўзлик; миллатлараро муносабатлар; миллатлараро интеграция; козоқ матбуоти; миллий масала.

**ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ ПРОБЛЕМ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИДЕНТИФИКАЦИИ В
ПРЕССЕ КАЗАХСТАНА В ПЕРИОД СОВЕТСКОЙ СТАГНАЦИИ**

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Аннотация

В статье изучено влияние советской модели национальной государственности на формирование и последующую деформацию системы казахской периодической печати, на освещение в казахской прессе вопросов национальной самоидентификации.

Ключевые слова: командно-административная система; формальный суверенитет; национальная самоидентификация; межэтнические отношения; межэтническая интеграция; казахская пресса; национальный вопрос.

Introduction

The last decade of the 20th century was marked by dissolution of the Soviet Union and formation of new independent states at its territory, including the Republic of Kazakhstan. The problem of national identification and national identity of these states became especially acute in the new historical conditions, because creation of an independent and sovereign state implies first of all creation of the national distinctiveness and unique character of the state. The problem of national identity is landmark nature for all nations as it is directly connected with the individual, social conscience as well as with the theory and practice of its formation and development.

Presence of national identity is an essential condition for formation and development of personality, ethnos, society and government. National identity provides nutriment to any human entity, turning it into the national entity. Not having its own Self nation cannot set reasonable goals, coordinate its actions and aspirations. In general the problem of identity exists since the old days and has always worried people regardless of the conditions of social system where they live. This problem has not been completely solved in the science of Kazakhstan; it is partially considered in some scientific works studying the issues of national identity.

Practical significance of the study lies in the fact that these problems are covered by the Kazakhstan print media.

Awareness by the Kazakh people of their own national identity has been historically formed in the conditions of inclusion of the Kazakhs first into the Russian Empire and then into the Soviet Union, when there was an attempt to artificially create “a new historical entity – the Soviet nation”, which, to our mind, was initially doomed to failure. The search of national identity is most pronounced at the activities of such social-political institution as journalism. From the moment of its origination and up to now it not only plays an important role in the formation of national identity, but also appears the product of it by itself.

It raises and considers various issues of national identity, and acute problems of international relations. In different periods of the ethnos development it changed the

methods and approaches towards the development of this theme. And it has accumulated rich experience in this field. The necessity of scientific comprehension of the accumulated theoretical and empirical material is what defines the rationale of the present paper.

The problems of national development and the attempts to cover them in periodicals have long been in the focus of the foreign. Central Asian and Kazakh scientists are studying the theory and practice of Mass Media. However the theme of this paper has not yet become the object of a special research. Even despite the fact that it is one of the most prioritized in the academic community, discussions of politicians, public man, workers of culture and art. Though the issues connected with the growth in peoples' identity and search of national idea are becoming especially acute in the context of new geopolitical reality and threats of the 21st century. They are topical for the European Union Members, CIS, the Middle Eastern countries, the countries of Southeast Asia and Latin America. Globalization turned this problem into the international one.

Certain issues of relations between peoples due to complexity, dramatics and plexus on the one hand and connected with the processes of the current moment based on the priorities of one or another political conjuncture, on the other hand, attract the attention of social scientists including those studying the theory of journalism.

Some information regarding the theme of the present study can be found in the works by the foreign specialists. These are, first of all, the works by S. Huntington, G. Shukman, H. Arendt, I. Berlin, A. Agostinho, R. Pipes, Zh. Brzezinski, A. Avtorkhanov, Zh. Zhelev, R. Tucker, Nathan Richardsson, Eric Hoffmann, E. Carr, M. Voslensky, B. Brutskus, V. Shendel, E. Zurcher, O. Roy etc.¹ They investigate the

¹Huntington S. *The Clash Of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.*- 1996; Shukman H. *Russian Revolution. 1891-1924.*- London, Pimlico, 1997; Hannah A. *The Origins of Totalitarianism.*- NY, 1979; Berlin I. *Russian Thinkers.* USA: Penguin Books.-1979; Agostino D. *The Soviet Succession Struggles. Kremlinology and the Russian Question from Lenin to Gorbachyev.* USA: Boston.-1988; *Emerging from Communism. Lessons from Russia, China and Eastern Europe.* The MIT Press. Cambridge; Massachusetts, London.-1998; Пайпс Р. *О российской истории. Социализм и перестройка: Россия в новом режиме.*// Диалог, 1991, №7, С 71-83.; Бжезинский Зб. *Великий разлом. Рождение и смерть коммунизма в 20 веке.* М.: Международные отношения, 1998; Бжезинский Зб. *Великая шахматная доска. Доминирование Америки и ее геостратегические императивы.*- М.: Международные отношения, 1999; Avtorkhanov A. *The Empire of Kremlin. Soviet Type of Colonialism.* FRG, Prometheus-Verlag, 1988; Натан Р.П., Хоффман Е.П. *Современный федерализм.*// *Международная жизнь*, 1991. – С. 1-9.; Кэпп Э. *Русская революция от Ленина до Сталина. 1917-1929.* М: Интер-Версо, 1990; Voslensky M. *Nomenclature. Fragments of the book.* - 1996. – P. 82-91; Brutskus B.D. *Socialist Economy Theoretical Thoughts Regarding the Russian Experience.* – Paris, 1988; Shendel W., Zurcher E. (2001) *Identity Politics In Central Asia and the Muslim World; Nationalism, Ethnicity and labor in tweeting Century.* -USA, NY, IR Tauris Publishers,2001; Roy O. *The New Central Asia. The Creation*

despotic nature, hierarchy of civil and other freedoms, life of nations and ethnic formations, of the entire social and political system of the powerful. They critically assess the imperial core of the Soviet state, its national doctrine reduced to assimilation of small peoples by the large peoples, to smoothing ethnic uniqueness of the peoples and on the basis of Russification, to compulsory formation of a super-nation of the Russian-Soviet type. They also think over the issues of nationalism and ethnic arrangement in the context of the Islamic World in general and the life of the peoples of Central Asia after the dissolution of the ideocratic empire in particular.

In the context of the present paper a certain interest is provoked by the researches of the scientists from Central Asia and Kazakhstan, developing the issues of history and theory of journalism. They are the following authors: T. Amandosov, H. Bekhozhin, B. Kenzhebaev and T. Kozhakeev, M. Barmankulov, K. Allabergenov, Sh. Nurgozhina, S. Sadykov, Ja. Mamatova² etc. They investigated the problems of formation and development of periodicals, audiovisual Mass Media, substantiated theoretical and practical problems of the regional journalism and studied the peculiarities of creative heritage of famous Kazakh, Uzbek and other journalists. This search was performed with the consideration of the national interests and illustrates the stages of development of the Central Asian journalism of the 20th century and in the years of the independence. They all contributed to the theme of the present paper. However their authors did not have the task of special consideration of the national identification issues.

That is exactly why the analysis of role of the Kazakh print-media and the Kazakh publicists in the coverage of the issues of national identification and self-identification through the prism of Mass Media is the first attempt of this kind. History shows that social values cannot be beyond a certain culture, beyond national subjectness and national environment. They cannot be subordinated to the imperatives of the national, and thus of the local, civilized genesis in history. It is as just as the

of Nations USA. – NY, 2000.

²Amandosov T.S. Theory and Practice of the Soviet Journalism.-Alma-ata,1978; Bekhozhin H.N. (1976) History of the Kazakh press. Almaty: Mektep, 1978; Kenzhebayev B., Zhozhakeev T. The History of the Kazakh press. Almaty, 1980; Barmankulov M.K. The Art of Modern Information. Almaty,1994; Allabergen K., Nysrabayly J., Orazai F. (1996) History of Kazakh Journalism (1870-1995) Almaty: Rauan,1996; Nurgozhina Sh. I. (2004) Economic Print Media of Kazakhstan: Theory and Practice of Functioning, Tendencies of Development. Author's abstract. - T: UzNU of Uzbekistan, 2004; Sadykov S. Agricultural Transformation in Kazakhstan and Print Media. Author's abstract. Moscow: MGU,1992, Mamatova Y. M. Periodicals of Uzbekistan: Problems, Transformation System Tendencies and the Issues of Functioning (based on the materials over the period of 1991-2010). - Author's abstract.- T.,2011.

fact that all the modernized processes in history were always fared by the values of national identity and grew out of the depths of national spirit, culture and history. National and historical identity are the deepest roots nourishing the life of any community of people and turning it from a simple entity into the national and historical entity capable of creating not the history in general, but its own history corresponding to its own archetypes of sociality, culture and the hierarchy of values and the sense of existence in history.

Due to this fact, as it seems, “history” and “national identity” are fundamental definitions requiring in-depth and new comprehension. The problems of people's identity and the search of national idea become more acute in the context of the last global and regional realia, when the transitional society faces the necessity of choice of alternative development models. So, the theme of the paper may be quite literally called the first attempt of such kind of research in the world journalism.

Methods of Research

The paper contains the common methodology and methods of scientific research. In the process of development of research in general as well as in the preparation to the paper composition the authors used the systemic approach, combination of historical and logical, contrastive-comparative, analytical-synthesizing and critical methods, as well as such ways of collection of factual material as survey and interview.

The methodological base of the work were the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the RK laws and regulatory acts connected with the Mass Media, as well as works and speeches of the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev. Theoretical base of the research were the works by the scientists from the USA, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and other countries in history, theory and practice of journalism.

In the research process the authors observed all the principles of scientific ethics and ethical procedures, particularly they supported high standards of intellectual integrity nor faking the scientific data or inventing false co-authorship.

The materials of the paper, its conclusions and recommendations may be used at preparation of general and special courses in theory and practice of journalism of Kazakhstan, political science, history and other social disciplines. The results may contribute to activation of scientific interest towards the development of the national journalism, press exposure of various problems of the Kazakh state structure.

Application of the paper materials may also assist journalists-precisions in the press exposure of the national policy challenges, development of new ideas and

approaches in press coverage of the issues of nation building in the Republic of Kazakhstan. The research materials are used in the training process at preparation of bachelors and magisters in specialization “Journalism” and “Political Science” in the leading educational institutions: Ahmet Yassawi University, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University.

Results of the Research

The October (1964) Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU liberated N. S. Khrushchev from the admission of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. He was succeeded by new forces that elected Leonid Brezhnev as their new leader. The change of the country's leadership meant changing the course in the USSR's domestic and foreign policy. The new course implied the search for ways to update the social and economic situation in the country, which led to a short-term economic recovery that took place during the VIII and IX five-year plans. Despite the fact that the Soviet Union was at that time a significant potential economic opportunity, the lack of political will of the new leadership led to the fact that it could not use all this potential and set it in motion. The pace of development has been seriously slowing down from year to year, crisis phenomena in the economy have grown, which could not but affect the social and spiritual and moral state of society.

The crisis situation in the social sphere, which began to grow since the second half of the 1970s, led to the fact that negative processes in society arose and developed faster than the pressing social and economic problems were solved. The main reason for the failure in attempts to implement limited economic reforms was that they did not affect the foundations of the command and administrative system itself. The command and administrative system, bureaucracy, firmly established in it, completely deformed the political basis of society, which led to the assertion of dogmatism and ideological intolerance in the spiritual sphere of society. Therefore, even individual attempts of the intelligentsia to continue the historical and cultural heritage of the peoples were severely suppressed by the party apparatus, which was carried out both by the forces of the center and by the local leadership. And Kazakhstan in this respect was no exception.

In 1977, the new Constitution of the USSR was adopted, and later in 1978 the Constitutions of the Union Republics, including the Kazakh SSR, were adopted. But they lacked the definitions that characterize the peculiarities of the national republics, and the proclaimed democratic freedoms and human rights remained declarations, since in the future they did not find their own mechanism for implementation. The consolidation of the leading role of the CPSU in the Basic Law only strengthened the

party dictatorship and enabled the party apparatus to substitute for itself all state organs and public organizations.

The non-alternative political system inevitably led to mistakes in the social and economic sphere and deformed all other spheres of society's life, including interethnic relations. A serious analysis of the problems arising in the periodical press was replaced by a lacquering of reality and victorious reports about the triumph of Lenin's national policy. And in general, the absolutization of the importance of the international factor inevitably led to the neglect of national interests, traditions, customs, and national psychology.

Meanwhile, in those years Kazakhstan gradually turned into the center of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, chemical industry of the country, the republic became also a unique agricultural area of the USSR. However, the social development of the republic went against the needs of national development and the growth of the national self-consciousness of the Kazakh people. Kazakhstan actually had no opportunity to regulate the demographic policy of the republic, to participate in the distribution of labor resources, to be independent in language policy. The independence of Kazakhstan, like other republics, was strictly limited, and sovereignty was of a formal nature. Denying of national principles was interpreted as internationalism, and the manifestation of national self-awareness, the recognition of its national identity was regarded as a manifestation of nationalism.

The main setting in the activity of the press of Kazakhstan in the sphere of national coverage was the task of invariably representing it as the triumph of the "Leninist ideas of internationalism." The articles were published under traditional headings. In the newspaper "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda" it was: "Internationalism is our banner", "In the fraternal family of nations"; in the newspaper "Socialistic Kazakhstan" – "Lenin University of Million", "Lenin Readings", in the newspaper "Leninshi zhas" – "Lenin said, Komsomol fulfilled", "True to the behest of the leader", etc. At the same time, the editors gave only those facts and wrote about the truth that fit into the framework of communist ideology.

This did not mean that the press generally ignored the facts and phenomena undesirable for the command and administrative system. But in their assessment and their interpretation they still did not go beyond the official guidelines. However, it should be noted here that they worked with literary, artistic and journalistic perspectives in a highly professional manner. In the approach to history, the theory of the national question, journalists adhered to the same standards as when assessing other social phenomena. Lenin's vision of the folding of a multi-ethnic state should not have been doubted, it was declared universal, and all the complex and contradictory

processes that arose were hushed up by the system. The press was not urged to address these aspects of the development of society. For example, the national unrest in Tselinograd in 1979, after rumors of the creation of German national autonomy, was not properly reflected in the press and, naturally, could not be properly estimated. These events were not allowed to be covered in the press for ideological reasons, but in the exaltation of the entire Soviet press there were no restrictions, journalists were granted an unlimited right to praise national construction in the soviet empire.

The usual situation was when the media inevitably encountered a discrepancy between what was written and reality, when journalists drew pictures of social well-being, called for high ideals, and in life quite often the opposite happened. The thinking part of the Soviet journalists understood how much their materials differ from real life. They understood that their publications often discredit the press in the eyes of the public, they sow unbelief in the goals and ideals that it propagates nullifying the effectiveness of their work.

It cannot be said that journalists did not care about these problems. At numerous conferences, plenums, etc. in the period of stagnation, creative workers discussed ways to increase the effectiveness of their work. But they approached these problems "in a Soviet way", and the main accent was made only on the ideological component, underestimating or ignoring the material principles in life. For example, the deputy editor of the regional newspaper "Ogni Alatau" N. Garifullin wrote that those who speak on the theme of the Soviet way of life "often do not know its main features and attributes, and therefore" replace the concept of "lifestyle" with the concept of "standard of living" (1, 225). Further, she emphasizes that therefore in some publications there appear "frail, slimy creations, in style and spirit resembling the register of a department store".

This quote clearly shows that a certain number of journalists, like N. Garifullin, did not see the connection between the material and the spiritual. In their opinion, the level of material prosperity cannot determine the way of life. Then, as we see it, the material benefit directly affects the way of life and, as they were said, not always, can lead to spiritual degradation of society and man. But this was then the setting: to focus on the ideological principles, because from the second half of the 1970s the level of material prosperity of Soviet people grew very slowly, the population began to lack even essential products.

Although Kazakhstan at the beginning of the tenth five-year plan was moved to the last places in the country in terms of per capita income growth, labor productivity and other indicators, the leaders of the republic continued to talk about the "cosmic" upsurge of the economy and culture of the republic. Therefore, so much has been said

about the way of life of the Soviet man, about the role of spiritual principles in him. Although no one could give an exact definition to him, and even more show, as it was then written, his clear advantages over the way of life of the peoples of other countries.

It must be said that the same shortcomings were inherent in many materials devoted to national life and interethnic relations. In the newspapers and magazines, target strips, turn-ups of the collection of materials and even target numbers appeared, with a multitude of figures designed to impress, testify to the achievements of the socialist nations. These materials represented the Kazakh people as an integral part of the Soviet people. The idea that the developing culture of the Kazakh people and such components as education, art, literature acquire a new socialist trait, the national becomes socialist in content, that this process takes place in all the peoples of the USSR and, consequently, as an international, is one for all.

Therefore, based on the materials of the Kazakh press of those years, it was difficult to identify the Kazakh ethnos, to talk about the prospects for its national development. Clearly, this can be observed on materials in which it was a question of the so-called "flowering through rapprochement and rapprochement through flowering", born in the epoch of "thaw". And this provision was very actively quoted, because in those years the ideological apparatus of the party in every possible way justified the idea of a new social and historical community – the Soviet people. The main theoretical journals of the Soviet Union proclaimed that interethnic integration is the most important component of the ever growing unity of the peoples of the USSR.

This kind of idea was the setting for the entire Soviet press. Various aspects of this theoretical situation found their justification and development in the leading articles of the newspaper “Pravda”. And the press of the national republics, including Kazakhstan, could not get beyond them. Therefore, like the entire multinational press of the country, it began to identify ethnic groups living in the territory of the Soviet Union from the point of view of the correspondence of this new historical community of people. This was the yardstick for determining what is truly national, national, and what is obsolete, which prevents the progressive development of the ethnos.

On the basis of such ideological attitudes, the struggle continued with the centuries-old traditions and rituals of the life of the Kazakh people, such as Nauryz holiday, national weddings, funerals, etc. Speaking of them, the press pursued the idea of the need to fill them with new, socialist content. To do this, working groups were created under the propaganda and agitation departments of Party and Komsomol committees, who prepared scenarios for various mass national events. And such events as the handing over of passports, the first voting, etc. should also have been interpreted

by the press not just as a manifestation of civic-mindedness, but linked to communist ideology and the Soviet way of life.

The increase in the number of materials about a new historical community - the Soviet people – was not due solely to the tasks of the domestic policy of the country, although there were many formal reasons for this during the stagnation period. Thus, marking the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, the 50th and 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the 20th anniversary of the beginning of virgin lands development, the press actively wrote about the achievements and triumph of the indestructible friendship of peoples Soviet Union.

When covering these issues, the press sought to seek and find new forms and methods of submitting materials. In Kazakhstan, for example, the publication of consolidated issues of newspapers devoted to interethnic relations and forms of concrete manifestation of internationalism began to be practiced. In particular, they talked about the construction of the Central Asia-Urals gas pipeline, etc. The newspaper "Socialist Kazakhstan" has introduced a new rubric, under which articles of scientists and business executives were regularly published. In them, for example, it was said that at the present stage the interests of the republics are becoming increasingly intertwined, the mutual assistance of peoples is becoming ever more fruitful, that the comprehensive development of each nation leads to an ever greater rapprochement between them.

After the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe (Helsinki, 1975), the Soviet Union began to fulfill its obligations to develop cultural, including, information exchange between the Treaty countries. This meant that the Soviet began to receive more information from abroad, and not only in the interpretation of Soviet journalists – internationalists from the first sources. In addition, the broadcasting to the USSR of such radio stations as "Voice of America", "Freedom", "BBC", "Deutsche Welle", etc., has increased. Moreover, they conducted their programs not only in Russian, but also in the languages of other peoples of the country.

Naturally, they spoke not only about their own countries, but also gave an assessment of the foreign policy of the USSR, paid attention to events inside it. And as ideological opponents, they sought to find its vulnerabilities. So the greatest criticism was contained in speeches on the development of a new social and historical community of people – the Soviet people. This postulate was perplexing in the West. Therefore, Soviet propaganda was forced to give materials in which it was alleged that it was not a question of the emergence of a new socio-ethnic community – the Soviet nation. Although, judging by the above quotations, in the long term it will have to happen.

Proceeding from this, the Kazakh press had to draw an ideal picture of the friendship of peoples and support communist myths. Materials on national development could be presented only in the context of internationalism (2). Of course, in real life there was friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation of the Soviet peoples, but none of them ever declared their desire for a complete merger. This created difficulties for the press, which it seemed impossible to overcome. And it should be noted that the party itself opposed the assimilation of the small peoples by the Russian people. But how then it is possible to realize the idea of the fusion of nations, she did not explain. Probably, this cannot be explained at all, because the idea itself is utopian and raises many questions, and the first of them, how it could affect the fate of the same Russian people.

It should be especially noted that the leadership of the party bodies of Kazakhstan has always paid much attention to what and how the journalism of the republic writes. They have repeatedly criticized periodicals for their lack of clear ideological positions, for their uncritical approach to the selection of published materials. Thus, in particular, a harsh assessment was given to the Kazakhstan party organization the magazine "Prostor" for being allowed "gross political mistakes, causing serious damage to the party's work on patriotic and international education" (3). The conclusions contained in these documents were an installation for the entire republican press. They clearly indicated the direction in which the national problems should be covered.

It was unacceptable that in the press materials nostalgia for the past tribal way of life of the Kazakhs sounded. According to party officials, this offends the honour and dignity of the nation. Thus, a censorship was used, which could be used as a label for any objectionable material and its author. For example, serious accusations were brought to the well-known Kazakh authors A. Kekilbayev, M. Simashko, P. Kosenko, M. Magauin and others, which consisted in the fact that their works were "turned into the past" leading to a thematic distortion in the journal, that in turn "contributes to the distortion of interethnic relations" (4).

The special resolution "On the publication of the magazine " Prostor " of the CC of the CP of Kazakhstan of February 26, 1974 said that the magazine allows for political mistakes in the selection of works for the press. The party organization of the republic returned to the same issue on February 26, 1976, when "it obliged the editorial board of the journal to steadfastly and strictly follow the principles of the class, party approach in determining the level of publication of works, to promote in every possible way the really best works of the multinational literature of socialist realism" (5). In general, the principles and methods of party leadership of journalism were formulated back in 1969, when the CC of the CPSU adopted a resolution "On increasing the

responsibility of the heads of the press, radio, television, cinematography, cultural and art institutions for the ideological and political level of the published materials and repertoire".

To ensure that journalists do not go beyond the established ideological framework, the Kazakh press began publishing a large number of theoretical materials. At the same time, the press paid attention to counter-propaganda work. For example, in the "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda" in 1983, on 18–22 December, essays were published, the author of which was S. K. Kozybayev. In them, he criticized the activities of the Kazakh editorial office of Radio Liberty and assessed its work as a calumny of the reality of Soviet Kazakhstan. The press of Kazakhstan said that if bourgeois ideology cultivates individualism, then the socialist worldview propagates real, effective humanism that building a communist society is nothing more than the affirmation of these humanistic principles in life. These principles are the foundation on which the socialist system rests and determines the relationships between individuals, nations and nationalities living in the Soviet Union.

Developing this thesis on the example of development of the virgin lands of Kazakhstan, the author of the publication, Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor G. Abishev notes that "the heroic efforts of all the peoples of the Soviet Union provided a material base for the development and introduction of tens of millions of hectares of new lands into economic circulation; thanks to which "Kazakhstan is turned into the edge of a developed economy and high culture. It rallied people of different nationalities of the country around a great goal, united their thoughts and deeds, made indissoluble friendship".

Of course, these words of the author reflect the realities of the time and correspond to the official setting and policies of the party and state. But among the Kazakh ethnos these processes caused mixed reactions and at times the attitude towards this was negative. Part of the Kazakh people perceived what was happening as the loss of their lands when they saw the new farms, villages, etc. stretching for dozens, if not hundreds of kilometers around, which bore foreign names, they sounded another speech. For the Kazakhs, it seemed like a tragedy.

It should be noted that the names of Kazakh cities, national heroes and noble people were named streets, cinemas, etc. in the cities of Russia, in particular in Moscow, other republics of the USSR. And this was for Soviet reality a natural manifestation of the friendship of peoples in deeds and, accordingly, was also perceived by people. But in Kazakhstan it has acquired a mass character and the Kazakhs had serious fears that all this could result in their assimilation. Moreover, the Kazakhs became less than half the population of the republic. Some interpreted these processes

as the fact that Kazakhstan really is a laboratory in which the model of the creation of a new socialist nation is being tested. And, by the way, this idea that Kazakhstan is the laboratory of friendship of peoples was repeatedly mentioned by the party–Soviet press itself.

Therefore, according to the Kazakh press, it was possible to identify the Kazakh ethnos in accordance with these parameters. In connection with a whole series of jubilee and significant dates in the life of the USSR and the Kazakh SSR, a large number of articles, essays, sketches and stories were published in which, in describing the Soviet reality, journalists tried to comprehend certain facts, to understand the essence of the phenomena occurring in accordance with party installations. At the same time the press tried not only to fix life phenomena, but to give them an ideological and emotional assessment, to correlate them with the ideas of the communist worldview of beauty. By raising life's material to the height of journalistic generalization, seeking to discover new, previously unknown aspects of life, it created that communist ideal in which the ideas of a perfect, harmonious society and man were embodied.

Therefore, a special place in the press was assigned to theoretical articles that carried out propaganda tasks. Among them one can single out, for example, the article by Candidate of Philosophy A. Kalmyrzayev "Formation of the internationalist consciousness – the need for social progress" (5). The article, printed in the "basement" of the newspaper's turn, is almost equal in size to the whole page of the publication. Its content is of a program nature. The headline itself already directs the reader to the perception of the party's plans: they consist in the fact that social progress can be ensured only by the internationalist consciousness, that this is not a condition but a necessity.

This article also notes that the formation of internationalist consciousness is associated with a whole range of measures for the economic, political and spiritual development of Soviet society. But, noting the influence of historical, ethnic, economic, geographical and spiritual features of the way of life on the national consciousness, A. Kalmyrzaev emphasizes that it is still only a supplement to the spiritual life of society, and also reflects all material life, the entire reality of the nation's life, the whole the totality and contradictoriness of its needs and interests. And in its genesis, "national consciousness is a product of a separate life of peoples. In this capacity, it reflects the specific features of the life of the nation, the way of life of its constituent people".

In general, the author of the article bases his arguments on the following theoretical propositions. First, he proceeds from the premise that backward peoples can step over some socio-economic formations with the union and leadership of an

advanced nation guided by the principles of internationalism. Secondly, this principle is natural, because the very essence of the vanguard of society – the working class and its communist party is international in nature.

In the final part of his article A. Kalmyrzayev writes: "The more democratic the life of the country, the greater is the mutual voluntary attraction of the working people of all nations and nationalities. This is also evidenced by the fact that now 82 percent of the country's population is fluent in Russian. To this they went voluntarily, with a worthy sense of the objective necessity of social progress. Because all consciousness is manifested through language, in reality, under the conditions of mature socialism, the role of the Russian language as a means of interethnic communication in the formation of the internationalist consciousness of the Soviet people is growing. He acts as an important factor in strengthening the socio-political and ideological unity of the Soviet people, the development and mutual enrichment of national cultures".

This article is a vivid example of the theoretical materials of the time and sums up, as it were, the succession of publications devoted to the jubilee dates of "stagnant" time. These speeches, regardless of the language in which they were written and regardless of the status of the publication – central, republic, regional, district, etc. – were like two drops of water are similar to each other. And this is an indication that in public thought the national question has become a dogma because it faced an insoluble contradiction: if it is a question of the full flowering of nations, then what kind of full merger can we talk about? Or, if it is a question of a complete fusion of nations, then what full blossom of nations can we talk about? But there was no such statement of the problem in the press. One gets the impression that they did not think about it at all, but the meaning of what the press wrote, even it itself, did not particularly digress.

"Stagnation" is the real expression of dogmatism. This is a sleeping society, where the movement of thought is stopped, where life is essentially stopped. Dogmatism is permeating all spheres of the life of our society, – wrote L. Ponomaryev and V. Shinkarenko in the article "Dogmatism– roots of stagnation", published in the newspaper "Izvestiya" (6).

In general, in the period under review, in almost all publications of the Kazakh press on the national question and policy, it was asserted that the development of nations proceeds in accordance with communist theory, whereas Soviet reality gave many examples of the reverse. Objectively existing national psychology did not cease to develop and determine the content of life according to its laws, but in the Soviet press the Kazakh nation, like other nations of the USSR, was increasingly identified not as a separate ethnic community, but as an integral part of the Soviet people – a new historical community of people.

Discussion of the Obtained Results

The Kazakh national journalism from the moment of its origination and up to the present moment has gone through a long and complicated way, having experienced as the Kazakh nation in general the pressure of the Tsarist Russia government, the pressure of the Soviet totalitarian state and achieved certain success and educated an entire galaxy of remarkable journalists and publicists contributed to the development of national conscience and self-identity of the Kazakh people.

The Kazakh print-media raised the issues of national development, pointed out at the obstacles towards it, tried to withstand to the exaggerations in implementation of the plans of national policy of the communist party. Simultaneously there was a process of covering the issues of development of culture, art and literature of the Kazakh people.

The best representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia contributed by their speeches published in the press to the achievement of the factual equality of the Kazakh people with the other peoples of the USSR, but they spoke against smoothing national differences, withstood to the process of artificial formation of a new international community—the Soviet nation. The fight for the national interests contradicted to the plans of the administrative command system and thus was negatively assessed by it.

Despite the fact that the journalists and publicists, writers and poets were labeled as nationalists, were exposed to repressions and were sometimes even physically liquidated, the Kazakh national journalism stood for the true friendship between the people, raised in the audience the sense of gratitude for the rendered assistance and formed in it readiness to help other nations living beyond Kazakhstan.

In the Soviet period the administrative command system declared a new formed historical community – the Soviet nation and set the task to accelerate complete integration of the peoples in to the unified socialistic nation. What the language concerns, then the Russian language was not declared national, though it gradually replaced the national languages of many peoples of the USSR, which was especially clearly seen in Kazakhstan.

In the late Soviet period the Mass Media of Kazakhstan focused its attention on correction of deformations in the national question and the forms and methods of their coverage in the press. The national problems, the issues of national identification began to be reconsidered as a result of the conflicts taking place in the late 1980s. Neither ruling elite nor the press created by the administrative command system could offer to the society theoretically based program of overcoming the crisis in the national policy and international relations. The alternative press emerged that time greatly

affected the emotions of people, criticized the basic principles of the state structure of the USSR, which eventually contributed to its dissolution.

Despite all the complications and difficulties the formation of the Kazakh journalism as 'the fourth estate' is still in the process. And it shows that the establishment of the modern national Kazakh state is also in process, which is an identification characteristic of the Kazakh ethnos as well.

Conclusions

There are the following main conclusions of the study:

1. Existence of nations and national states causes presence of the powers threatening their independency and freedom, striving to control over them and using their national wealth for their own benefit. That's why the Mass Media of Kazakhstan in order to provide further development of the sovereign state – the Republic of Kazakhstan – should significantly enhance mental awareness-building, develop in the citizens firm will and conviction in holiness of the independence of the state which may ensure the progress of the Kazakh ethnos.

2. Multinational composition of the Kazakh society implies the possibility of emergence of interethnic contradictions. They should not develop into the international dissention and conflicts. In this issue a special role is played by the printed media. It was called upon to deliberately approach the issues of international relations, consider them as one of the most significant factor of sustainable development and prosperity.

3. Approval of journalism as “the fourth estate” greatly depends on its interrelation with the other branches of government. With these purposes it is necessary to start the operation of the Mass Media Community Council at the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan on a regular basis. It should be supposed to govern by the best interests of the nation, but not to be a place where people accuse each other.

4. For national conscience and identity a great role is played by the national language. Its loss will inevitably lead to the threat of losing the national identity, Development of the Kazakh independent state created all the conditions necessary for its development. The press takes an active part in this process. The quality of the Kazakh language print media should be further increased and its thematic should be diversified in order to ensure its competitiveness with the Russia language print media of Kazakhstan and Russia.

5. The journalism of Kazakhstan is called upon to actively discussing the problems cramping the consolidation of the sense of community, national and state identity. At that one should find the most reasonable ways for unifying people, for

formation of their sense of the common goals and interests of all the peoples living in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

6. It is necessary to understand that state identity is an important factor and catalyst of development of national self-consciousness and national identity. It is not less important for the print media to develop respect towards the national identity of the other peoples alongside with the coverage of the issues connected with the national Identity of the Kazakhs.

7. In the journalistic declarations of the Kazakh print media over the researched period one may observe the dynamics and evolution in the development of the article themes. The perspective and position of the authors towards this issue at each stage of development of the Kazakh journalism underwent changes which provided an opportunity to better understanding and comprehension by the Kazakh people of their national identity and their place in the world community.

8. Despite the difficulties of the current periods, the Kazakhstan journalism experiencing rises and declines has accumulated rich positive experience which provides it with the opportunity to function quite efficiently and comply with the modern standards. It is still popular among them as audience.

9. The transformation of media text into the Internet significantly changes its structure. This leads to the emergence of completely new formats of presentation of information, the priority place among which is the genre of "multimedia article". This young and very voluminous genre embodies all the existing expressive possibilities of journalism, unites the efforts of a whole team of universal journalists, is created through the latest information technologies, increasing the value and effectiveness of information for a modern active audience. The effectiveness and necessity of implementing a multimedia article for any convergent edition is obvious. This is to strengthen and develop the topic of national identity and national identity of the relevance of multimedia journalism.

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