# HIGHLIGHTING OF ISSUES OF NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION IN THE KAZAKHSTAN PRESS OF THE LATE-SOVIET PERIOD

<sup>a</sup>SEIDULLA SADYKOV, <sup>b</sup>ZHIDEGUL ABDIZHADILKIZI, <sup>c</sup>KLARA KABYLGAZINA, <sup>d</sup>KONYR MYKATAYEVA, <sup>e</sup>ALTYN AKYNBEKOVA

<sup>a</sup>K.A. Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University, 161200, 29 B. Sattarkhanov Ave., Turkestan, Kazakhstan
<sup>b-e</sup>Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, 050040, 71 al-Farabi Boulevard, Almaty, Kazakhstan

email: <sup>a</sup>sadykov.51@mail.ru, <sup>b</sup>abdyzhadylkyzy.zydegul@gmail.com, <sup>c</sup>kabylgazina.klara@mail.ru, <sup>d</sup>tantal.km@mail.ru, <sup>e</sup>akynbek@mail.ru

Abstract: By the mid-1980s, in the USSR, due to various objective and subjective factors, a situation was formed in which the accumulated unresolved problems led to such negative phenomena as the loss of economic development rates. Social corrosion and deformation of the system indicated that the country is in a pre-crisis state. The indifference of the center to the national identity, the unsettledness of many problems of the development of the nation was reflected in the national consciousness, giving rise to feelings of resentment for their people. This created the ground for aggravation of the accumulated contradictions and acquired an explosive character. Despite the fact that there have been cases of aggravation of interethnic relations in the country, in this sphere, only phrases and substitution of real problems by their varnishing and retouching of realities prevailed for many years. Together with thought out actions are schemes that barely held back the pressure of life. And when in the years of perestroika, the pressure on them increased significantly, they burst.

Keywords: deformation, perestroika, national issue, Alma-Ata events, national identities, ideological labels, central newspapers, Kazakh press, acceleration, democratization, glasnost, pluralism of opinions.

### 1 Introduction

The search for a national identity is especially evident in the activities of such a socio-political institution as journalism. It has not only played an important role in the development of national identity since its inception and up to the present, but it is also its product. The specificity of journalism lies in the fact that it is constantly in the midst of these processes, it is also the registrar of the most important events in the life of the ethnos, expresses to them the attitude, assesses them, influences the development of its language, culture, economy, politics, and art.

National identity nourishes the life of any community of people, which turns it into a national community. Without a self, the nation cannot set conscious goals, coordinate its actions and aspirations. In general, the problem of one's own identity has existed since ancient times, always worried and worried people, regardless of the conditions of the social system in which they are.

The recognition of their own national identity by the Kazakh people was historically formed under the conditions of Kazakhs joining both the Russian and Soviet empires, when in the recent past an attempt was made to artificially create a "new historical community - the Soviet people", which, in our view, could no longer to be crowned with success. The aspirations of the administrative planting of the "new historical community - the Soviet people" could not undermine the national feelings of people, did not eliminate ethnic self-identification. From birth, from the first lullabies, a person begins to feel like Kazakh, Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, and Uzbek. And this feeling cannot be knocked out, no matter what caliber of ideological shells.

Journalism as a unique institution raises and considers various aspects of the problem of national identity, topical issues of interethnic relations. In different periods of ethnos development, she changed methods and approaches to the development of this topic. And in this regard, she has accumulated a wealth of experience. The necessity of scientific comprehension of the accumulated theoretical and empirical material determines the relevance of the topic of the given article.

The problems of national development have long attracted the attention of foreign and high-quality social scientists. A large amount of information on the topic of this article contains research by foreign scientists. For example, in the works of H. Arendt (1), A. D'Agostino (2), R. Pipes (3), S. Huntington (4), Z. Brzezinski (5-6), A. Avtorkhanov (7), Z. Zhelev (8), B.D. Brutskus (9), W. Shendel & E. Zurcher (10), O. Roy (11), and others critically comprehend the imperial essence of the Soviet state, its national doctrine, which amounted to assimilation small peoples to large, to leveling the ethnic identity of peoples and on the basis of Russification, to the forcible formation of a super nation of the Russian-Soviet type, the issues of nationalism and ethnic arrangements are being considered and in the context of the Islamic world in general, the life of the peoples of Central Asia after the dissolution of the ideocratic empire, in particular.

Certain information of interest is contained in the writings of scholars of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, working on the history and theory of journalistic science. So, for example, in the works of T.S. Amandosov (12), H.N. Bekhozhin (13), T.E. Emazarov & A.I. Akbarov (14), B. Kenzhebaev & T. Zhozhakeev (15), M. K. Barmankulov (16), S. Sadykov (17), K.T. Irnazarov (18-19), and others studied the problems of the formation of the periodical press development, audiovisual media, and substantiated theoretical and practical problems of journalism in the region.

These studies were carried out considering national peculiarities and illustrate the stages of the development of journalism in the second half of the twentieth century, in the years of independence and made a definite contribution to the problem under study, but they did not specifically address issues of national identification and national identity in journalism.

In the article, an attempt was made for an integrated and systemic study of the coverage of issues of national identification and national identity of the Kazakh people in the press of Kazakhstan during the period of perestroika. The rethinking of the national question in the late Soviet period in the republic's press proceeded in parallel with the process of democratization of the society and facilitated the circulation of the periodical press of Kazakhstan to national values and the development of the process of national self-identification of the Kazakh people.

# 2 Materials and Methods

### 2.1. Methods of the research

The article relies on such scientific principles as integrity, objectivity, universality, concreteness, and historicism. The comparative-matching, analytical-synthesizing, and critical methods were used in the process of the research.

# 2.2. The methodological and theoretical basis of the article

The methodological basis of the work was the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, laws and normative acts of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the activities of the media. The theoretical basis of the study was the works of scholars of Kazakhstan and abroad on the history, theory, and practice of journalism.

# 2.3. The scientific and practical significance of the research results

Theoretical propositions, conclusions and recommendations contained in the articles can be used in the further study of the problems of the theory and practice of the media, as well as questions of improving national policy, interethnic relations and the role of the press in developing the topic of national identification and national identity of the Kazakh people.

The materials of the article, its conclusions and recommendations can be used in preparing general and special courses on the theory and practice of journalism in Kazakhstan, political science, history, and other social science disciplines. The results of the research can contribute to enhancing the scientific study of a number of issues of the development of national journalism, highlighting various problems of the state structure of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The use of the materials of the article can also provide some assistance to journalists-practitioners in covering the problems of national policy, developing new ideas and approaches in covering the issues of national construction in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The materials of the research are used in the educational process in the preparation of bachelor's and master's degrees in "Journalism" and "Political Science" at K.A. Yasawi International Kazakh-Turkish University, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, and L. Gumilyev Eurasian National University.

Mikhail Gorbachev's coming to power in March 1985 was the beginning of the implementation of the tasks of modernizing the country. The April (1985) Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU determined the course for the renewal of Soviet society by fundamental transformations of all spheres of its life. The analytical work done by the country's leadership has led to the idea that fundamentally new approaches to solving the economic, social and spiritual problems of the social and political life of the Soviet state are needed. It was necessary to stimulate the activity of the working people, to ensure the development of all production in the direction of its intensification. Only in this way it was possible to give an impetus to the development of socialism in the USSR.

In one of his speeches, Mikhail Gorbachev noted that the leadership of the country did not immediately realize what rubble in the economy, politics, social sphere the national issue would have to shovel and what consequences this could lead to. But in his report to the nineteenth party conference, Mikhail Gorbachev (20) said in particular that, with regard to national policy, he had confidence that in this direction things are going without problems.

The alarm bell in the national politics and in the sphere of interethnic relations in the USSR was not all right in the first years of perestroika. But if the events related to student unrest in Yakutiya in 1985 went unnoticed by the press, the events of December 16-18, 1986 in Almaty, were widely publicized. If the Yakut events were primarily connected with social problems, then the Alma-Ata ones were of a national character.

And when the center, ignoring the whole nation, led N.V. Kolbin to the leadership of Kazakhstan a completely strange face to the republic, an explosion occurred. And in such a situation, when, as a result of an unjust and degrading decision of the people, tension grows, emotions take precedence and begins to deny everything, even good, that was in history.

Therefore, foreign media actively responded to them. The Kazakh researcher Narbin Kenzhegulova writes that the coverage of the Alma-Ata events by the foreign press was very quick and lively. First, there was a quick reaction to the event giving facts almost without comment. This information was transmitted by all major world news agencies and many prints and audiovisual media. Then there were articles-comments and other materials, which contained an analysis of what had happened.

To a large extent, this also caused the Soviet press to pay close attention to them. The Alma-Ata events were a clear testimony to the increased national consciousness of the Kazakh people, who had already identified themselves as a nation that had all the attributes of independence and, in the framework of the Soviet Constitution, had the sovereignty to independently decide and

propose a candidate for the post of head of the republic from among the local specialists.

About these events, D.A. Kunayev (21) calls in his memoirs, to the individual, and not to the actions of which they are directly related. They to some extent shed light on the true background of the December riots. In the absence of a place, we bring his narrative with abbreviations. Here is what he writes:

"The resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU" on the work of the Kazakh Republican Party Organization for the International and Patriotic Education of Workers stated that the CPC Central Committee and many party committees made serious mistakes in implementing decisions on the international and patriotic education of workers. (21)

The main reason for my withdrawal from the Central Committee of the CCP and the CPSU Central Committee was the December events of 1986 in Alma-Ata. On this occasion, a hasty and immature decision of the CPSU Central Committee was adopted. In Kazakhstan, there was no nationalism and a base for its emergence. Therefore, the resolution was not adopted and understood by the republic's public, because it not only biased the situation in Kazakhstan but also offended the Kazakh people.

This decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU in May 1990 under public pressure was removed from control. As the Commission of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out, "in the adopted resolution certain provisions and political assessments were essentially erroneous and the events that occurred were not a manifestation of Kazakh nationalism." The Central Committee of the CPSU officially acknowledged its mistake and an unjust accusation was lifted from the whole people.

For three years since the December events, the persecution of me and my relatives continued. To this end, dishonorable journalists, scientists, who wrote and wrote articles, were mobilized to do the same to blacken and trample down the history of their republic... ". (21)

The first information on the events on the main square of the republic appeared in the press only on December 19, 1986. This was a message from TASS, the country's main news agency, whose speeches were of the nature of an official state statement. Naturally, every word of these messages was coordinated with the highest echelons of power.

After some time, the journalists began to appear in the newspapers with their stories and their comments. The country's central newspapers were the first to publish the materials of their correspondents in Kazakhstan. For Komsomolskaya Pravda, having published an article titled "A bitter lesson should be learned from the Komsomol activists of Kazakhstan, educators of youth", began to label labels in the "best traditions" of the Soviet press using established stamps and operating stereotypes, as, "the background of nationalistic youth becomes clearer", "the young people are excited by alcohol and drugs", "the trick of nationalistic elements received a worthy rebuff", "caused widespread outrage catching". (22) Speaking about the actions of law enforcement agencies, the newspaper wrote that they "tried and calmly tried to reason with the cleared youngsters" and concluded, "the roots of what happened... in serious omissions in ideological work, in the weakening of patriotic and international upbringing." Similar ideological labels and stamps were also present in the speeches of the newspapers "Pravda", "Izvestiya", "Trud", "Literaturnaya Gazeta" and

The materials indicated that in order to avoid the repetition of such phenomena in the future, special attention should be paid to ideological and political-educational work. And to do this on the example of the historical past of the Soviet country, at the various stages of development of which genuine mutual assistance and friendship between peoples were present. That is, the press did not talk about the true cause of the unrest - and it consisted in the fact that the indigenous population of the

republic did not perceive how the center decided the personal question of the leadership - but resorted to the already proven method of talking about indestructible brotherhood. By the way, the Kazakh people never opposed it, they simply believed that it should be reinforced by equality and not only in words but also in deeds. And most importantly, journalists could not or did not want to see the grown-up national consciousness and self-consciousness of the Kazakh ethnos.

Following the party establishment, the newspapers held the idea that events do not reflect the sentiments of the working people of Kazakhstan but are a trick of a small group of young people who were misled

Here, in our opinion, it is necessary to emphasize that the idea of mistakes in implementing the tasks of international education of working people contained in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee mentioned above should be understood as follows: if the actions of the people and the way of thinking are contrary to ideological attitudes, and in this case with the theory of national and international, it is the result of mistakes in educational work, and not that the theory is wrong. And no one thought about the fact that the theory itself may be mistaken if practice - the criterion for evaluating the correctness of the theory - gives the opposite result?

The theory, in our opinion, was built on upholding and ensuring the interests of the nomenclature. After all, if there is a complete fusion of the nation and national-state entities in the person of the union republics disappear, it will not only be easier to manage the country, the people, but it will also be easier to ensure their comfortable existence. It seems therefore that the deformations in the understanding of the essence of internationalism in the period of socialist construction were admitted consciously. They run counter to the idea of federalism, which was the essence of the formation of the USSR.

Even in the period of perestroika, when the activation of social thought was evident, and in the activity of the mass media, the rethinking of the history of the Soviet state was, within the framework of the "purification" of socialism, from mistakes allegedly committed by previous leaders, and not to renounce it.

As for the Alma-Ata events, at a meeting of the regional and city party members on December 18, 1986, the demonstrators were labeled "nationalists, extremists, drug addicts, and alcoholics." Later in the press, materials appeared that referred to the mafia, an underground nationalist organization, corrupt clans, and anti-perestroika forces. This cast a shadow on the entire republic, which had previously been promoted as a laboratory of friendship among nations, and now suddenly became a hotbed of nationalism.

So, the newspaper "Pravda" published the material of its own correspondent T. Esilbaev under the heading "Price of Narcissism". In it, commenting on the report of the newspaper "Evening Alma-Ata" about the beginning of the work of an educational institution for preschoolers, he emphasizes that the newspaper does not promote national isolation, saying that the education and upbringing here will be conducted in the Kazakh language, that it is still and the desire of the children themselves.

The socio-political roots of the Alma-Ata events "are revealed" in Z. G. Golotvin (24) publications in the journal "Young Guard". In the article "What was behind the events in Alma-Ata?", he writes that this was the result of the weakening of control by the central state bodies and led to the fact that, first, clans united on the principle of blood relationship or belonging to a particular genus orjuz (clans); secondly, representatives of the local nationality began to receive more privileges; thirdly, a layer of Kazakh youth began to increase dramatically in universities. In his opinion, all of this led to the violation of the principle of the equality of nations in favor of the indigenous ethnos (24). And this, in turn, only strengthened such negative qualities of the Kazakhs as "protectionism" and "nationalism".

Unfortunately, the well-known Kazakh writer A. Alimzhanov (25) showed tendentiousness and one-sidedness in his article "What happened in Alma-Ata?", published in the "Literaturnaya Gazeta". Using propaganda techniques, he also reduces everything to the fact that events are the result of shortcomings in patriotic and international education, negative phenomena in the economy, personnel policy, etc. (25)

The following facts testify to what could follow from the framework outlined by the party bodies: in the Almaty-based regional newspapers "Zhetysu" and "Ogni Ala-Tau", an interrepublican newspaper in the Uighur language, Communism Tugi, a photo was published from the courtroom, where the case was examined over a group of participants in the December events. (26) This fact became the subject of discussion at the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, the Almaty Regional Committee and the Frunze District Committee of the city of Alma-Ata. The appearance of this photo in the pages of newspapers was recognized as ideologically harmful and followed severe measures. The editors of these newspapers were accused of lacking due ideological hardening and low professionalism, apoliticalness, irresponsibility and they were expelled from the ranks of the CPSU.

The situation began to change after the 19th All-Union Party Conference, held in the summer of 1988. It stated that it was necessary to continue the course of perestroika but accelerating its pace. And for this, it is necessary to purify oneself of the deeper deformations in a socialist society, formed during the periods of the cult of personality and stagnation. They have for decades delayed its development, led to human, moral and ideological losses. The renovation of the country, as the participants of the party forum said, should be conducted in two directions. The first is an economic recovery, the second is broad democratization. The latter meant that this was possible only on condition of genuine democracy, ensuring the rights of the Soviet man, the social and moral responsibility of the authorities to society, which needed to be told the whole truth. Soviet social scientists-and here it must be emphasized that they did this with the permission of the party's top leadership and the country began to question the faithfulness of the Marxist-Leninist theory, or at least its suitability for modern society.

Discussion of these issues also took place in purely party publications. Thus, an acute polemic unfolded in the main theoretical organ of the party "Kazakhstan Communist". In A. Kalshabekov's article "Let's renounce Leninism" and in A. Aidossov's article "Defend Leninism", the authors, considering from their positions a whole series of questions, dwell on program provisions on the national question. If the first of them as though rushed in pursuit of "fried facts", the second tried to comprehend and purify the past and present Leninist teachings from stratifications and deformations. This controversy was the nature of the struggle between ideas and minds and divided society into radicals and conservatives (27). We do not state on whose side the truth is, but the very fact of the beginning of such a polemic, which quite clearly characterizes perestroika times, is significant.

The peculiarity of that period lies in the fact that whatever issues the press raises - professional, ethnonational, demographic, settlement - it aspired to present them on the one hand in the mainstream of perestroika politics, and on the other hand, using favorably lowered freedom, to denounce the system.

This is precisely what the Soviet press is beginning to do. And one of the first places is the issues of interethnic relations and national policy. The Soviet media began to talk about problems in this sphere without any embellishments or omissions. Although the attempt to renew socialism, to breathe new life into it, was not successful, and it was not possible to go from the authoritarian-bureaucratic regime to a democratic system within it, nevertheless, the main thing was that there was a breakthrough to openness and freedom of speech, which led to the rise of journalism. It became a catalyst for the independence of thought and ideological emancipation. Its speeches began to

evoke a wide public response. The policy of glasnost allowed the press to touch upon topics whose speeches were a blow to the foundations of totalitarianism and inevitably pushed it to disintegration.

"In the development of the ideas of perestroika," writes Professor Y.N. Zasursky, (28) the media played an outstanding role, which became the bearers of the concept of glasnost..." Publicity, democratization in politics, economy, and culture affected all strata of our society" and, naturally, forced on a new understanding "the importance of journalism in the life... of the people". (28)

"Glasnost is a declared war against the abyss of humiliation, - wrote Evtushenko (29) - Glasnost is a war for the social dignity of a person. Glasnost, like a "petrel of lightning like that," awakens the people's conscience of the people" C. Aitmatov (30) in his article "Do not Undermine the Fundamentals" stressed that glasnost is publicity for all that it is time to revive a genuinely democratic, popular way of life.

However, the widely publicized publicity turned out to be only a declaration for many spheres of state and public life, which began to affect the relations between the press and party bodies. The new political and economic thinking forced, even though the press, still functioning according to the principles of a one-party system, still find and objectively reflect numerous problems. But on the path of glasnost, there were decades of strength and tradition that cherished all sorts of taboos for the truthful reflection of events and facts, both past and present.

For Kazakhstan and its press, new political thinking meant the beginning of truthful coverage of not only the events of December 1986 but also the identification of the true reasons that prompted young people to enter the main square of the republic's capital.

The social and demographic development that has taken place in Kazakhstan in recent decades has changed the attitude of the indigenous population to the history of their people, their cultural values, and traditions. This was due to the fact that the ratio between Kazakhs and representatives of other peoples who migrated to the republic began to change in favor of the latter. This gave rise to a sense of apprehension among local ethnos for the preservation of their national identity. The rapid mechanical growth of the population created interethnic tension.

Gradually, the tone and nature of the press's speeches on the problems of interethnic relations and national politics began to determine critical materials. Among them are the following articles and correspondence: M. Shakhanov "Our Common Values", (31) and "Bitter but Let's Tell the Truth", (32) V. Ardaev "A New Assessment of Events in Alma-Ata", (33) J. Korgasbek "Where is the evidence, who is the witness?" (34) and others.

In these publications, attempts are made to give an objective assessment of the December events. But in them, too, not immediately the authors were able to move away from the official position of the authorities. And only after in May 1990 a decision was adopted that recognized as erroneous and canceled the decision of July 16, 1987 "On the work of the Kazakh republican party organization for the international and patriotic education of workers", accusing the Kazakh people of nationalism, the press began to appear materials, which step by step recreated the true picture of events. It should be noted here that the very adoption of the decree was, to a certain extent, prepared by previous press speeches.

In them, the authors depart from the "chewing" and repetition of ideas about the international community of the Soviet people and begin to raise questions concerning the development of the Kazakh ethnos. They pay attention to the features of demographic processes, the surplus of labor resources in agricultural regions and their shortage in the northern industrial regions of Kazakhstan. Concerning the problem of the effectiveness of the national economy, journalists drew attention

to its interdependence with such issues as the development of the principles of democracy, the strengthening of equality and social justice in relations between ethnic groups living in the republic.

The forces of restructuring and glasnost demanded new approaches in understanding the situation in the sphere of interethnic relations, but this required first of all to reconstruct one's consciousness to the journalists themselves, to be cleansed of dogmas and habitual stereotypes. (34) First of all, it was necessary to abandon the thesis about the smoothness of national relations, the complete and final solution of the national question in the USSR, the achievement by its peoples of actual equality. The latter was mainly related to socio-economic development.

In this regard, the press began to note that along with culture and way of life, the socio-economic sphere also influences the development of national psychology and mentality of the ethnos. At the same time, it was stressed that many acute issues put forward by the very development of the nation, did not find a timely solution. This gave rise to social dissatisfaction, which sometimes turned into interethnic conflicts.

Alma-Ata events were just the tip of the iceberg of interethnic relations. Its invisible part included many problems, journalists began to think about. A large amount of information began to appear on the pages of the press, which came from commissions engaged in the investigation of the December events. (31) In the aggregate, publications on national policies have become objective. That is, they not only talked about shortcomings but also ascertained achievements. However, the political conjuncture, the tone in which asked the deteriorating economic situation in the USSR every day, which led to a sharp drop in the standard of living of the people, marked a trend towards the fact that the denial of everything and everything, including the national policy of the party, began.

### 3 Results and Discussion

The press of each republic, including Kazakhstan, speaking about the identification parameters of its ethnos, has already begun to isolate it, to say that it is in an embarrassing condition. About the Soviet people - as a new social community - have already been spoken with irony. In the national consciousness, the definitions given by Western Sovietologists began to be strengthened ever more firmly. So, more often speaking of the perception of the world around the Soviet people and the editorial staff, the journalist usage actively used the definition of "Soviet-style", "scoop". Against this background, the alternative to the "survival" of the ethnos began to be the idea of the revival of national customs, traditions, and rituals. And from the point of view of the state structure is national sovereignty. The first step on this path was to give the status of the state language the title nation.

The lack of democratic traditions and the disintegrating moral foundations of society led to an influx of unpredictable passions, the provocation of interethnic conflicts. The situation was aggravated by the increase in crime. In this far from the simple situation, the mass media took an active position. After years of "silence," they seized the opportunity to speak. Almost every issue of Kazakh newspapers began to appear on painful topics. Moreover, the optimism of the first years of perestroika was replaced by pessimism. The processes of increasing inflation of the growing stagnation in the economy, ideological confusion and vacillation testified that hardly noticeable changes in the country will be achieved in the near future and that the slogans proclaimed by Mikhail Gorbachev - "Acceleration", "Development of democracy on a socialist basis", "More Socialism, More Democracy" and others - failed.

The press throughout the country, including Kazakhstan, began to talk more and more about expanding the powers of the Union republics and the need to renew the USSR. (32) But in this chorus voices were heard in favor of full sovereignty, with which the future of their ethnic groups was associated. And they began to sound louder and louder. The press, speaking of its people,

began to identify it as a nation self-sufficient for sovereign development.

The events of August 1991 led to the rapid actual disintegration of the Soviet Union. But Kazakhstan, however, was in no hurry and proclaimed its independence only two weeks before the legal end of the ideocratic superpower - the USSR. And it is deeply symbolic that the proclamation of Independence of Kazakhstan occurred on the same day when the Kazakh youth openly challenged the administrative and command system, the ultimate goal of which was a complete leveling of the nationalities of the country. December 16, 1991, was the day when a new national and truly sovereign state was born - the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The Soviet Union, with its cumbersome economy and the military-industrial complex, failed to adapt to the post-industrial society. It could not change with the changing world - and it did not have a place in it. But it was a transformation focused on the political system in the first place. Economic reform was put on the second plan. As a result, the economic crisis led to the collapse of a huge state. Together with him, the press of a totalitarian society also ceased to exist. It was replaced by the media, which, adhering to democratic guidelines, began to approach the issues of national identity in a new way.

### 4 Conclusion

There are the following main conclusions of the study:

- 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 the holiness of the independence of the state which may ensure the progress of the Kazakh ethnos.
- 2. The multinational composition of the Kazakh society implies the possibility of the emergence of interethnic contradictions. They should not develop into international dissentions 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 factors of sustainable development and prosperity.
- 3. 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 of unifying people, for the formation of their sense of the common goals and interests of all the peoples living in the Republic of Kazakhstan.
- 4. 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 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.
- 5. 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 the mass audience.

# Literature:

- 1. Arendt H. The origins of Totalitarianism. London: Harcourt, Brace & World; 1979.
- 2. D'Agostino A. Soviet succession struggles: Kremlinology and the Russian Question from Lenin to Gorbachev. USA: Boston;
- 3. Pipes R. On Russian history, socialism and perestroika, Russia under the new regime. Dialogue. 1991; 5:71-83.

- 4. Huntington S. The clash of civilizations and the transformation of the world order. Moscow: AST, (The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order; 1996); 2003.
- 5. Brzezinski ZB. A great failure. The birth and death of communism in the twentieth century. Moscow: International relations; 1988.
- 6. Brzezinski ZB. Great chessboard. Domination of America and its geostrategic imperatives. Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya; 1999.
- 7. Avtorkhanov A. Empire of the Kremlin. Soviet type of colonialism. West Germany: Prometheus-Ferlak; 1988.
- 8. Zhelev Z. Fascism. Totalitarian Power. Dialogue. 1991; 6:31-42
- 9. Brutskus BD. Socialist economy. Theoretically, if the Russian experiment was conducted. Paris: Quest; 1988.
- 10. Shendel W, Zurcher E. Identity politics in Central Asia and the Muslim world. Nationalism, ethnicity and labor in tweeting century. USA, New York: I.R TAURIS Publishers; 2001.
- 11. Roy O. The New Central Asia. The Creation of Nations. USA, New York; 2000.
- 12. Amandosov TS. Modern Kazakh journalism [dissertation]. [Almaty]; 1987.
- 13. Bekhozhin HN. The history of the Kazakh journalism. Almaty: Mektep; 1976.
- 14. Ernazarov ET, Akbarov AI. History of Turkestan (1870-1925). Turkestan: Ukutuvchi; 1976.
- 15. Kenzhebaev B, Zhozhakeev T. Feature article of the history of the Kazakh journalism. Almaty; 1950.
- 16. Barmankulov MK. The art of modern information. Almaty, Kazakhstan; 1994.
- 17. Sadykov S. Coverage of issues of national identification and national identity in Kazakhstan's print press (historical, philological and methodological aspects) [dissertation]. [Tashkent]; 2012.
- 18. Irnazarov K. Press and interethnic relations: criticism of the stereotypes of totalitarianism, analysis of the policy of independent development (on the materials of the press of Uzbekistan for 1971-2001) [dissertation]. [Turkestan: NU Uz]; 2004.
- 19. Irnazarov KT. The Kazakhs. Problems of national identification and national identity in the press of Kazakhstan International Publishing Center (Palmarium Academic Publishing). Saarbrücken Germany; 2014.
- 20. Gorbachev MS. On the national policy of the party in modern conditions. Moscow: Politizdat; 1989.
- 21. Kunayev DA. About my time: Memories. Almaty; 1987: 267-271.
- 22. KazGU Bulletin. Journalism series. 1999; 7:12-13.
- 23. Esilbaev T. Price of narcissism. True; 1987.
- 24. Golotvin ZG. What was behind the events in Alma-Ata? Young guard. 1989; 6:58.
- 25. Korgasbek J. Where is the evidence, who is the witness? Kazakh adabytes; n.d.
- 26. A bitter lesson should be learned for the Comsomol activist of Kazakhstan, educators of youth 1987. Editorial article, Komsomolskaya Pravda; 1989.
- 27. Kalshabekov A. Abandon Leninism, Aidossov A. Defend Leninism. Kazakhstan Communist. 1991; 4:54-59.
- 28. Zasursky YN. Scientific research of journalism is an important factor of glasnost. Bulletin of Moscow University. Journalism; 1989; 10(5):3.
- 29. Evtushenko E. Petrel of lightning similar. Literaturnaya gazeta; 1988.
- 30. Aitmatov C. Do not undermine the basis. Izvestia; 1988.
- 31. Shakhanov M. Our and common values. Pravda; 1988.
- 32. Shakhanov M. Gorky, but let's say the truth. Kazakh adabiets; 1988.
- 33. Ardaev V. A new assessment of events in Alma-Ata. Izvestia; 1990.
- 34. Korgasbek J. Where is the evidence, who is the witness? Kazakh adabytes; 1989.

# **Primary Paper Section:** A

Secondary Paper Section: AB, AJ