

Of National Identity In Late Kazakhstan's Press (Soviet Period)

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Abstract. Last years of existence USSR were characterized by accumulation of economic and social problems, which have influenced national life of the countries - members, also. Sharp delay in economic development, social deterioration of a society (community), which have resulted in ideological impasse, testified, that the state was in предкризисном a condition. In clause the Kazakhstan press of that period, in particular reflection of a problem of national self-consciousness in this press is investigated.

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Introduction.

The last years of the existence of the USSR was characterized by further accumulation of economic and social problems, which had an impact on the national life of the member nations, as well. A sharp slowdown in economic development, social deterioration of the society driven into an ideological dead-end by the Party, testified that the state was in pre-crisis condition. Since M.S. Gorbachev's coming to power in March, 1985 the list of tasks for modernization of the country was declared, the necessity to develop cardinal new approaches for the resolution of economic, social, and spiritual problems were acknowledged, which ultimately intended to give a new impetus to the development of socialism in the USSR. However, in reality this has not happened, as the communistic ideas finally showed its' complete historical failure. And above all, this failure became apparent in the sphere of national development and interethnic relations.

Alarm bell of the immergence of the urgent problems of national policy and in the interethnic relations in the USSR sounded in the early years of "reconstruction" (perestroika). Firstly, there were events, connected with the student's unrest in Yakutia in 1985, which remained entirely unnoticed by the press; and then events in Alma-ata in December 1986, which had high-resonance and publicity.

All of these was the inevitable result of forced introduction of the principles of internationalism into the consciousness of people and ignoration of their national identity by the party leadership, as well as many unresolved problems of the development of the nations, which were reflected in the national consciousness, engendered a feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing system, and gradually have acquired an explosive feature.

In Kazakhstan, when the central party bodies, having ignored the opinion of the Kazakh people, appointed totally outman N.V. Kolbin as the de facto leader of the republic the explosion occurred. And in such situation, as the result of an unfair and humiliating people's dignity solutions tension sharply rose in interethnic relations, that has come down to denial of everything positive that happened in history.

Not surprisingly, the foreign media were the first to actively respond to these events. First, there was a quick reaction to the events, representation of facts without almost any comments. This information was transmitted by all the major world news agencies and many printing and broadcasting media. Then articles with comments and other materials were published, containing the analysis of what happened [1]. To a large extent all of this made the Soviet press also pay steady attention to it.

The first information about the events on the main square of the republic appeared in press with a delay on the 19th December, 1986. It was the report of the main news agency of the country Telegraph Agency of Soviet Union, whose declarations were in the nature of official public statement. Of course each and every word of these reports was consistent with the higher echelons of power.

Sometime later, journalists started to publish materials in the newspapers, describing the events and comments on them. The central newspapers of the country were the first to publish the materials of their own correspondents in Kazakhstan. As, for example, "Komsomolskaya pravda" published the article under the heading "A Bitter Lesson to Be Learned by the Komsomol Activists of Kazakhstan, Educators of Youth" [2], and started the labeling in "the best traditions" of soviet press, using the established clichés and formed stereotypes, in terms such as: "rationale of nationalistically disposed youth

becomes clearer", "the exited with the alcohols and drugs young people have", "the prank of nationalist elements had a fitting rebuff, "aroused unanimous indignation of industrial classes". And similar ideological labels and clichés were present in the declarations of newspapers as "Pravda", "Izvestiya", "Trud" and others.

Concerning the events in Almaty, on the meeting of regional and city Party Economic Asset on 18th of December, 1986 the protesters were labeled as "nationalists, extremists, drug addicts and alcoholics" [3]. Later there was information in the press already telling that there was a mob, an underground nationalistic organization, corrupted clans, and anti-reconstruction (anti-perestroika) forces. Thus, casting a shadow over the whole country which had been promoted as a laboratory of people's friendship, and now it has suddenly become a hotbed of nationalism.

And accordingly the identification of Kazakh people included such concept as infectiousness of Kazakh people with the bacillus of nationalism. And following this myth the press started to search for this "microbes" in order to nip in the bud the spread of this "dangerous virus". It even got to the point when the fact of the opening a kindergarten, where the child guidance was held in Kazakh language was traced as a tendency to isolate themselves. Thus, "Pravda" newspaper published the material of its own reporter T. Esilbayev headed "The Price of Self-admiration". Where commenting the reportage of the "Vechernyaya Alma-Ata" newspaper about the beginning of the work of the educational institutions for the preschoolers, he highlights whether the newspaper is propagating ethnic purity, having said that the education and guidance here will be held in Kazakh language, that, moreover, it is the desire of children [4]. (Well, that is very strong desire to isolate, considering that it was only the second such kindergarten in the capital city of the republic Alma-Ata with the population of one million people - author's note).

The declarations of the central press were the mindset for the media of the republic. They could not argue against it and express any other assertions.

After that, the articles with the "evaluation" of the past events started to appear in the press of the republic, the "correctness" of which was determined by the Party bodies.

The following facts give an evidence of what could follow crossing the line defined by the Party bodies: in Alma-Ata regional newspapers "Jetysu" and "Ogni Ala-tau", inter-republican newspaper in Uighur language "Communism tugi" [5] a photograph from the courtroom was published, where matter of the participants of the December events was

consider. This fact had become the point of issue in the bureau of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata Regional Committee and Frunze district Committee of Alma-Ata. The appearance of this photograph in the newspapers was considered as ideologically harmful and was followed by severe measures.

Reconstruction (perestroika) and publicity having gained momentum, demanded new approaches for understanding the situation in the sphere of interethnic relations, but first and foremost it required reorganization of the minds of the journalists themselves, purify from dogmas and habitual stereotypes. Firstly it was necessary to abandon the thesis of conflict less ethnic relations, the full and final resolution of the ethnic issues in USSR, and the achievement of actual equality of its' nation. The last is mainly related to the socio-economic development.

In this regard, the press began to note that along with the culture and the way of life, socio-economic sphere also influences the development of national psychology and mentality of the ethnic group. At the same time it was stressed that many serious questions raised by the course of development of the nation, did not find an on-time resolution. This was a cause of public dissatisfaction, which at times turned into ethnic conflicts.

When talking about the features of the identity of their ethnic group the press of each republic, including Kazakhstan, started to isolate it, and point out that it was in disadvantaged position. The soviet people, as a new social community, were already discussed with irony. The definitions given by the Western Sovietologist started to firmly establish in the national consciousness. It was often told about the perception of the world by the soviet person and his edition on it, thus the terms as "snoopiness", "scoop" were actively practiced in journalistic daily usage. In the midst of an alternative for the "survival" of an ethnic group the idea of the revival of the national customs, traditions, and rituals immerged. And the idea of national sovereignty in terms state form of government. The first step in this direction was the granting the language of the titular ethnic group the status of the state language.

As it was published in the "Gorizont" magazine in 1989 "it is impossible to interpret the ethnic issue in the USSR in the nature of it determination under the socialism and to talk about the soviet people as fully-formed new historical community... The demolition on an ethnic basis, expulsion of people from their territory by the ethnic sign - the situation is disgusting, but nevertheless, it is not new... the challenge was the search for an answer to...the question: "Who is in the USSR to live well?" [6].

And this question, but rather search for the answer to it became the detonator, which led to an explosion of national consciousness, culminating with the appearance of numerous national and social movements. Thus, in Kazakhstan in 1989 the movements as "Alash", and later "Zheltoksan" were formed that have united all of those, who have raised the flag of national sovereignty.

These and other movements were formed in the stream of emerging multiparty system and pluralism of thought. However, the lack of democratic traditions and crumbling moral foundations of the society led to the tension of unpredictable rages, provoking ethnic conflicts. The situation was worsened with the increase in crime. In such difficult circumstances the media occupied an active stance. After many years of "silence" they seized their chance to speak. The performances of the painful topics started to appear in almost every number of the newspapers of Kazakhstan. Moreover, the optimism of the early years of perestroika was replaced by pessimism. The processes of growing inflation, increasing stagnation in the economy, the ideological confusion and uncertainty testified that it was unlikely to produce tangible changes in the country in the near future and that the slogans proclaimed by Mikhail Gorbachev - "Acceleration", "The development of democracy on a socialist basis" "more socialism, more democracy," and others - have failed.

Press of the entire country, including Kazakhstan, began to talk about the empowerment of

the Union Republics and the need to update the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. But in this chorus the voices for complete sovereignty were heard which was connected to the future of their ethnic groups of ethnic groups. And they began to sound louder and louder. Printing press, speaking for its' people, began to identify it as a nation self-sufficient for independent development.

Events in August 1991 led to an actual and rapid disintegration of the Soviet Union. But Kazakhstan, however, did not hurry, and declared its independence only two weeks before the legal end of the ideocratic superpower of the USSR. And it's deeply symbolic that the proclamation of the Independence of Kazakhstan took place on the same day, when the Kazakh youth frankly challenged the administrative and commanding system, whose ultimate goal was the complete leveling of the ethnic groups of the country. December 16, 1991 was the day when the new nation and a truly sovereign state the Republic of Kazakhstan was born.

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