



ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ БІЛІМ ЖӘНЕ ҒЫЛЫМ МИНИСТРЛІГІ  
Л.Н. ГУМИЛЕВ АТЫНДАҒЫ ЕУРАЗИЯ ҰЛТТЫҚ УНИВЕРСИТЕТІ



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## THE ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Mass media is rather peculiar phenomenon of modern reality. It is not a part of our life as air, water or food, does not represent any material value. At the same time, mass media has the long history of development, the laws of existence and functioning, the world of mass media constantly develops, lives and breathes. The world of mass media is inseparably linked with the processes occurring in society. In the modern world mass media became not only the tool of information transmission, but also the strongest tool of a manipulation and planting of new values, and also, creations of counter values. Mass media became a dominant source of information for people all over the world and a powerful actor in international relations.

The nature of international relations changed dramatically after World War II with the information revolution. The technology of communication linked people all over the world into a global village. Foreign policy, usually conducted behind the scenes, became a public activity in the information age.

While the primary goal of foreign policy remains the promotion of national interests in the international arena, the strategies have changed. Before World War II, military advantage played the dominant role in shaping the national identity and international image of a nation, consequently its placement on the global political hierarchy. Nations with superior military advantage used that advantage to push for global acceptance of their national identity and political agenda. But in the information age, “power” is derived as much from the ability of a nation to use media diplomacy. The stature of a nation in the world community and its placement in the global political hierarchy is now tied to its media diplomacy capability. For a nation to have a sense of dignity and for that dignity to lead to some significant achievement in the international arena, the nation must be able to orchestrate effective media diplomacy. Projecting “power” in contemporary international relations also means the ability to project one’s preferred national identity into an international image. Media have become a dominant source of information for people and a powerful player in international relationships. The traditional idea of global power, determined primarily by military advantage, no longer sufficiently explains the nature of contemporary international relations and foreign policy.

The dynamics between media diplomacy and foreign policy must be a significant part of any analysis of contemporary international relations. National dignity and the placement of a nation in the global political hierarchy are influenced as much by the international image of the nation. Indeed, a nation’s global political “power” in the information age emerges, in part, from the interaction between national identity and international image, to the extent that the nation could use the media to align them. The dynamics between media diplomacy and foreign policy must be examined in the context of national identity, international image and global political power. In this sense, media diplomacy is indispensable to foreign policy because of the power of the media to shape the international image of a nation.

Moreover, nowadays mass media are so powerful tool to influence on subconsciousness of people, and on formation of their behavior, that involuntarily came to the mind, whether it is possible to reformat, reorient presently mass media on formation of the relations of mutual trust and a favor between the countries and the people, between political elite and ruling numbers of the different states.

These are positive sides of controlling mass media. But from another point of view mass media can be used as a weapon which has a power of destruction. By manipulation, propaganda

mass media can influence on the situations in the other countries and affect on international events. Because of that, controlling this process, managing mass media influence and correcting the information flow are very important features, which should learn and possess every country. Unfortunately, most of countries cannot manage this process and influence on it. Even if they can control their national mass media, countries cannot control the stream of information abroad. That is why, controlling of informational sources means not only maintenance of the positive image of the country, but it also contributes the protection of foreign policy interests, provides information security and security of the country as a whole.

When the influence of the media is a determining factor in international relations, this is what is termed by theorists to be the “CNN effect”. The main point of “CNN effect” is 24-hour new coverage of any event such as war, disaster, international conflict, etc. using photos and video from the place of incident. It makes pressure on government and compels it to do immediate decision that can be spontaneous and thoughtless. As a result, it can lead to redoubling of conflict because of misunderstanding. The CNN effect has gained popularity however it is yet to be proved conclusively. This theory suggests that international television and broadcasters, especially CNN, are significant and governing factors in the formulation of foreign policy.

Moreover, development of new technologies, electronic mass media, internet and other means and ways of the distribution of information gives a possibility to their holders to use mass media for the most dangerous and the worst intentions as a waging war. Of course, here we mean informational war by above mentioned methods. That is why nowadays we have widely used concepts of information war, information warfare, information-psychological war, etc. Today information-psychological war as the factor of foreign policy is an investigated phenomenon with the diplomatic, economic and armed struggle, developing at the same time as an independent direction of scientific research. Prompt development of global communication systems and telecommunications, network and information technologies, transferring of significant part of social activity of the whole society and its separate members from space of an objective reality in new so-called “virtual” or information-psychological space, creates essentially new opportunities for dialogues, information exchange and interactions between members of the society.

Of the most interest are the psychological operations which become nowadays one of the basic elements of the foreign state policy. They are carried out at the level of the inter-state relationship, inside coalitions, and in internal politics. Psychological operations attract potential “consumers” by the fact that they afford reaching the aims in the foreign politics without substantial expenses as technologies of psychological influence are comparably cheap. And second, these operations are done without force application with elements of manipulation. Special structures which carry out these operations exist practically in all developed countries. But there is no mechanism of international legislation that allows regulation of this aspect of international relationship. As well as there is no strict international determinations of what is permissible and what is not while conducting psychological operation or psychological war, what sanctions should be undertaken toward the aggressor – state which uses “forbidden methods”. Thus, it is evident that psychological operations and information operations can force out the traditional armed conflicts in international relations. They are not only cheaper but in many cases they are more efficient. The obvious example is the Arab spring which happened in 2011 and which mostly is a result of information warfare. In addition, we can just consider the “assistance” of mass media, which mainly prefer to distribute negative news and write about problems a lot.

The USA is a bright example of mass media control. Because the USA is the world power which media today is frequently known as the Fourth Estate, an appellation that suggests the press shares equal stature with the other branches of government created by the Constitution. The media or “Fourth Estate” plays a vital role as a guardian of U.S. democracy, and the media of the US plays a crucial role not only inside the country, but also in the world in general, its mass media is irrefutable actor of international relations.

Since the world public opinion has become an important factor of the international relations, the media resource role promptly increases in foreign policy. The recognized leader the USA which

at global level managed mass media to create the mechanism providing information support of the interests in all regions of the world is a real example of that. Only official annual expenses of the White house on foreign policy promotion exceed 1 billion dollars. Washington not only creates the necessary information image of the country through a network of media structures specially created for this purpose, but also actively corrects for this purpose information policy in many sovereign states. Thus the American diplomacy and media activity not simply go a foot to a foot, but also are incorporated under a roof of one structure. And according to some resources, in the US State department so-called “The center of fast reaction” officially operates in some years. Its task is correction of an image of America in case it incorrectly moves in foreign mass media from the point of view of Washington. This Center has very large powers, up to for direct intervention in editorial policy of foreign mass media and pressure upon certain journalists.

Similar divisions also exist in other American departments. For example, thanks to the information leak organized by the edition of “The Washington Post”, it became known that in 2008 the Ministry of Defense of the USA paid to private contractors in Iraq in total 300 million dollars for production of political materials, news, entertainment programs and social advertizing for the Iraq mass media. The main objective of campaign is to involve local population in support of the American policy. Analysts note that transition to information society changes presently even strategy of military campaigns. The mass media subordinated to leading world players, serve for a long time a task not to reflect reality, but to form it in advance set tone. Often mass media become that tool which allows not only to get public support, but also to create a reason for military invasion into the sovereign state. The USA is an only power which operates this “weapon” perfectly, US government not only create and control the image of the country, but also use mass media in its foreign policy and in its political interests. The classical example which has become the already axiomatic is Yugoslavia. Not less bright facts of the coordinated work of mass media can be found in foreign policy in the history with the first invasion of Americans into Iraq. It is known that war in the Persian Gulf was served by the special firms which are engaged in public relations. Before them there was an objective: to justify participation of the USA in hostilities. Thus, at hearings in the American Congress a certain Kuwaiti girl with details told, how the Iraq soldiers took out babies and put them on cold concrete in one of hospitals. The story rendered the necessary impression and played an important role in preparation of military invasion into Iraq. However, as it appeared later, the girl whom specially prepared for performance, having taught her at several lessons of acting was not on a place of events. It appeared the daughter of the ambassador of Kuwait in the USA. In the third millennium information technologies stepped further away, and the role of mass media from the auxiliary turned into the central. Wars of the XXI century turn into the production performances calculated on operating emotions of world audience in interests of realization of own state policy.

Example of the second Iraq campaign of the USA and allies is an evident to it confirmation. As some experts note, during invasion into Iraq in 2003 shock groups of allies as if posed before television cameras and operations entered only when their PR effect already in advance was known. Such scenario, in fact, became a new version of impact on mass consciousness in which with reality work how it do with a plot of the journalistic reporting. Thus actually operations become one of the scenes provided by the scenario, and lose the key, independent role.

How it is skillfully possible to use mass media in the foreign policy, tells also more modern examples – Civil war in Libya, Arab Spring, and possibly even crisis in Ukraine: according to the Russian professor I. Panarin, NATO spent more than a month to prepare the corresponding information picture against governmental armies of Gaddafi in Libya; according to the Arab Social Media Report, Nearly 9 in 10 Egyptians and Tunisians surveyed in March said they were using Facebook to organize protests or spread awareness about them; adherents of the idea that US organized all “Flower revolutions” believe that US spent considerable amount of money to form and support antigovernmental groups, bloggers and journalists in Ukraine. Whether it is truth or not, the fact is that the media resource allows manipulating international policy today. Forecasts which the German philosopher Oswald Spengler at the beginning of the last century gave in the well-

known work “The Decline of the West” came true. O. Spengler wrote in his research: “In the near future three or four world newspapers will manage provincial newspapers and with their help – “will of the people”. Everything will be solved by small group of the people, supervising these newspapers, whose names, probably, even won’t be known, however huge mass of politicians of the second rank, deputies and journalists, representatives of the provincial horizons, will support in the lowest layers of society illusion of national self-determination”. And though the German scientist did not take into account the development of electronic mass media, he quite precisely foresaw information’s role in society which has strongly grown.

Summarizing, mass media, certainly, presently makes essential impact on the international climate. The role of mass media in formation of this or that relationship between the countries and the people is great. But as we have already mentioned it is a powerful “weapon” in the hands of “players”. Mass media, including internet editions, remains the tool of those who “pays and orders music”, the tool of those who aspires to operate the majority to dominate over the countries and the people, forcing them to obey itself and to the allies to go or “stand” on the way specified by them. In our information century the foreign policy cannot be formed without mass media. Mass media, especially electronic, turned long ago mainly into the weapon of programming of mass psychology. The belief and method, based on the law of free will are not applied; mass media uses total hypnotization and impact on subconsciousness and suggestions.

The present world sated with various mass media, does not cancel the need of the strong political management. Perhaps, this need even amplifies. Also mass media does not replace confidential diplomacy, but at the same time from the most interesting phenomena of information age is democratization of access to funds of the mass information, meaning growth of number of the groups, capable to influence foreign policy. That’s why nowadays country cannot carry out its policy without mass media. Mass media form today new level of communications between the world countries, creating global infrastructure and getting practically into all spheres of interstate relations. The modern world is subordinated to a private rule: the real event is essential only when mass media has told about it to general public. Though diplomacy is considered quite conservative sphere, such serious changes could not avoid it. As the example of the most developed and active players of the world scene testifies, in their relations with the outside world one of priority roles is given today to mass media. As experts claim, if the country in modern conditions does not manage to enter into world information telecommunication system as the independent player note, it should concede a part of the independence to other states more developed in this regard. Every country should have its own media diplomacy.

Media diplomacy has become an important component of contemporary foreign policy because of the information revolution. Media have become a dominant source of information for people and a powerful player in international relationships. The traditional idea of global power, determined primarily by military advantage, no longer sufficiently explains the nature of contemporary international relations and foreign policy. Many people are persuaded that “Who controls the information – controls the world”. Of course it is not true for whole society, but in the political scene the information plays one of the most important roles, it is a powerful instrument, an integral part of policy and international relations.

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**УДК 327 (02)**

## **К ВОПРОСУ О ШАНХАЙСКОЙ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВА (ШОС)**

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Шанхайская организация сотрудничества (ШОС) - постоянно действующая межправительственная международная организация, о создании которой было объявлено 15 июня 2001 года в Шанхае (КНР).

Членами ШОС являются Россия, Китай, Казахстан, Киргизия, Таджикистан, Узбекистан. ШОС предшествовал механизм «Шанхайской пятерки», в которую не входил Узбекистан. Государствами-наблюдателями при ШОС являются Индия, Иран, Монголия, Пакистан.

ШОС не является военным блоком (как, например, НАТО) или открытым регулярным совещанием по безопасности (как, например, АРФ АСЕАН), а занимает промежуточную позицию [1].

Согласно ст. 1 основополагающего документа ШОС - Хартии от 7 июня 2002 года, основными целями и задачами ШОС являются:

укрепление между государствами-членами взаимного доверия, дружбы и добрососедства;

развитие многопрофильного сотрудничества в целях поддержания и укрепления мира, безопасности и стабильности в регионе, содействия построению нового демократического, справедливого и рационального политического и экономического международного порядка;

совместное противодействие терроризму, сепаратизму и экстремизму во всех их проявлениях, борьба с незаконным оборотом наркотиков и оружия, другими видами транснациональной преступной деятельности, а также незаконной миграцией;

поощрение эффективного регионального сотрудничества в политической, торгово-экономической, оборонной, правоохранительной, природоохранной, культурной, научно-технической, образовательной, энергетической, транспортной, кредитно-финансовой и других областях, представляющих общий интерес;

содействие всестороннему и сбалансированному экономическому росту, социальному и культурному развитию в регионе посредством совместных действий на основе равноправного партнёрства в целях неуклонного повышения уровня и улучшения условий жизни народов государств-членов;

координация подходов при интеграции в мировую экономику;

содействие обеспечению прав и основных свобод человека в соответствии с международными обязательствами государств-членов и их национальным законодательством;

поддержание и развитие отношений с другими государствами и международными организациями;

взаимодействие в предотвращении международных конфликтов и их мирном урегулировании; совместный поиск решений проблем, которые возникнут в XXI веке [2]

. Высшим органом для принятия решений в ШОС является Совет глав государств-членов (СГГ), который собирается раз в год, и Совет глав правительств (СГП), который также собирается один раз в год.