

СЕКЦИЯ 8. ИСТОРИЯ, АРХЕОЛОГИЯ И ЭТНОЛОГИЯ

Подсекция 8.1.

Актуальные проблемы исторической науки: новые подходы и перспективы

UDC 93/94

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE IN REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN: FOREIGN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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The historical process is complex and diverse. For its correct and competent research, the historian must know and be able to use many sources and methods of studying these sources. Over the centuries of its existence, historical science has accumulated many sources and methods, but time does not stand still. With new trends, with new challenges, history researchers must expand existing ones, and look for new perspectives in the study. In this regard, my master's thesis focuses on the annual President's Address as a promising component of the study of the historical heritage.

The practice of the annual address is not new - it was inspired by the famous Throne Speech, delivered for a long time by the monarch of the United Kingdom. Closer to the modern understanding of the Address was George Washington's State of the Union Address to Congress in 1790. During such an appeal, the President of the United States of America expresses an assessment of the situation in the country, as well as describes the upcoming changes. A similar practice has found its place in Russia - there the first President's Address to the Federal Assembly was delivered on February 24, 1994, by Boris Yeltsin. Such an appeal is mainly aimed at the prospects for the development of the country as a whole and at specific political, social and ideological corrections [1].

The most important part of any scientific piece is historiography. However, before we turn to it, we should determine the legal nature of the Addresses of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, that is, decide to what type of the documents they belong: to normative legal acts, or to admit that this type of official appeals to the people does not contain at all legal regulations.

There is an active discussion on this issue in Kazakhstan's historiography. For instance, G.S. Sapargaliev defines Addresses only as scientific and ideological documents [2]. At this point we agree with O. T. Serikov's view. He defines the legal essence of the Addresses following way: "The Addresses of the President do not have all the signs of legal norms, but at the same time it cannot be argued that they are outside the legal field» [3].

According to the classification of O. M. Medushevskaya, such materials can be classified as program documents. The researcher forms the necessity of their study as follows: "they reflect in a concentrated form the most important directions and trends of human thought, directed to the future» [4].

One of the most interesting methods of studying this kind of documents is content analysis. As a way of studying political documents, this method has proven itself for a long time [5]. The effectiveness of content analysis as a research method has been confirmed by publications of works devoted to the Kazakhstan's Addresses. Throughout the entire period of the existence of the practice of presidential Addresses, the method of content analysis has been applied to them few times.

Within the framework of our study, content-analysis defined as a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words, themes, or concepts within some given qualitative data (i.e. text). Using content analysis, we can quantify and analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of such certain words, themes, or concepts [6].

Presidential Addresses are also characterized as one of the genres of political communication. It is in this sense that Russian scientists are now actively studying the Addresses to the Federal Assembly.

The article by Russian researcher, doctor of Philology T. I. Steksova seems to be very interesting in this discourse. In her research, the author conducts a comparative analysis of the Addresses from the Presidents of the two states - N.A. Nazarbayev's from 2011, and D.A. Medvedev's from 2012. Author's ultimate goal is the study of political linguistics, the researcher analyzes the linguistic material, examines the correlation of various speech components, analyzes the characteristic modalities of the Addresses - the modality of necessity is laid down in the Kazakh language, and the modality of obligation in the Russian. T.I. Steksova comes to the conclusion about different structure of two texts, different linguistic forms, and, accordingly, the different influence that these documents have: «And if the message of N. Nazarbayev reaches its communicative goal, it serves the idea of uniting society, the message of D. Medvedev is not so unanimously perceived by the Russians and causes, at least some of them, a critical attitude» [7].

At the same time, as noted by the Russian researcher, V. Y. Nesterenko, the final addressee may differ: «In Russian Federation, the direct addressee of such a political speech is the Federal Assembly, in the United States - the Congress, and in Great Britain, the parliament». It is worth noting that in Kazakhstan, the people were such an addressee from the very beginning. The author emphasizes specific difference between the Addresses in different countries when it comes to the established norms and principles of the functioning of this genre. If in the USA or Great Britain it has existed for several centuries, in the Russian Federation it is at the stage of formation. The same can be said about the Address of the President of Kazakhstan: the first one dates back to 1996 [8].

Speaking on the topic of the historiography of the President's Addresses to the Federal Assembly, it is worth noting that it is more developed in comparison with the level of study of the Presidential Addresses in the Republic of Kazakhstan. For instance, V.I. Kuznetsov gives an overview of the existing scientific literature on the named topic. Dividing the works into three groups, the author refers to the first one as studies written mainly by lawyers and examining the presidential Addresses in their connection with the institution of the presidency, through the prism of constitutional obligations of the head of state and branches of government. The second group is made up of works devoted to the textual analysis of the President's Addresses. Such studies are carried out mainly using linguistic methods and tools. The third group consists of political science works devoted to the process of implementing a political course, issues of political speechwriting and communication [9].

Although the historiography of the Russian Federations' Address is characterized by V.I. Kuznetsov as "not disclosed at the proper level", we should note its subject diversity in comparison with the historiography of the Addresses in our state. If Russian researchers are actively studying the Address from the legal, juridical, linguistic, communicative and other aspects, Kazakhstani researchers leave the Address without proper attention.

As a source of information, the Presidential Addresses is often used within the term "political history". The master's thesis "History politics in Kazakhstan" is devoted to the study of this term, and with the process of using historical narratives in politics. The author of this work is Thea Hilding, a graduate of the University of Oslo. Her research interests include problems of nation-building in the countries of the former Soviet Union. Throughout her studies, work and travels around the region, Thea Hilding has developed her own perspective on many of the key issues [10].

Mentioned above work explores how history becomes the subject of political goals of national elites who use certain interpretations of history as a means of advancing their political agenda. In a broad sense, this affects the entire political field of Kazakhstan, narrowing at one point - the celebration of the 550th anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate. Based on observations, interviews, documents' analysis and media reviews, the work shows what influences the political history of modern Kazakhstan.

Part of the work devoted to the analysis of the Presidential Addresses to the people of Kazakhstan, some of which were read by the author in Russian, raises a great interest. The relevance

is justified by the fact that President forms the direction of state policy and presents new state programs in these documents. As the author notes, most of the Addresses have a similar structure: they are mainly devoted to listing what progress has been made since independence, especially in developing the economy and achieving international recognition, as well as setting out plans for the coming years.

Although main parts of the Addresses are usually devoted to the present and future of Kazakhstan, it is worth noting that each of it contains a part that scrutinize the historical past. Author expresses conducted analysis of ideas and images of history and the national identity associated with it in the formulation of two questions:

- Is the national history of Kazakhstan multiethnic?
- What is the basis of the state of Kazakhstan, history, or modernity?

Following the terminology of Marlene Laruelle, the author connects raised questions with two discourses of national identity - "Kazakhs" and "Kazakhstanis" [11]. And if M. Laruelle believes that these discourses do not intersect, existing in public life in parallel, then Thea Hilding suggests following: "I find, however, that they are present in the same texts, even in the same paragraphs, without contradicting or overpowering each other " [10]. And in this sense, we agree with this statement. The 1999 Address can serve as a confirmation, in which the discourse of the "Kazakhs" is found in one part of the text: "The emergence of the first Kazakh khanates in the fifteenth century is the point in the people's awareness of their special place in history and space." and "Kazakhstanis" in other: "... the stability and security of all Kazakhstanis will be ensured" [12].

As we can see, in a broad sense, the political history in Kazakhstan is formed, among other things, by presidential speeches, with use of a different historical discourses, most often associated with the heroic past of the Kazakh people, and the celebration of the 550th anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate is a vivid example of this.

At the present, Kazakhstan is being closely studied by scientists from different countries. The results of this studies are expressed in collective works, articles, and monographs. An example of such work is the report "Kazakhstan: Tested by Transition" published by Chatham House – Royal Institute of International Affairs. Its main message is that Kazakhstan is at a turning point since 2019, when N. Nazarbayev resigned from his presidency. The report has incorporated a variety of aspects of Kazakhstan's activities - from public relations to regional ties.

Detailed coverage of problematic issues is accompanied by recommendations for improving the current situation. A top priority, recognized by the authors is the need to create a more open political environment that would enhance the authority of government agencies. An important point is the problem of dialogue between the state and the people. The authors recognize that a more meaningful filling of the Presidential Addresses could be one of the most likely ways to resolve accumulated conflicts. The collective work ends with the following thought: "Kazakhstan has an opportunity to become a model for other states undergoing or set to undergo complex transitions in the post-Soviet region" [13].

Another work of this type is the report of the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development - "Reforming Kazakhstan: Progress, Challenges and Opportunities". Analyzing the situation with public governance, the authors say that Kazakhstan has taken important steps towards legislative and institutional reforms to solve problems in this area, meaning the state programs first seen in the Presidential Addresses. It is worth noting that full transparency in this regard has not yet been achieved. At the same time, it is the Addresses that can serve as an effective tool for conveying government plans to the people. If the state can achieve this, then Kazakhstan can improve the efficiency of public administration and the quality of political processes [14].

A well-known foreign researcher of Kazakhstan, Bhavna Dave, a specialist in issues of interethnic relations, identity and political transformations in Central Asia, has devoted her work to the problems of ethnicity, language and power. In her opinion, the evolution and historical experience of Soviet and post-Soviet Kazakhstan is unique: the republic has consistently gone through a series of historical experiments on its identity, while maintaining its ethnicity, mainly through the system of power. And the Presidential Addresses are one of the instruments for conducting state policy. The

1997 Address, in which the “Kazakhstan-2030” program was presented, stands out especially. A distinctive feature of the presidential addresses, the author emphasizes, is becoming an orientation towards the future, through plans for "prosperity, security and improvement of the welfare of the citizens of Kazakhstan" [15].

In conclusion, we should state the extremely low degree of study of the presidential Addresses in foreign historiography. The studies available at the moment, with all the advantages, affect only a certain part, without taking into account its connection with the rest. We can characterize existing works by their narrow-branch orientation, without a systematic consideration of the Addresses. It should also be noted that there are no works of a historical nature. In our opinion, with due attention and level of research, Addresses in their logical connection with other state programs and historical sources can provide complete and fundamental knowledge on the history of independent Kazakhstan.

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ҰЛТ БАСЫНА ТӨНГЕН «ҰЛЫ НӘУБЕТ»

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М. Қозыбаев атындағы СҚУ Қазақстан тарихы және әлеуметтік-гуманитарлық пәндер кафедрасының 3 курс студенті, Петропавл, Қазақстан
Ғылыми жетекшісі - Бимақанова З.Ш.

Тәуелсіздігімізді алып, егеменді ел болып жатқан кезде ұзақ жылдар бойы отаршылдықтың тұтқынына түскен санамыз қайта жанданып, даму үрдісін бастан өткізуде. Кеңес үкіметі кезіндегі айтылмаған, айтылуға тыйым салынған көптеген тарихы құнды деректерімізді зерттеуге бет бұрып жатырмыз. Egemen Qazaqstan газетінде Президент Қасым-Жомарт Тоқаевтың «Тәуелсіздік бәрінен қымбат» атты мақаласы жарияланды [1]. Мемлекет басшысы ашаршылық құрбандары санына қатысты нақты ақпараттың жоғын алға тартып, зерттеу жұмысы жүргізілуі керек екенін айтады. Бұл нәубет туралы қазір не білеміз?

XX ғ. 20-30 жылдардағы Қазақстан сталиндік күштеу мен қайта құрудың ауыр да азапты зардаптары жаңа көзқараспен объективті зерттеулерді қажет етеді. Италияндық Никколо Пианчола – елімізде осы зобалаң жылдар тарихын зерттеуді бастаған алғашқы шетелдік тарихшылардың бірі. Оның ойынша, қазақтардың аштықтан жаппай қырылуына ең алдымен сталиндік басшылықтың жоғарғы жағы, ең соңында Филипп Голощекин тұлғасындағы Қазақстан республикасының басшылығы жауапты- дейді ғалым.

1932-1933 жылдардағы аштық туралы кітаптар мен мақалалар, деректер көп. Бұл ретте тарихшыларды бірінші аштықтың әлеуметтік, саяси, экономикалық себептері және оның демографиялық салдары қызықтырады. Олар аштықта адамдарға не болып жатқандығы, өздерін қорқытқан өлімнің алдында қалай ұстағандығы, аштық болғанда қалай қарсы тұрғандары, жалпы «Аштық деген не?» деген секілді сұрақтарды елемей кетеді.

Аштық- большевиктердің Орта Азиядағы жасаған ең ауқымды қоғамдық-саяси эксперименті болды. Оның бірден-бір мақсаты қазақ көшпенділерін отырықшыландыруға бағытталған еді. 1930 жылдың басында Кеңес үкіметінің аумағында, атап айтқанда Украина, Солтүстік Кавказ, Еділ бойы және Қазақстанды аштық жайлай бастады. 1930 жылдың ортасына дейін олар Қазақстандағы «Кеңестік жүйені жаңғырту жобасының басты үлгісін» билікке ұсына отырып, «артта қалған» көшпенділерден «қазіргі заманғы (тәртіпті)» көшпелілерді жасау керек болды [2, 22 б]. Аштық пен «отырықшылық» бір медальдің екі жағындай және бір-бірін өзара байланыстырды: азық-түлік дағдарысы апатты аштыққа айналды, ал ашаршылық салдарынан қазақтардың көпшілігі отырықшы болды.

1930-34 жылдары Қазақстан халқының төрттен бірі аштыққа ұшырап, 1,5 млн. астам адам аштықтан немесе аурудан қайтыс болды. Ауылдардан азық-түлік қоры тартып алынып, көшпелілердің малдары іріктеліп алынған кезден бастап, өлім-жітім көбейді. Барлық жерде кедейшіліктің көрінісі орнады: теміржол станцияларындағы аштықтан арықтаған балалар, жол бойындағы көмілмеген мәйіттер, нан үзіндісі үшін қанды төбелес және канибализм.

Қазақстанның барлық аудандарында аштық кенеттен және бір мезгілде басталған жоқ. 1929-1930 жж. қысында жергілікті органдар халықтың әлсіреуі және тамақтың жоқтығы едәуір өскенін байқады. Сол уақыттан бастап аштықтан өліп жатқандар туралы алғашқы деректер тіркелді. Алғашқы аштық белгілері екі өңірде байқалды: бірінші болып жаппай ұжымдастыруға ұшыраған Қазақстанның аграрлық солтүстік аудандары, екінші нан сататын республиканың батысы. 1929 жылдары батыста нан жетіспеушілігі байқала бастады [2, 25 б] 1930 жылдың басында Солтүстік Қазақстаннан суыт хабарлар келді. Нақтырақ айтқанда,