

BULGARIAN-GREEK RELATIONS DURING THE MILITARY JUNTA REGIME (1967–1974)

Abstract. The paper sets out to examine the development of the Bulgarian-Greek relations during the military junta regime (1967-1974) when the leadership in Athens demonstrated continuous steps towards favoring Bulgaria as a preferable foreign policy partner. Paradoxically enough, the Greek policy of rapprochement with its northern neighbor was initiated by a regime whose ideological foundations were laid upon politics of anti-communism and anti-Slavism.

Through the method of historical reconstruction, the research analyzes the intricate interweaving between diplomacy and ideology arguing that despite the nature of the two rivalry regimes, relations between Sofia and Athens marked a remarkable progress. Between 1967 and 1974 Greece and Bulgaria managed to establish regular political contacts for the first time in their diplomatic history, to institutionalize their economic partnership and to sign their first agreement on cultural cooperation. The specific reconciliation between the two countries appeared as even more important, since it signified the accomplishment of important goals of Greek and Bulgarian foreign policy.

To Bulgaria, the rapprochement with the junta culminated the decades-long efforts on the establishment of an official Bulgarian representation in Northern Greece and provided significant back-up in the light of growing tensions to Turkey, Yugoslavia and Romania. To Greece, it broke the deadlock of the unfavorable international isolation and paved the way to the so called 'Eastern opening' of Greek foreign policy, which was further developed and implemented by the government of Constantinos Karamanlis. In addition, the course of Greek-Bulgarian relations transcended the specifics of bilateral and regional developments and altered into an indicative criterion of US and Soviet stances on important issues of international affairs such as disarmament, European security, Prague Spring, the Cyprus question and the Middle East.

The study is based on key materials available at the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Greece, as well as on some essential data from the Bulgarian State Archives.

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*История и съвремие
History and Modern Times*

THE IDEA OF KAZAKH RENAISSANCE

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Abstract. The Kazakh Renaissance materialized in difficult times when many acute issues emerged in the society. The formation of the Kazakh statehood and the establishment of its sovereignty have developed in various forms and different periods in a rather complex and non-linear manner. Yet, in essence, they represent a single historical process. The development of the Kazakh nation and its progress in the world of globalization, its philosophic and cultural paradigm of studies will undoubtedly provide us with numerous possibilities. This will contribute to the formation of the national image of Kazakhstan, as well as to the absorption of the country's unique national philosophic foundation into the global cultural sphere.

This study shows the names of the most famous and well-known patriots, who have made a significant contribution to the Renaissance of Kazakhstan. The Renaissance is not a result of the efforts of a particular man. It is a result of the successful work of a whole group. Patriots can be found in every layer of society, i.e. among blue-collar workers and intellectuals. The article also considers the youth activity in the society because the present and future of the country depends on the young generation. Therefore, the program made in the years of independence reflects the idea of handing over the values to the generation of 2030.

Keywords: Kazakh Renaissance, National idea, National Renaissance, generation of the Renaissance

In culture studies, the times of civilization is closely connected with the Renaissance. Renaissance means 'to be reborn' and traces back to the Italian Renaissance which had revived the culture of antiquity. The history of any nation witnesses times when the idea of humanism rises to the fore and forms the era of nation's rebirth. This is a phenomenon that has been long proven and recognized in Western science. It was called 'Renaissance' in Europe and became the permanent object of studies as a special chapter in civil history, as well as in the history of literature, arts and culture. The first scientist, who studied renaissance as a cultural phenomenon, was a Swiss scientist – A. Metz. He raised this issue in his work called 'Islamic Renaissance' published in 1922 (Metz, 1966: 458).

The Renaissance, spread widely in Europe, led the West to the light and ray. The phenomenon of Renaissance in Central Asia reached its peak in X-XIIIth centuries. One of the preconditions for this was the cultural achievements of Turkic tribes in

VIII-Xth centuries. The first signs of the idea of Renaissance in the territory of Kazakhstan have become apparent in these centuries. It can be proven by the flourish of urban culture and significant material and spiritual achievements in Zhetisu, South Kazakhstan, and in cities along the Syr river. It was the period when the prominent figures of Kara-Khanid, Kypshak, Ogyz states in the territory of Kazakhstan left considerable number of cultural heritage to the future generation. The most remarkable of them are 'Ogyzneme' and 'Korkyt Ata Book' of Ogyz-Kypshak tribes, 'Kutty Bilik' ('Beneficial Knowledge or The Art of being Happy') by Yusuf Balasaguni in Kara-Khanidi Khanate (Gabitov, 1998: 202). Emergence of these written heritages at those days reflects the development of Eastern Renaissance at that time.

Academic N.I. Conrad concluded that 'the Rebirth (Renaissance) is the epoch of global humanism. It started in VIII-XIIth centuries in China, spread in Central Asia, Iran and neighbouring India in IX-XVth centuries, and came to its end in XIV-XVIth centuries in Europe'. World history shows that socio-political sphere of each nation has often developed in disconformity with cultural and spiritual life. For instance, the rule of slavery system in Ancient Greece came together with the flourish of classical culture. Likewise, the Renaissance blossomed in Europe at the peak of medieval religious mysticism. Such disconformities between socio-political and cultural, spiritual spheres were called by Hegel as 'historical perversions'. Despite this reference, it is a common trend in a world research to call the conformity of cultural and spiritual rebirth as 'The Renaissance'. Generally, there are certain facts confirming the formation of European Renaissance in XIV-XVII centuries. However, the process of this greatest rebirth differs in time accordingly to peculiarities of each nation. Particularly, each nation has brought Renaissance to its peak through their ethnic conditions. Italy, which gave birth to the Renaissance, honoured humanistic views that was influenced by the culture of antiquity. The French, who saw the grandeur of human being in its beauty and harmony, started building marvelous buildings and developed the architecture. At the same time, the Renaissance in Germany was connected with religious reformations.

Formation of the Kazakh statehood and establishment of the sovereignty of Kazakhstan have developed in various forms and different periods in rather complex and non-linear manner, though, in essence, they represent the single historical process. Having passed the hypothetical 'stage of savagery' with dominating wildlife laws, the ancestors of the Kazakhs, just as the whole mankind, organized themselves into ancestral and tribal communities and into tribal unions afterwards. Their social and political development depended on various factors such as geographic and climatic environment, nomadic way of life, cattle-breeding and its effective distribution in regions according to migration seasons, livestock bartering with agricultural communities, defence from enemies, and expansion of their living territories (Gumilyov, 1989: 43).

Kazakh nation-building and establishment of sovereignty were exposed to intensive destructive influences. These include intense migration flows, lack of clearly distinguished borders, displacement and extinction of ethnic groups (Kazybayev, 1993: 113).

The end of the XVth century has become a starting point of the era of dynastic Kazakh statehood with formation of the Kazakh Khanate in 1470 – the result of contradictory age-old influences and transfusions of political, ethnic and social processes which emerged on the territory of the present-day Central Asia.

Even in the Bronze Age, four thousand years ago, the land of Kazakhstan was inhabited by the so-called Andron and Begazy-Dandybai tribes. They were engaged in farming and life-stock breeding, and were excellent warriors who even mastered battle chariots. Pictures with chariots still exist on rocks in places where the ancient people established their tribal sanctums with the sky as a roof. People carved scenes of ritual dances, sun-headed gods, huge bulls and camels personifying ancient gods on the sun-burnt black rocks.

The people who lived on the territory of Kazakhstan absorbed the best ideas and achievements of other civilizations, and have made their contribution into the treasury of the world culture: their mobile houses ‘yurts’, saddle and stirrups, the art of conducting a battle on horsebacks, carpet patterns and silver jewels, melodious songs and music that sounds like running steppe horses.

All the aforesaid have ensured the integrity and continuity of ancient and medieval history of Kazakhstan.

The first Kazakh Khanate was formed during the reign of Kassym Khan (1511–1523). Nomadic tribes in different regions grouped into three hordes (Hordes) during the rule of Khak-Nazar Khan (1538–1580): the Elder Horde (Semirechye region), the Middle Horde (Central Kazakhstan) and the Younger Horde (West Kazakhstan); each horde practiced a clan-based authority system and their khans could later become independent rulers. Despite these divisions, the Kazakhs remained a single united nation. Sometimes, periods of the nation’s unity alternated with internecine conflicts.

The second half of the 16th century is noted by a new political rise in the Kazakh Khanate, decline of internecine conflicts, development of life-stock breeding and agriculture, expansion of trade relations and contacts with Russia and other bordering countries.

Kazakhstan’s annexation to Russia could be characterized as a peaceful and military process of colonization and explicit conquer. Although the Middle Horde, ruled by Abylai Khan, did not closely stay in touch with Russia and the Elder Horde was ruled by the Zhunghars and the Kokan Khanate, the oath of annexation by Abylkhair Khan has triggered the escalating influence of Russia on the lives of the Kazakhs.

The notion of ‘Renaissance’ is not systematically studied in Kazakh science. Studies of the phenomenon of Renaissance in the Kazakh land mostly focus on particular figures rather than on study of bases for its emergence, its course of development, and classification of its traditional issues. The Renaissance is not the result of the works of one particular man, it is the successful result of the whole group’s works. The notion of Renaissance can also be interpreted as an echo of spirit, flourish of humanism in ethnoculture, and the use of cultural achievements for the benefit of the human being. The Kazakh nation steps across the threshold of the third millennium as an independent,

sovereign country. The history shows that each century had its own course of development and its own remarkable events. Thus, the new century will be the new start for our independent country. The result of the Contemporary Kazakhstan Revival. A.Kh. Kasymzhanov, a famous philosopher, says, „It is time for the revival“. However, the revival will not be possible without looking back to our deep spiritual backgrounds. Studying the history, regarding it with respect, giving a meaning to it is vital in order to be abreast of the developed countries (Kassymzhanov, 1994: 88).

The history of the Kazakh nation has developed in a dramatic way. The Kazakhs have suffered many trials and tribulations including Zhunghar aggression, Stalinist genocide and criminal offences during the rule of Gorbachyov and Kolbin. Despite all sufferings and distressful situations, the Kazakhs could demonstrate a remarkable resilience. They possess excellent genetic basis, which helps them in their struggle with difficulties. The Kazakhs have inherited many positive traits from their glorious Kipchak-Mongolian ancestors. Humble and modest, talented and gifted, strong spirited and noble Kazakh people will overcome all difficulties and move through all the obstacles. Being united, preserving its national culture and adhering to patriotic ideas the Kazakh people will be reborn again and play an important role in the world history. It is known that no state can exist without having the national idea, which is one of the most important elements of the nation-building. According to A.Ghali, ‘national idea as an integrating concept in Kazakhstan should be based on the Constitution, on moral and ethical principles of supreme humanity and on the spirit of the law in the primacy of international law over the national law’ (Ghali, 2004).

Kazakh Renaissance is closely connected with the national idea. The academic and the senator, Garifolla Yessim, points out that the national idea evolves in a society and its main foundations are intellectually creative community, civilized country, economic competitiveness, and the nation’s unity.

The idea of Kazakh Renaissance is closely related to the idea of nation’s development. One of the central issues among scientists and intellectuals, politicians and historians, culture experts and journalists, since the gain of independence, was the launch of the website that would reflect the development of the Kazakh nation, the existence of the Kazakh nation in a contemporary world of globalization. Necessity in launching this website is quite justifiable: there was not any site that would organize all the information and research works about the development of the Kazakh nation, the existence of the Kazakh nation in a contemporary world of globalization. Navigation of scientific and research works in the Internet was always difficult.

Today, there are several web-sources and projects that include ‘The Kazakh’ online newspaper of ‘The Voice of Kazakh’ International Public Association – <http://qazaq.kz/> and the project launched with the support of compatriots living abroad – <http://www.kazakh.ru/>. Introduction of the website devoted to reflect research works about Kazakhstan, development of the Kazakh nation and its progress in the world of globalization, its philosophic and cultural paradigm studies will undoubtedly provide

us with numerous possibilities. This will contribute to the formation of the national image of Kazakhstan, as well as to the absorption of national brands' philosophic basis in a global cultural sphere and their formation as an integral notion.

Web-resources in the sector of higher educational institutions of Kazakhstan were processed due to the emergence of Kazakhstan Web-space. By 2005, most of the high school websites included information on conferences, as well as on high school news and news of the various research departments. Research websites started to be actively developed in 2006–2007 in the republic. These included the sites of Development Institutes of Kazakhstan: www.science.kz; www.inti.kz; www.naukakaz.kz; www.nauka.kz, www.gylymkaz.kz.

Development of a website about the Kazakh nation arised from the need to form a common collection of research works by higher educational institutions. This would give the opportunity to publish the national information – domestic scientific and technical product in the worldwide network.

The conception of developing a website about the Kazakh nation is based on the following ideas:

- to give more access to research works about the Kazakh nation done by domestic and foreign scientists, diversity of Kazakhstani web-collections for science;
- to collect scientific and technical information of higher educational institutions on giving tutorials about the Kazakhs, their history, culture, and philosophy and bring it into the system;
- popular scientific information on science.

The site is developed to make search of research data easier and covers the information on the Kazakhs. It is an invaluable tool for domestic and foreign research centers and development institutions (Serikbaykyzy).

Generally, the national idea is a strong unifying force. It is natural that a single-nation country uses the national idea of one nation. Since every nation has its own national idea, there can also be a multinational idea. Multinational idea is one and the common in each country and reflects the idea of the nation that formed the country and gave its name to the country. All the national and state symbols – a flag, a coat of arms, monetary objects, an anthem, a language are connected with the name of the nation. Therefore, no external influence can destroy it.

The article 'Renaissance Character of Abay's Poetry' by the academic S. Kaskabayev proves that the nations' Renaissance starts with Abay. He realizes that 'the spiritual growth of nation will lead it to the moral consciousness of the nation'. The nation which can take a critical view of itself is a mature nation with a future. The wisdom of Abay lies in his ability to take a strong critical view of the Kazakhs.

The country has gained its independence in 1991 and this led off to the idea of the Renaissance. Kazakh Renaissance materialized in difficult times. Many acute issues emerged in a society. There was a need to unite all patriotic movements in order to overcome these social issues. These issues could find its solution solely due to the power of

patriotism. The power of Kazakh patriots is deemed the basic factor for the formation of a government: national security and independence can be ensured and the Renaissance can be enforced due to this power. The president Nursultan Nazarbayev wrote in the preface of his book, 'The Kazakhstan Way', about the positive assessments given by Margaret Thatcher, the PM of Britain in 1979–1990 and an 'Iron Lady' of the Leader role that Kazakhstan fulfilled in its first years of independence: 'Founders of the countries are always prominent figures and Nursultan Nazarbayev can be truly considered as such a person'. The initiatives of the President N. Nazarbayev on choosing the unique way of country's development were first reflected in 'Strategies for the Formation and Development of Kazakhstan as an Independent Country' in May, 1992.

Brilliant minds of humanity clearly demonstrated the role of labour in ensuring peace, freedom, equality, justice, integrity and happiness of all the people on the planet. However, from the very beginning of the voluntary annexation of its first khanates to the Russian Empire in October 1731 till the Socialist Revolution in 1917, Kazakhstan has remained one of the national regions of the Russian Empire, dominated by the semi-feudal way of life. Notable leaders of the Soviet state – V.Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev and their supporters - Bukharin, K.Voroshilov, S.Kirov, M.Kalinin, V.Kuybyshev, V.Molotov, A. Mikoyan, L.Kaganovich and others were reluctant to accept the idea of an independent development of Kazakhstan.

Founders of the former Kazakh Khanate – Zhanibek, Kerey Abulkhair, Abylai khans, and in particular, Kenessary Khan who stirred up revolts against the czarist regime were disfavoured by the Russian government. Nevertheless, the outstanding leaders of Alash Orda Movement – A.Bukeikhanov, A.Baitursynov, S.Seifullin, S.Mendeshev, T.Ryskulov and others could secure the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars, signed by V.V.Lenin, the Chairman of SNK, in the autumn of 1920, that has blazed a trail to the independence of Kazakhstan starting from the establishment of the KazASSR within the Russian Federation and after formation of the USSR (December, 1922) till its transformation into the union republic in 1936 and further. However, the leaders of Alash Orda Movement were blamed as nationalists and sentenced to death penalty as 'enemies of the people'. Ph. Goloschyokin, sent to govern Kazakhstan, has forced the collectivization of agriculture which resulted in famine and led to death tolls of 40% the Kazakhs. The situation in Kazakhstan significantly improved during the chairmanship of L. Mirzoyan, but he was repressed in 1938.

Similar to other Soviet countries, the KazSSR has also experienced the socialistic industrialization, collectivization of agriculture and cultural revolution using commodity-money relations in purchase and sale of consumer goods. Rich natural resources of Kazakhstan started to be intensively explored and processed. New mining, power generating and machine-building, transport and other enterprises, as well as social and cultural organizations made their significant contribution to the rational use of resources.

Industrial revival of Kazakhstan and the USSR led to grand achievements such as the construction of large hydro-, thermal and nuclear power plants, large indus-

trial enterprises, Baikal-Amur Trunk Line in the East; escalation of socialism in competition with the system of capitalism led by the USA; resolution of Hungary and Czechoslovakia issues; negotiations of Cuban missile crisis; transition of the society to the developed stage of socialism; development of the moral code for builders of the Communism and so on.

Vigorously developing oil and gas, power generation, mining, metallurgical, machine-building, chemical, transport and construction industries alongside with developing the sector of construction equipment, as well as a powerful agro-industrial complex, Kazakhstan had the 3rd place in the Soviet economy after the Russian Federation and Ukraine; significant improvements were notable in the fields of the educational system, science, engineering, technology, culture and welfare; the country trained high-qualified and well-prepared technical, scientific, medical and teaching staff that could be nominated to high positions everywhere.

Dinmukhamed Kunayev, the Leader of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and B.Ashimov, the Head of the Government efficiently managed the mobilization of workers, increased industrial and agricultural performance, improved living standards and cultural life of the people; industrial power and the role of the KazSSR in the development of the USSR and escalation of socialism have achieved their momentum.

Patriots and protagonists of common people can be found in every layer of society, i.e. among blue collars and intellectuals. The most famously known patriots are Murat Abdirov, Alban Aimbetov, Amangeldi Aitaly, Azimbay Gali, and Khasen Khozhakhmet. These outstanding figures are the pride and hope of our nation. They make their significant contribution to the Renaissance of Kazakhstan. Patriots as them can also be found in the sphere of academic science: Zhabaikhan Abdildin, Mambet Koigeldi, Garifolla Yessim, Abdumalik Nysanbayev, and Gulmira Shalabayeva. These persons are considered as the spiritual élite of the nation. There are many cultural and social activists and leaders that contribute the development of our society: Abish Kekilbayev, Mukhtar Khul-Mukhammed, Mukhtar Magauin, Daulet Sembayev, Bolatkhon Taizhan. Patriots of the Kazakh nation are the cornerstone of our country. There are many patriots among rural citizens, non-affluent layers of the society, and oralmans as well. Sovereignty and stability of the state, peace in the country are the results of the works done by these people. They preserved our traditions, culture and the language; they are the driving force of democratic structures; they are the figures who define the Renaissance of our nation.

Generally, the idea of Renaissance is closely connected with the independence of the country. A famous academic Garifolla Yessim noted, 'The 2030 Strategy of the President is meaningful. The meaning of this programme implies the legitimacy of the interchanges in generation. The main value of the society at all times has been the human being, the generation. Therefore, this programme is made in the years of independence and reflects the idea of handing over the values to the next generation of 2030.'

The president of Kazakhstan, N.Nazarbayev initiated the project 'Triunity of Languages', which sets the task for people of the country to speak three languages: Kazakh, Russian and English. Despite all difficulties, the task is feasible and the experience of certain European countries may serve as proof to this. When the use of the first two languages does not cause any issues, the use of English as one of the working languages in Kazakhstan may seem controversial. In this respect, it is appropriate to quote the former Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, who has managed to turn his country into one of the world's most prosperous countries during 31 years of his service. At the dawn of independence, he has also been criticized for the introduction of English as a spoken language, but Lee Kuan Yew was adamant in his decision. As he writes in his memoirs, "The use of English has increased the competitiveness of Singapore as English is the international language of business, diplomacy, science and technology. We would not be able to attract the largest international companies and more than 200 largest banks to Singapore without using English as a working language; this has also enabled the people of Singapore to quickly acquire computer and Internet skills" (Nazarbayev, 2008). The President of Kazakhstan, N.Nazarbayev, emphasized in his speech made at 14th Session of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan on 23 October 2008 that 'the role of the Kazakh language will increase every year – this is a natural order of things'. The president highlighted that 'the knowledge of the state language is becoming one of the main conditions for the competitiveness'.

Historians have different opinions on the time of the formation of the Kazakh nation. A.I.Levshin was the first to suggest a theory which states that formation of the Kazakh nation took place in the pre-Mongol period. The so-called ethno-political hypothesis of V.V.Velyaminov-Zernov, which supposes that the formation of the Kazakh nation was brought to a conclusion after establishment of the Kazakh Khanate by sultans Zhanibek and Kerey, became the most popular hypothesis and a state ideology. Another theory, suggested by N.Krasovskiy, defines the end of the 16th century as an emergence of the Kazakhs as a self-sustained nation (Massanov, 2001: 59).

Revival and development of the Kazakh culture have become the essential conditions for further existence of a sovereign and independent Kazakhstan, as well as for preservation of the Kazakhs as a nation. The Kazakh nation is of full value as long as the Kazakh language is alive; the language preserves the unity of the nation in the historical continuity and in geographic and social spaces.

According to the research conducted by S.Sutherland, professor of the University of East Anglia, 4.5% of languages have gone extinct over 500 years. Meanwhile UNESCO provides the data that 10 languages go extinct over one year (Williams, 2006: 223–224). Nevertheless, regardless of opinions provided by certain scholars in respect of the human evolution in terms of language extinction and emergence of a single language for global communication, it is evident that the extinction of any language implies the degradation of the whole mankind. Language extinction leads to the loss of the entire unique culture expressed through the language. Being the part of the global system,

the Kazakh nation has undergone the stepwise evolution of ethnic development: clan, tribes, ethnic groups, the Kazakh people, and eventually, the Kazakh nation.

It should be emphasized that Kazakhstan, the cradle of outer space explorations, plays a special part in making a significant contribution to further explorations of the outer space. Therefore, being the owner of Baikonur space launch facility and space technologies, Kazakhstan will take an active part in forming the community of astronauts. The speech of the president of Russia V.V.Putin made at 50th anniversary of Baikonur in 2005 proved to be prophetic, 'Baikonur is a cosmic harbour of our planet. Kazakhstan is considered a superpower in space not only due to the presence of Baikonur in its territory. The flag of Kazakhstan illustrates a soaring steppe eagle which embraces the sun with its wings. It symbolizes aspirations of the country to the space (Kazybayev, 2000: 462).

The good consciousness and aspiration of the Kazakh nation to the century of Renaissance is the idea. Its objective reality is the present days of the Kazakh nation. The idea of Renaissance dates back to the 60s of the past century; its existence gained its perspective in 1991 when the country was recognized as sovereign; today the Renaissance is the sole path that leads the nation to the future. The founder generation of the Kazakh Renaissance is the peers of independence, young generation of the contemporary world. This generation will be called as the leaders and go-getters. This is the generation of the Renaissance' (Yessim, 2011).

The experts at Gorshenin Institute announced results of the international sociological survey called 'Students – an Image of the Future' conducted in 2010-2011 in Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Poland. The level of patriotism was found to be higher among the young people of Kazakhstan. Young people of Kazakhstan who have shown more respect to the Flag, the Coat of Arms, the Anthem and the law and government say, 'Kazakhstan is my homeland, I have the same responsibility towards my country as it has for me', showing they were grown up knowing these simple truths. According to survey results, Kazakhstan was in the first place scoring 68.2 % and showed a greater level of patriotism. Russia was in the second place with the score of 66.5 %, Poland – 61.9 % and Ukraine – 45.4 %. 9.1 % of respondents from Kazakhstan, 10.5% - Poland, 12.1% – Russia, 13.5% Ukraine had negative attitude towards being a citizen of their own country. This indicates that the concept of 'National Unity' and 'Confidence in Future' prevails among young people of Kazakhstan. Hence, we can be certain that our achievements over the last 20 years were due to the unity and peace in the country. Therefore, the present and future of our country depends on the young generation. We should proclaim our national idea and reach our goals while developing the National Renaissance. This, in turn, requires the stability and civil peace in the country.

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