

Parties of Republic of Kazakhstan in political spectrum

Abstract. *This article defines the main ideological positions of Kazakhstani political parties, expressed in the form of their display on the graphic political spectrum, developed by the psychologist Hans Eysenck. The concept of the political spectrum is given, the main types of political spectrum that exist and are used at present, as well as their authors, are determined. The necessity of using Eysenck's graphic political spectrum as the most rational way of placing political ideologies in the form of geometric models is substantiated. The analysis of the program documents of the political parties of the Republic of Kazakhstan, because of which information was obtained about their ideological affiliation, for their further distribution on the spectrum. The parties are distributed along the political spectrum in accordance with their ideological guidelines, as indicated in the officially approved political programs. The distribution of parties was carried out using two dichotomies: left-wing – right-wing and authoritarian-democracy.*

Keywords: *political parties, ideology, political spectrum, right-wing, left-wing, centrists, political program, Republic of Kazakhstan.*

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Introduction

The ideological direction of a particular political party is one of the most important components of its activities. Ideology gives a clear understanding of what policy the party intends to pursue if it comes to power. Ideology is, in fact, the foundation on which the party's programmatic goals are based. By the 21st century, the role of ideology in party building and party activity is gradually decreasing. In modern democracies, political parties use elements of different political ideologies in order to achieve the greatest possible popularity among the population. In addition, often the ideology of a particular political party may not correspond to the declared political goals and objectives. Nevertheless, in developed societies, it is necessary to take into account the ideological component of a particular political force, since it

is the main indicator that distinguishes it from other political forces.

The relevance of this study is due to the ideological blurring of Kazakhstan's political reality in the context of the upcoming parliamentary elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan in January 2021. Almost all political parties registered in the Republic of Kazakhstan do not openly declare their ideological component. Among all political parties registered in Kazakhstan, only 3 parties openly declared their ideology: the Nationwide Social Democratic Party, the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan and the Ak Zhol Democratic Party of Kazakhstan. The policy documents of the rest of political forces do not contain open mention of any political ideology. In this regard, it is possible to determine the ideological component of these parties only through a qualitative analysis of their political programs, on the basis of which

one can draw a conclusion about their ideological affiliation. The position of political parties on the political spectrum will allow, in turn, to clearly demonstrate all the similarities and differences between these parties.

The purpose of this study is to determine the ideological affiliation of the officially registered political parties of the Republic of Kazakhstan and their positions on the political spectrum. This goal is achieved by performing the following tasks:

- 1) definition of the concept of the political spectrum;
- 2) conducting a content analysis of political programs of parties registered in the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- 3) determination of the ideological affiliation of a particular party;
- 4) the position of parties on the political spectrum.

The object of this research is the officially registered political parties of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The subject of this study is the ideological affiliation of these political parties.

Research methods

The methodology of this study is a constructivist approach focused on qualitative data analysis. During this study, a qualitative content analysis of the political programs of registered parties was carried out, based on which the corresponding conclusions were formulated. The scientific novelty of this article lies in the fact that earlier in the Kazakh academic community, close attention was not paid to the ideological affiliation of the political forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan, especially about their location on the political spectrum. Despite the existing studies devoted to party issues in the Republic of Kazakhstan, they focus mainly on the formation of the party system of the Republic of Kazakhstan, party building, as well as the domination of political parties in public life (for example, the works of Y. Buluktaev and B. Abzalbekov) [1] [2]. Thus, this article is in fact the first study, where the main attention is paid

to the problem of the political spectrum and the ideological affiliation of political parties in accordance with the political spectrum.

Discussion

Currently, there are various approaches to defining the concept of the political spectrum. Such scientists as D. Peter, A. Petrik, A. Heywood and H. Eysenck [3] [4] [5] [6] studied the phenomenon of the political spectrum.

According to D. Peter, the political spectrum is used to classify political ideologies in relation to each other in order to determine the main similarities and differences between them. Peter divides ideologies into three large groups: the left, the centrists, and the right. He refers to the left as anarchism, socialism and social democracy, to the right - conservatism and fascism, and to the centrists - liberalism [3, p. 46].

According to A. Petrik, the political spectrum (in his work he calls it the «political compass») is a tool that can be used to determine the ideological affiliation of political parties, movements, party programs and decisions [4].

A. Heywood describes the political spectrum as a system that allows to characterize and classify various political ideologies in relation to each other. These positions are presented in the form of one or more geometric axes that represent different ideological directions [5, p. 14].

Thus, the following definition of the concept of the political spectrum can be given:

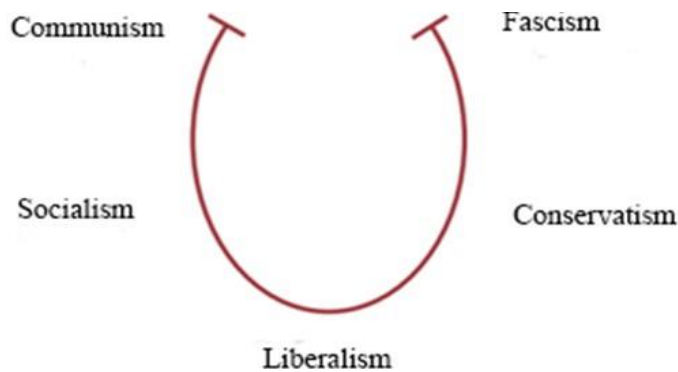
The political spectrum is a way of displaying ideologies and political forces in relation to each other, expressed in the form of one or more graphic axes on which they are located.

A. Heywood distinguishes 3 types of political spectrum:

- 1) a linear spectrum, presented in the form of a horizontal line, on which ideologies are located according to the right / left dichotomy (see Fig. 1);
- 2) a spectrum in the form of a horseshoe (see Fig. 2);
- 3) graphic spectrum, presented in the form of vertical and horizontal lines, developed by Hans Eysenck (see Fig. 3) [5, pp. 14-16].



Picture 1. Linear political spectrum



Picture 2. Horseshoe-shaped political spectrum



Picture 3. Graphic political spectrum

For the first time, the division into right-wing and left-wing in politics occurred after the Great French Revolution. Representatives of different political currents sat in opposite parts of the French Assembly. Absolutists (that is, supporters of the preservation of an absolute monarchy) sat to the right of the king, while radicals and republicans sat on the left. The term «right-wing» later became associated with reactionary monarchists, while «left-wing» began to call

supporters of revolutionary and egalitarian movements [5, pp. 14-15].

However, with the development of political philosophy and the emergence of new political trends, the opposition left-wing / right-wing can no longer be viewed from the point of view of reactionary or revolutionary nature. There are many examples when a seemingly revolutionary ideology, which aimed at “returning to the past”, was rather revolutionary (for example, Italian

fascism). At the same time, there are examples when inherently left-wing socialists and communists, on the contrary, obstructed reforms, trying to preserve the command-administrative economy [5, p. 15].

In this regard, the use of a linear political spectrum, which classifies political ideologies exclusively according to the degree of revolutionary and reactionary nature, is currently not relevant, since it does not reflect the political picture as a whole.

The horseshoe-shaped political spectrum has been used to display political ideologies in terms of their authoritarianism and democracy. Communism and fascism, despite being located in different parts of the spectrum, are at the same time on top, since both ideologies are totalitarian, and their followers use political repression and persecution for dissent as methods of political struggle. At the bottom of this spectrum is liberalism, since it is the most «democratic» of all ideologies represented on the spectrum [5, p. 16]. However, the horseshoe-shaped political spectrum also has several disadvantages. First, it does not classify ideologies in terms of economic views. For example, communism and fascism are located at opposite ends of the political spectrum, although from the point of view of their relationship to the economy, both ideologies advocate nationalization of the economy, statism, and a planned distribution system. Second, it is not entirely clear where ideologies such as anarcho-communism and libertarianism will be located on this spectrum. Consequently, the use of the political spectrum in the form of a horseshoe is also not relevant today.

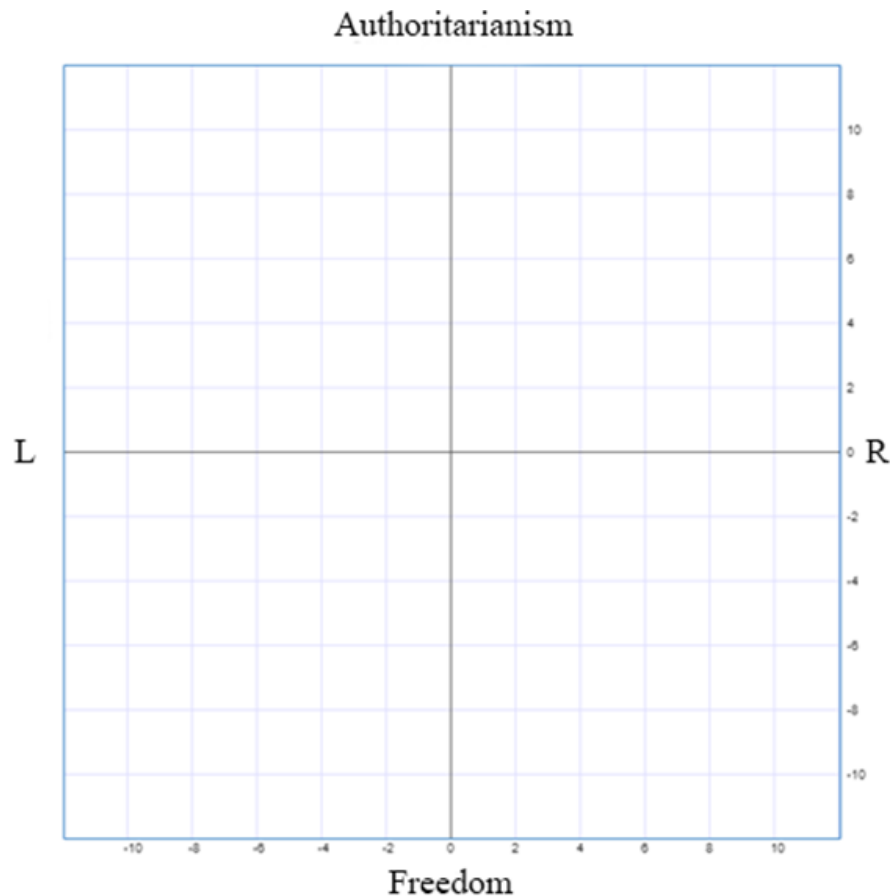
The shortcomings of the above political spectrum necessitated the emergence of a new political spectrum, which could equally classify all existing political ideologies, taking into account political and economic aspects. A similar spectrum was developed by the German-British psychologist H. Eysenck, who presented it in the form of a graph with horizontal and vertical axes. On the horizontal axis is the left / right dichotomy (Eysenck himself replaces the terms “left-wing” and “right-wing” with the terms “radical” and “conservative”), which reflect the

attitude of a particular ideology to the economy. The dichotomy of authoritarianism / democracy is displayed on the vertical axis, with the help of which political ideologies are located depending on their authoritarianism or democracy [6, p. 281].

From the point of view of attitudes towards the economy, Eysenck defines the left (radicals) as supporters of the redistribution of benefits from one social group to another, as well as an increase in the role of the state in the economy. Eysenck, on the other hand, defines the right (conservatives) as supporters of the free market and non-interference of the state in economic processes. Authoritarians are defined as supporters of strengthening the state, suppressing dissent, denying political pluralism, and repression. Democrats, on the other hand, are presented as supporters of political pluralism and diversity, as well as respect for rights and freedoms [6, p. 266]. Thus, the political spectrum developed by Eysenck is, in our opinion, the most rational form of displaying political ideologies relative to each other, since it provides a wide space of opportunities for classifying ideologies, taking into account political and economic aspects. In this regard, the location of Kazakhstani political parties in relation to their ideological affiliation in this study will occur on the graphic political spectrum of Eysenck.

For greater convenience, we have depicted this spectrum in the form of a rectangular coordinate system with vertical and horizontal scales, which, in turn, are divided into small intervals with dots, each of which corresponds to a digital value. The horizontal scale will display political parties in terms of their attitude to the economy, according to the left / right dichotomy, where the extreme left value of 12 means the total nationalization of the economy and statism, and the extreme right value of 12 means absolute economic freedom. The extreme left point on the coordinate system will be denoted by the letter «L», that is, «left», and the extreme right point - by the letter «R», that is, «right».

The vertical scale will display political parties in terms of their relationship to the political system, where a value of -12 means a tough



Picture 4. Political spectrum depicted as a rectangular coordinate system

authoritarian regime, and a value of 12 means absolute democracy and political freedom. The policy spectrum we are using is shown in Picture 4.

Research results

Currently, 7 political parties are officially registered in Kazakhstan: the Nur Otan party, the Ak Zhol Democratic Party of Kazakhstan, the Nationwide Social Democratic Party (NSDP), the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan (CPPK), the Auyal People's Democratic Patriotic Party, the Adal Party (formerly Birlik) and the Democratic Party of Kazakhstan Azat. Of these, 6 parties are active. One party (DPK «Azat») de facto does not function and is in the process of liquidation [7].

Our study analyzed the political programs of five parties: the Nur Otan party, the Ak Zhol

KDP, the NSDP, the CPPK and the Auyal PDPP. The Adal party is also not represented in this study, as it was not possible to find its political program.

The political program of the Nur Otan party was approved at the XVIII Party Congress on February 27, 2019 under the title "Welfare Society: 10 Goals of the Decade". The program itself is divided into 10 sections (goals), which contain several points.

The economic part of the program contains both left and right elements. The left elements include items aimed at supporting Kazakhstani families, increasing the effectiveness of social support for disabled people, as well as strengthening support for pensioners, in particular:

- 1) assistance to low-income large families;
- 2) increasing financial support for parents;
- 3) increasing the level of financial support for families raising children with disabilities;

4) an increase in the size of basic pensions and benefits [8].

The right elements include items aimed at reducing the direct presence of the state in the economy, improving the principles of state support for business and increasing the availability of lending for business, in particular:

1) reducing the share of the state in the economy to 15% through the privatization of state enterprises;

2) creating favorable conditions for doing business by entering the top 20 countries in the Doing Business rating;

3) reduction of administrative barriers [8].

As for the political part of the program, it does not contain clear views on political freedom or the strengthening of authoritarianism. As political initiatives of the party, only the goals of «active participation in the political life of the country», as well as «support of all initiatives aimed at the development of the party system» are designated. It is impossible to draw an unambiguous conclusion regarding the ideological position in relation to political freedom and democracy.

Thus, the combination of left and right elements, as well as the lack of a clear position on political freedom or authoritarianism, indicates that the Nur Otan party is a classic centrist party, which is partly confirmed even in the program itself. Section 10 of the program contains the following elements:

“The crisis of party identity. The classical division (into left, right and centrists or into liberals, conservatives and social democrats) is gradually losing its relevance. Parties strive to attract the maximum number of supporters, regardless of their political orientation and interests. «

«The party will take all necessary measures to meet the expectations of Kazakhstanis, represent the interests of all segments of the population and act as a link between the population and the state.»

«The party will consolidate all constructive forces in the country to ensure that public interests are taken into account in decision-making by state authorities and in the implementation of state policy.»

“We are ready to exchange ideas and broad cooperation with all parties and public associations for the development and prosperity of our country” [8].

The political program of the Democratic Party of Kazakhstan «Ak Zhol» was approved by the resolution of the Plenum of the Central Council of the Party on December 13, 2014. In contrast to the political program of the Nur Otan party, the program of the Ak Zhol KDP contains clearly defined ideological attitudes. The party recognizes economic liberalism as its ideology [9].

The introductory part of the party's program criticizes the trend associated with the emergence of new state-owned enterprises, as well as the high share of the state and quasi-public sector in the national economy.

However, in practice, the economic part of the KDP Ak Zhol program also contains both left and right elements. Among the left-wing elements in the party program are:

1) an initiative to increase government spending on employment programs;

2) the initiative to expand the practice of public works funded by the state;

3) an initiative to stimulate the activity of entrepreneurial entities by the state;

4) the initiative to regularly increase the minimum wage;

5) the initiative to introduce a monthly childcare allowance until the child reaches the age of three;

6) the initiative for the construction of social housing for low-income strata of the population by state order;

7) an initiative to oblige developers to build social housing for citizens with a low level of income during the construction of elite housing;

8) an initiative to expand the volume of free medical care by the state;

9) an initiative to increase government spending on education and science up to 3% of GDP;

10) an initiative to increase government subsidies to agriculture;

11) an initiative to increase the volume of government purchases of agricultural products at «fair» prices.

The right elements of the economic part of the KDP Ak Zhol program include:

1) a proposal to exempt small and medium-sized businesses from the payment of Value Added Tax and Corporate Income Tax for 3 years from the date of establishment of the enterprise;

2) a proposal to simplify tax administration and reporting procedures;

3) a proposal to reduce the intervention of the quasi-public sector in the economy;

4) the proposal for the privatization of unprofitable enterprises, as well as the denationalization of 70% of enterprises with state participation;

5) a proposal for the adoption of a law «On Private Property» in order to strengthen the inviolability of private property;

6) a proposal to establish in the civil legislation the principle of the priority of the owner's rights [9].

Thus, we can conclude that in the economic sphere, the party adheres to the center-right economic views, respectively, its location on a horizontal scale will be to the right of the center. This is evidenced by the party's recognition of economic liberalism as its ideology, as well as initiatives to ease the tax burden, privatize state-owned enterprises and deregulate the economy.

As for the political part of the program, it is largely aimed at strengthening political freedom and democracy in Kazakhstan. In particular, the party's initiatives in this area include:

1) reduction of the entry barrier to the Mazhilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan for political parties from 7% to 5%;

2) providing the Mazhilis of the Parliament with a key role in the formation of the Government;

3) granting maslikhats the powers to control the execution of local budgets and the activities of local self-government bodies;

4) simplification of the procedure for state registration of political parties, trade unions and public associations;

5) reduction of the minimum number of party members from 40 thousand to 10 thousand;

6) granting the right of equal access to state media for political parties;

7) bringing the current legislation in line with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;

8) abolition of the death penalty;

9) humanization of criminal legislation;

10) decriminalization of some criminal offenses that do not pose a threat to the life and health of citizens [9].

The above data demonstrate that the political part of the KDP Ak Zhol program is clearly democratic in nature. Therefore, on the vertical scale, the party is located below the center.

The political program of the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan (CPPK) was approved at the founding congress of the party in April 2004. The CPPK is one of the three political parties in the Republic of Kazakhstan that openly declared their ideological affiliation.

The economic part of the CPPK program has a pronounced leftist character. The party focuses on criticizing capitalism and the oligarchy. Among the left-wing economic initiatives of the party, it is worth noting such as:

1) free education and health care;

2) strengthening the role of the state and state property;

3) building socialism;

4) striving to build communism;

5) expansion of social programs [10].

At the same time, the CPPK program lacks a clearly defined political part. It does not contain any initiatives to strengthen political freedom or authoritarianism, with the exception of the statement that the party «does not seek to impose and dominate a single view of the development of the world» [9]. Therefore, we can conclude that on the vertical scale, the party is located in the center.

The party program of the National Social Democratic Party was approved at the X Congress of the NSDP in March 2013. The NSDP also openly defines its ideological position (social democracy).

The economic part of the program mostly consists of left-wing and center-left initiatives. These include, in particular:

1) nationalization of sectors of the economy associated with the extraction, processing and export of natural resources;

2) state monopoly on geological surveys;

3) the abolition of private ownership of agricultural land;

4) the introduction of a permanent state order for providing the population with food;

5) an increase in state financing of agriculture by 5 times;

6) an increase in the average size of pensions, benefits, scholarships and salaries in the budgetary sphere by 3 times;

7) the introduction of a progressive scale of income tax, with a rate of 60% for wealthy citizens;

8) cancellation of raising the retirement age;

9) ensuring employment at the expense of the state budget;

10) toughening of the employer's liability for violation of labor legislation;

11) the obligatory presence of trade unions at enterprises, the number of employees of which exceeds 50 people;

12) expanding the rights of trade unions;

13) construction of housing at the expense of the state budget;

14) interest-free loans for home purchases;

15) an increase in spending on medicine up to 6% of GDP;

16) free education;

17) an increase in government spending on education up to 8% of GDP [10].

Also, the economic part of the program contains a number of right elements, in particular:

1) exemption of small and medium-sized businesses in the field of innovation, industry and agriculture from taxation for 5 years;

2) reduction in the number of licensing and regulatory state organizations.

However, in general, the economic part of the NSDP program has a pronounced leftist character. Thus, we can conclude that on the horizontal scale the party will be located on the left side of it.

In turn, the political part of the program bears a pronounced democratic character, aimed at strengthening political freedom and democracy. Party initiatives in the political sphere include:

1) legislative support for the independent status of election commissions at all levels, as well as equal representation of all political parties in them;

2) compulsory television debates between candidates;

3) expanding the rights of proxies and observers;

4) transition to the notification procedure for holding peaceful assemblies;

5) deprivation of local self-government bodies of the right to regulate the procedure for holding peaceful assemblies;

6) a ban on monopolization of the media market;

7) creation of independent public television;

8) reducing the entry barrier to the Mazhilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan for political parties to 5%;

9) vesting the Mazhilis of Parliament with the right to control the activities of the Government and the execution of the republican budget, as well as conduct parliamentary investigations;

10) reduction of powers of the President;

11) limitation of the presidential term to five years without the right to re-election;

12) direct election of judges of first instance by the population;

13) expansion of the rights of the legal profession;

14) reduction of the minimum number of party members from 40 thousand to 500 people;

15) the adoption of the law «On the opposition» [11].

Thus, on the vertical scale, the NSDP will be located significantly below the center.

The political program of the People's Democratic Patriotic Party «Auyl» is concentrated around the agrarian sector.

The economic part of the program is predominantly leftist. The left elements include such party initiatives as:

1) regular indexation of pensions and social benefits;

2) an increase in one-time and monthly child benefits;

3) creation of a bank of jobs for large families;

4) increase in scholarships;

5) providing jobs for all university graduates who studied at the expense of state grants;

6) provision of social housing for young professionals, teachers and scientific and pedagogical workers;

7) an increase in government spending on medicine up to 5% of GDP;

8) covering the costs of medicines, medical care and prosthetics for the disabled;

9) an increase in costs for new equipment and the introduction of new technologies in agriculture;

10) an increase in the volume of state scientific scholarships and grants;

11) increasing subsidies to agricultural producers [12].

At the same time, despite the leftist rhetoric, the party does not propose to abolish private ownership of agricultural land, and also does not insist on the nationalization of enterprises. Thus, on the horizontal scale, the party is located to the left of the center.

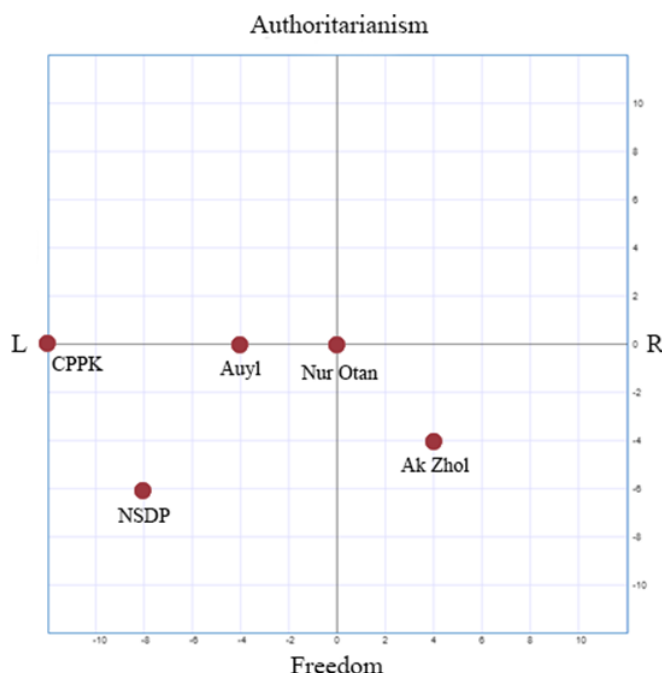
As for the political part, it is practically not touched upon in the program of the PDPP «AuyI». The political part is limited only by a set of vague attitudes that do not make it possible to determine the party's position regarding its authoritarianism or democracy. Consequently, on the vertical scale, the party is located in the center.

Analysis of the political programs of registered political parties of the Republic of Kazakhstan

makes it possible to arrange them on the political spectrum in accordance with their ideological guidelines. The location of Kazakhstani parties on the political spectrum is as follows (see Picture 5).

The corresponding picture allows us to draw a conclusion about the ideological attitudes of Kazakhstani political parties. The most leftist party is the CPPK, since it openly declares the building of communism (which denies the existence of private property) as its program goal. The most right-wing party is the Ak Zhol KDP, since its program contains the largest number of initiatives aimed at reducing the role of the state in the economy.

From the point of view of the authoritarian / freedom dichotomy, the NSDP is the most democratic party, since its political program contains the largest number of initiatives aimed at strengthening political freedom and democratization. The parties Nur Otan, CPPK and PDPP AuyI are located in the center along the vertical scale, since they do not contain in their programs any initiatives to strengthen or reduce political freedom.



Picture 5. Parties of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the political spectrum

Conclusion

Summing up the results of this study, we can conclude that the political field of the Republic of Kazakhstan is predominantly dominated by left and center-left political parties. The only party to the right of the center is the Ak Zhol Party. There are no forces on the political field advocating the strengthening of authoritarianism and the reduction of political freedoms. Regarding the authoritarianism / freedom dichotomy, most of the political parties of the Republic of Kazakhstan

are centrist. It should be emphasized that the authors of the work position political parties on the political spectrum, only and exclusively focusing on their political programs. The study does not consider the practical implementation of the parties' stated goals. In this regard, the actual actions of one or another political party may not correspond to their political program and even contradict it. The location of the political parties of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the political spectrum in terms of their practical actions is the subject of another study.

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Партии Республики Казахстан на политическом спектре

Аннотация. В настоящей статье определены основные идеологические позиции казахстанских политических партий, которые отображены на графическом политическом спектре, разработанном психологом Гансом Айзенком. Дано понятие политического спектра, определены основные виды политических спектров, существующих и используемых в настоящее время, а также их авторы. Обоснована

необходимость использования графического политического спектра Айзенка как наиболее рационального способа размещения политических идеологий в виде геометрических моделей. Произведен анализ программных документов политических партий Республики Казахстан, в результате которого была получена информация об их идеологической принадлежности, для дальнейшего их распределения на спектре. Партии распределены на политическом спектре в соответствии с их идеологическими установками, обозначенными в официально утвержденных политических программах. Распределение партий осуществлено при помощи двух дихотомий: левые-правые и авторитаризм-демократия.

Ключевые слова: политические партии, идеология, политический спектр, правые, левые, центристы, политическая программа, Республика Казахстан.

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Саяси спектрдегі Қазақстан Республикасының партиялары

Аңдатпа. Бұл мақалада психолог Ханс Айзенк жасаған графикалық саяси спектр түрінде көрсетілген қазақстандық саяси партиялардың негізгі идеологиялық ұстанымдары анықталған. Саяси спектрдің тұжырымдамасы берілген, қазіргі кезде қолданылатын саяси спектрдің негізгі түрлері, сондай-ақ, олардың авторлары анықталған. Айзенктің графикалық саяси спектрін саяси идеологияларды геометриялық модельдер түрінде орналастырудың ең ұтымды әдісі ретінде пайдалану қажеттілігі негізделген. Қазақстан Республикасы саяси партияларының бағдарламалық құжаттарына талдау жүргізілді және оларды одан әрі спектрде бөлу үшін олардың идеологиялық тиесілілігі туралы ақпарат алынды. Партиялар ресми бекітілген саяси бағдарламаларда көрсетілгендей, өздерінің идеологиялық нұсқауларына сәйкес саяси спектр бойынша бөлінеді. Партияларды бөлу екі дихотомияның көмегімен жүзеге асырылды: солшыл-оңшыл және авторитаризм-демократия.

Түйін сөздер: саяси партиялар, идеология, саяси спектр, оңшыл, солшыл, центристер, саяси бағдарлама, Қазақстан Республикасы.

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