

**GORBACHEV AND POWER STRUCTURES: LIBERALISM AND MEDIA CONTROL**

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**Abstract:** This article analyzes the history of the origin and formation of censorship in the Soviet government, the failure of this censorship in the last years of the Soviet government, the "warm" reception of the foreign policy of the Soviet government in recent years, the emergence and development of internal and external problems.

**Key words:** Media, press, censorship, communist partia, mk, cool-war, America, glad also router, Tasice, transparent, NATO, Afial communism.

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Matthian German German German pilot flew from Hamburg to Moscow through the Hamburg, Rukabik and Helsinki, in a light motor farmer. May 28, 1987, landed on the big bridge of the Moscow Day on the border troops. It was a very ridiculous event for a large and powerful country in the military in terms of the military. The visitor's imagination windows, who had become accustomed to pride that the nao could not fly out of our borders, could not fly. In the event of war or drought, the USSR also reaches a decade and feared.

Soviet leaders have been a specific warning to the elite layer of society. The country was an urging to arrange economic and social issues, reform the military. It was a significant call to the robbers that they would be brazen and wrapped in their own crust and the interest of society is the secondary task. It is also said that we have not mistakenly called the awrah of the country to pick up the awrah, picking up and opening the awrah, which is a solitary governor.

However, the officials and officials, who had not seen the ground for a long time, and whose backs had not been removed from their soft chairs recently, did not budge. The meat did not budge. They could not get out of the quagmire of indifference.

The Soviet mass media was not only an information network serving the people, but also performed an important task as a means of controlling the flow of information and state power. However, these tools had their own directions. For example, the direction of television management: in this case, any instruction could reach viewers who tend to watch national channels on television. However, Soviet mass media played an important role in shaping official policy and even public opinion. The Union of Writers (Soyuz pisateley), government ministries and many of its departments, as well as other state bodies, organizations, associations and administrative associations were responsible for the mass media even when Gorbachev came to power in 1985<sup>1</sup>. For example, the Writers' Union authorized publication for publications, press releases, popular magazines and newspapers - if the Soviet power structures approved it.<sup>2</sup> Psychology and social conditions are taken into account. In the end, everyone was forced to watch propaganda even if they were not interested in watching TV. Gorbachev's rise to power can also be analyzed from this point of view.

As Shane explained; "In the analysis conducted in 1983 with Gorbachev and two other ministers of the Politburo, they very clearly indicated the economic crisis in the USSR. However,

they did not share this information with Yuriy Andropov. Because the Minister of Heavy Industry Vladimir Dolgikhva and the Chief Economist of the Economic Committee Nikolay Rijkovo'zman hide this information. As a result, budget expenditures were reserved for military technologies. They continued to support Gorbachev after the death of Yuri Andropov in 1984, and it is with their support that he came to power."

This phase was accelerated by their 20-year relationship. Given that Gorbachev rose from the ranks of this regime, he was well aware of the influence of the Politburo, the Communist Party, and the Soviet power structures. After 1985, these three officials became the most powerful people in the entire system. They also had complete control over Soviet power structures, the planned economy, and the Politburo of the Central Committee.<sup>3</sup>

Continuing the topic of censorship, it will be useful to take a look at the history and stages of its formation.

The Regulation on inspection of all printed books and pamphlets in the Russian Empire was adopted in 1804. In 1826, the Minister of Education, Admiral A. S. Shishkov, adopted a new Charter. The requirements of the second censorship are very strict, so it got the name of cast iron. According to Count S.S. Uvarov, it was "difficult to apply in practice as it consisted of many small rules".

"That's probably why cast-iron strict censorship didn't last long. On April 22 (May 4) 1828, this Regulation was replaced by a new one. Members of the commission responsible for the development of the Regulation on Censorship, V. S. Lansky, A. H. Benkendorf, princes I. V. Vasilchikov, the secret adviser of Count S. S. Uvarov, state adviser D. V. Dashkov took part. The new Regulation consisted of 117 paragraphs, 40 of which were about censorship of foreign books and manuals. Such a provision was not used in the 1826 Charter.

According to the statute, any written literature that contradicts or interprets the teachings and practices of the Greco-Russian Church is prohibited. Also, anything that contradicts the tenets and precepts of the Christian religion in general, respect for the imperial house, which emphasizes the inviolability of the supreme autocratic power, and the basic rules of the state, and therefore anything that violates "good morals and decency", malice Any message or information distributed for the purpose is prohibited. In addition, it is forbidden to say obscene words, condemn or slander any person's honor, morals or values related to his personal life.

Special attention is paid to the spirit of the book under review, the author's secret purpose and intention. Censors have always relied on the exact meaning of the text. They didn't allow him to go in another direction on purpose. They did not analyze the author's speech, not connecting words and some individual phrases. They did not care about the writer's personal opinion about whether the court verdicts were fair or unfair. At the same time, the Regulation of 1828 did not check the mistakes made by the author in terms of style of expression and art.

Foreign literature was checked based on the requirements and rules of internal censorship. The censor control of foreign books and written information, letters, notes, labels, etc., and bringing them into the territory of the country, is a requirement for book trading companies and private individuals.

According to the statute adopted on April 22, 1828, domestic and foreign censorship were combined into one ministry: the Ministry of Public Education. The General Directorate of Censorship was responsible for the control of domestic and foreign censorship. The activities of this department were carried out by the Minister of Public Education, the Ministers of Internal and Foreign Affairs, the manager of the III Department under the Cabinet of His Highness the Emperor, the presidents of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, as well as the heads of religious institutions.

Local censorship committees were established in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Vilnova Derpt. They were chaired by the founders of educational districts. Separate censors were appointed for Revel, Mitava, Odessayeva Riga. In the 60s of the 19th century, a censorship committee for foreign publications was established for printed publications imported from abroad.

This Regulation served as the legal basis for the operation of the censorship apparatus in the country. In 1863, the censorship service was removed from the Ministry of Education and included in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and this work was handled by the General Directorate responsible for publishing...

By the decision of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party RKP(b) on November 18, 1921, the State Publishing Committee (GIZ) "... prohibits the publication of materials of a reactionary spirit, as well as religious literature, mystical, non-scientific, politically harmful and was designated as responsible for etc. Marina Svetayeva, Ilya Ehrenburg, Anna Akhmatova were among the banned authors.

In 1923, "Guidelines for thorough inspection of the collection of books stored in the library fund and cleaning of works of non-revolutionary content were developed. Soviet censorship, sometimes covert, sometimes overt, was directed against the forces of ideological control. "Samizdat" and "Tamizdat" publications appeared as a result of unbearable censorship restrictions.

Gorbachev knew very well that information was the driving force of the entire Soviet system, because he himself became the leader of the USSR as a result of hiding and manipulating information. As head of the Soviet Union with 12 hours, 110 official nations, and a population of 287 million, Gorbachev understood the importance of information to control. However, after he came to power, he realized that it was dangerous for him to own the information flow of the Soviet power structures. In response, the Soviet Union began to make significant changes in the system of power structures and, paradoxically, asserted that its complete control of information would cause economic decline<sup>4</sup>. As a result of the political reforms initiated by Gorbachev in 1985, the Soviet government found itself in an unusual political situation. One of Gorbachev's goals in relentlessly promoting his new perestroika policy was to end the information monopoly of the Soviet power structures and thereby strengthen their control over politics. The Cold War press was shocked by this change. For example, the Soviet press began to talk about Russian artists who were censored in the last century, and the works of Russian authors from 1787-1917 were reinterpreted as the highest reserve of Russian culture.<sup>5</sup> And this was a whole new level. A new era for the Soviet mass media had already begun. As soon as the disclosure began in 1987, the media was freed from the censorship shackles of the Soviet power structures. The role of the press in criticizing the government's policies is now taking center stage.<sup>6</sup>

Gorbachev's coming to power on March 11, 1985 was considered by many news agencies as a sign of the beginning of a new era of government changes. After his speech on disarmament and reduction of military forces was covered and broadcast throughout the country, riots and other conflicts began to occur in the USSR due to economic difficulties.<sup>7</sup> Disarmament and reduction of short-range missiles being the focus of attention as the most important issue of the day was a major topic in international life, but not in everyday life. In this context, Western mass media, in particular, "Voice of America" paid attention to this trend and covered international politics aggressively. Interestingly, the "Department of Ideological Affairs (Glav Lit Kom)" of the Communist Party, as well as the Western press, came to the conclusion that the foreign policy of the USSR was positively received in the international arena, but not domestically. The reason is that the "Voice of America" did not want to eat half of its bread, so it began to

The Soviet position was under constant attack by the "Voice of America", which critically assessed the social and economic situation in the countries of the communist bloc. After Gorbachev's speech, Western media began to change their programming, as it became clear that the political climate allowed them to cover a variety of topics without alienating their audience.<sup>9</sup> In particular, the Russian TASS news agency supported Gorbachev's speech.<sup>10</sup> When I analyzed some issues of "Pravda" newspaper kept in the archive, I witnessed that very few articles about "Voice of America" were published in 1950-1980.<sup>11</sup> However, VOA was able to change public consciousness and change Soviet policy during the economic hardships of the 1980s as a major and consistent source of US propaganda.<sup>12</sup> This is especially evident in Eastern Europe. The fact is that after 1985 the USSR gradually disintegrated in several cases. It appeared and it coincided with a bright era of relatively free speech and new ideas.<sup>13</sup>

Although "openness" gave hope to many, the members of the Soviet power structures were hopeless. He could not immediately give up his lifelong pursuit. That's why the unprecedented changes taking place in the Soviet press seemed to them to be a disorder and a big mess. The press published several reports that the entire mass media was still not regulated and that it should be regulated.<sup>14</sup>

With his new policy, Gorbachev began to oppose the censorship system of the Soviet power structures that had been formed for several decades. The US has condemned all laws passed by all General Secretaries of the Communist Party since the Stalin era that allowed the Soviet power structures to establish their rule over the USSR<sup>15</sup>. It was not in vain.<sup>16</sup>

Since the Soviet power structures had a high level of control over all information and reports coming to the Kremlin, and this practice was legalized in time, Gorbachev was powerless in front of him. From that he began to protest constantly. The Soviet power structures, which used to prepare speeches for members of the Communist Party, were now tasked with preparing speeches only for him. As a result, Gorbachev was not well understood by the people during his early days as general secretary. They got bored of his lectures. His long talk annoyed many people.<sup>17</sup> All kinds of nicknames and anecdotes were told about his name. That is why the attention of most historians was focused on his international policy, in particular, on the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.<sup>18</sup>

Gorbachev's attack on Soviet power structures and relations between the United States and the Soviet Union began to receive widespread coverage in the Soviet media, as Gorbachev

declared the United States to be a "close ally and partner of the Soviet Union", breaking the established mold. destroyed, scattered the ashes of Soviet politics.<sup>19</sup> The Soviet propaganda machine now had to work backwards, which distracted the Soviet power structures from Soviet domestic politics.

At this point, we will cite some lines of the portrait of the political leader as an example, in the form of a comparison. In managing the country, let's say a large and powerful country like the USSR, not a single worthy person came to the top of the state after Stalin. As confirmation of this, we mentioned some factors above.

You know that the Yalta (Crimean Peninsula) Conference was held on February 4-11, 1945, with the participation of the political leaders of the allied countries - USSR, USA and Great Britain - united in the anti-Hitler coalition. They discussed the order of the post-war world at this conference.

In this process, the Prime Minister of England, Winston Churchill, expressed his opinion to Stalin, that is, he made an offer to take land equal to the area of Crimea from any part of Europe, even from England, and give it in return. Stalin thought for a while. Then, laughing, he says, "I have one riddle, if you find the answer, you can consider that your offer has been accepted." Then, showing three fingers - thumb, index and middle finger - and bending the other two, he said: "Tell me, which finger is the middle finger in this case?" - he asks.

- Out of these three fingers... the index finger will be the middle finger, - answered Roosevelt hastily. And Churchill understands that there is a trick in this question. Thinks logically. "Well, when all five fingers of the hand are open, whichever finger performs the function of the middle finger, it remains in the position of the middle finger in any case," he concludes. However, no matter how logical it is, Stalin will not accept it either. Then, he squeezes his thumb between his other two fingers and shows them like a fig: "As you can see, the thumb is in the middle," he says. In this way, Stalin gave a worthy answer to Churchill's proposal.

The same will M.S. Due to Gorbachev's absence, he was absent from international meetings. The heads of state of the West played him in the status they wanted. The abolition of censorship, the act of abolishing the production of alcohol, the withdrawal of troops from foreign countries - all this was nothing more than cutting the branch on which he was sitting with the ax given by the American leader. In order to realize this, a person should have political awareness, observation skills, and management potential. However, these qualities were not present in the environment that brought him to the top of the state. Otherwise, he would not have signed new agreements with the West.

Here is an example. America has always tried to expand NATO. Although it is described as a military alliance existing for defense purposes, in fact it serves as a means of American pressure and influence. His desire for expansion can be seen even during the existence of the USSR. For example, its first, second and third expansion occurred after the collapse of the USSR: in 1952 Greece and Turkey joined NATO, in 1955 the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany) and in 1982 Spain became part of it.

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At the meeting of the leaders of the two countries, which took place in the Icelandic city of Reykjavík, the American side promised not to expand NATO to the east. Gorbachev, due to lack of political will and low legal awareness, did not demand that it be confirmed in any document. However, in 1994, NATO decided to expand its ranks at the expense of former Soviet republics. In other words, he tries to divert the republics of the Warsaw Pact towards him. On February 9, 1990, when the US Secretary of State James Baker met with the USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, he said that the US was in favor of the reunification of a divided Germany and that it would be part of NATO as a whole, but that the alliance would move eastward at the expense of other countries. does not scale up.

Ten days after his speech in Tutsing, German Foreign Minister Genscher Hans-Dietrich repeated the same words: "We all know that membership in NATO creates a lot of complications. But, at the same time, there is another truth known to everyone: NATO will not expand to the east."

However, soon both the American side and the leaders of its closest allies, European countries, forgot their promises. The following scene appeared before our eyes.

<u>State</u>	<b>Partnership for Peace</b>	<b>Accession document</b>
<u>Vengriya</u>	08.02.1994	16.12.1997
<u>Polsha</u>	02.02.1994	16.12.1997
<u>Chexiya</u>	10.03.1994	16.12.1997
<u>Bolgariya</u>	14.02.1994	26.03.2003

Currently, Finland is in the last place in this line. It was accepted into NATO on April 4, 2023. Currently, Bosnia and Herzegovina has obtained a plan to join the alliance (December 2018), while Georgia, Ukraine and Sweden are waiting for their turn.

Reagan, Thatcher and other Western leaders supported Gorbachev's reform program. They considered "reconstruction" to be the most important program of the Soviet Union. They expressed their readiness to help Gorbachev and the process of reforms he initiated. The main negotiation process of the international summits reached such a level that the future of "Reconstruction" and its positive and negative consequences were discussed. Although everyone involved knew at the time that Reconstruction was a flawed program, Gorbachev refused to admit it.<sup>20</sup> Even the economic experts of the USSR presented a number of articles on the advisability of changing this policy, but their opinion was rejected. The summary of the report of the State Economic Council was published in Pravda newspaper in 1989, in 1990 under the title

"Acceleration of a sustainable economy", "Social and economic growth of the USSR", and we observe the critical opinions expressed in it. The article not only shows the ineffectiveness of the reform program. included a comprehensive report on the economy, but called on the government to change it. Although these economic analyzes have been made public since 1988, the Communist Party has seriously argued that they do not apply to the economic process. didn't pay attention. VOA, according to Blackburn's Post-Cold War Public Diplomacy (1992), was reorganized and supported by Congress around the cultural imperialist agenda of the United States in non-Western countries. These projects have always worked in favor of American foreign policy. This can be seen from the fact that "Voice of America" is provided with modern telecommunications equipment.<sup>22</sup>

We get such information from D. Khalil's conclusions after carrying out a technical examination of the long-term history of provision of the "Voice of America" radio system and other technical means. First, "Voice of America" has always been equipped with advanced technologies and used them to the full. Second, the USSR used a variety of devices to prevent VOA broadcasts from reaching Soviet citizens, but VOA was also equipped with other technologies that allowed it to transmit outside the jamming mechanism and reach its audience was. Thirdly, each zone had its own amplifier.

This was the result of the project being consistently funded by the US Congress for decades. The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, Khalil says, were among the most successful methods of disseminating US propaganda. As the USSR constantly updated its radio and television jamming devices to protect the Iron Curtain and prevent the infiltration of foreign anti-communist ideas, VOA had to continue to equip itself with the latest equipment in response.<sup>23</sup>

According to Ch.T.Salmon's research, mass media developed dramatically during the Reagan administration. Reagan's presidency, Salman said, was also remembered for his swift response to media criticism. As a result, the media strategy of the USA gained influence on the world stage. This is partly because such comments served as a strong example of freedom of speech. The term "Reagan's press model" has also been used. The press covered Ronald Reagan's presidency relentlessly, but Reagan gained a greater advantage in managing the press after accepting question-and-answer briefings.<sup>24</sup> Many of those who believed that the Soviet Union could not be destroyed from within were completely mistaken. Although certain measures of economic reform were implemented in the USSR and other communist countries at various times, Gorbachev's radical reform led to some fundamental problems. First, his reforms clashed with the core organizational values of the Communist regime, which was further complicated by some special circumstances in the Soviet case. Gorbachev believed that the Marxist-Leninist theories developed over the years did not allow for this clash of organizational values because the Soviets considered themselves a democratic society. It was customary to use the term "socialist" instead of "democratic" when implementing changes. And Gorbachev tried to implement reforms by changing the political system, not the foundations of the USSR.

Summarizing the above, we can say that if we put the priorities of two interrelated structures on the two sides of the scale, whichever one is true will crush the stone. What is the main priority: the living conditions of the people in social life, lifestyle; in political life - freedom of speech and conscience, in short, a question of

However, at the same time, the media strategy of the United States reached a high level. The term "Reagan's press model" began to be used. This is a technical issue. VOA USA regularly provides state-of-the-art broadcast equipment. On the other hand, the amount of work to be done for "Khokhakorsin" has increased. We all know the result. Above, we focused on the cases that reasonably confirm this opinion.

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