

THE PARTY PRESS: THE PAST, THE PRESENT, THE FUTURE (GENERAL TENDENCIES)

Research methodology. *The methods of empirical research – observations, comparisons – are used in the scientific research to explore and compare the historical stages of the party press development of different political forces in the leading countries of the world. Theoretical methods of research which were used in the article include the method of analysis and synthesis, which allows to split the party publications by the degree of politization and, on the basis of this, make the predictive conclusions.*

Results. *Mass media act as a kind of socio-informational policy field. A special place is occupied by the printed organs of parties and political movements, which represent a communicative channel – the leader of ideology, and a means which allows to communicate effectively with adherents and the target audience. Party print organs have undergone a long phase of evolution – from highly specialized in political subjects to fully implemented in the general information field. In a globalized world, the achievements and miscalculations of the national mass media, including party affairs, have no longer narrow-minded, but universal values and influences. It is important to show the process of the emergence and further evolution of the party press, delineate the main trends in the development of the party media in the leading countries of the world in the historical retrospective and give a scientific forecast of the main directions of improvement of the party direction printed media. At the end of the XX-th – the beginning of the XXI-st century, a large number of the party media has been transformed into pluralistic editions which use effective strategies and newest business models to address a wider range of tasks and expand the readership. An example of such a modernization is the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China «Zhenmin Zhibao» («The People's Daily») with millions of copies in many languages of the world.*

Novelty. *A significant empirical material was introduced into the scientific circulation. The concept of the party press evolution was formulated.*

Practical significance. *The results of the research can be used in the scientific studies of the researchers. They can be also used in courses on teaching the history of journalism.*

Key words: *party press, historical discourse of press development, new tendencies in party journalism.*

I. Introduction

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the media are a kind of social and information policy field. A special place is occupied by the printed organs of parties and political movements, which represent the communicative channel – the leader of ideology, and the means that allows to communicate effectively with like-minded people and the target audience. Party print organs have undergone a long stage of evolution – from narrowly specialized in political subjects to fully implemented in the general information field. Despite the often pessimistic forecasts of the existence of print media in general and the party media in particular, they have prospects of existence and development.

In Ukraine a powerful school for studying the history of the Ukrainian press has been set. Scientific researches, which allow to create a detailed media map (including its party segment) of the Ukrainian information space of the end of XIX – the beginning. of the XX centuries, are published in monographs and articles by M. Romaniuk, I. Mihaylyn, O. Bosak, M. Galushko, S. Kostya, I. Krupsky. Historical aspects of the incipience and the development of the Ukrainian party press are viewed in the works of L. Snizarchuk, O. Zharnokleev, V. Georgievskaya. The Ukrainian party press is a part of the global media network, as evidenced by the studies of American scientists James L. Baughman, Craig Gilbert, Russian scientists Zuyeva O. A., Luchynsky Y. V., Grabelnikova O. A. and others.

At the same time, the historical aspects of the incipience and the development of the party media, their dependence on changing historical conditions and development prospects are not researched sufficiently in the national scientific literature and require additional study and analysis.

II. Task setting and methods

The purpose of the research is to analyze the process of the incipience and genesis of the party press, the prospects for its development. According to the goal, the task is set: to describe the main publications which characterize the party press of the United States, Great Britain, China, leading Eu-

ropean countries in the historical retrospective and at the present, and to identify problems and prospects for development. The object of the scientific research is the historical process of the emergence and the progress of the party press. The subject is party editions which reflected the policy of the political forces of different countries of the world.

Research methods. The methods of empirical research – observations, comparisons – are used in the scientific research to compare the historical stages of the party press development of different political forces in different countries of the world. Theoretical methods of research which were used in the article include the method of analysis and synthesis, which allows to split the party publications by political affiliation and, on the basis of this, make synthesizing previous research conclusions.

III. Results

From the beginning of the XX century the periodicals were characterized by a well-known in those years' researcher of the periodic printing P. A. Berlin, as «offspring of society, flesh from his flesh, blood from his blood». A manner and content of affecting society periodicals draws from the same society, expressing only public opinion or at least express opinions of one or another group of society [1, p. 51–52].

The press evolved together with development of society.

«Democratic society, – as the French Sociologist P. Aron marked, –disintegrates on numerous groups on community of interests or ideologies in natural way, thus each of them gets legal possibility to protect the ideas and conduct a fight against other groups» [5, p. 49], we can add – including first of all using press.

According to the generally accepted determination, the party press is the «periodical printed edition, belonging to certain political organization, financed by this organization, positioning it and propagandizing ideas of this political organization» [3, p. 21].

It is accepted to consider that the first standards of the party press (unlike civil press) appeared on the American continent. Furthermore, there is the settled opinion, that American journalism initially was «party» and only at the beginning of the XIX century become similar to modern one [7].

«You don't need to have a degree in history, – James L. Baughman, the researcher of the American party journalism history says, – or even to have paid much attention when you suffered the US history survey course as an undergraduate – to know that American newspapers were very partisan in the 19th century. «Editors,» wrote one historian, «unabashedly shaped the news and their editorial comment to partisan purposes. They sought to convert the doubters, recover the wavering, and hold the committed [13].

The initial period of development actually of American society that was seeking how to go away from colonial dependence is accepted as a starting point, while «wide variety of political looks, economic requirements and ideological views, that were reflected on the pages of the periodic printing, gave access to the public passions of the most different tints» [4, p. 11].

The newspaper «The Massachusetts Spy» that was founded in 1770 described this situation. And at the initial stage it had character of informative sheet with a slogan «Open for all parties, but no one has influence», but over time while publishing criticizing materials against authority, the newspaper was exposed to «pursuits from the side of colonial administration».

At the end of the XVIII century American party editions such as The National Gazette (1791) and The Gazette of the United States (1789) became a tribune for hard political fights between republicans and federalists. Ideological rivalry on the pages of newspapers between the leader of federalists Alexander Hamilton and founder of democratic-republican party Thomas Jefferson defined the mainline of opposition in the system of forming of the party press in the USA [6, p. 74–79].

On the 18 of September, 1851 the American daily newspaper The New York Times, which demonstrated support for the Republican Party and on its initial stage, was founded. During some time, this edition aimed to become more independent, publishing analytical reviews presenting the different points of view. Nowadays New York Times is one of the most authoritative editions in the world, having more liberal preferences.

Stilson Hutchins became a founder The Washington Post (1877) and on the initial stage of his activity was the representative of the state Missouri from Democratic Party. Actually, an edition was created for advancement the Democratic party views.

The European party press aroused up and activated in the XIX century.

The «classic» country of the periodic printing and the «pioneer» of the party press of Europe was Britain. Daily Telegraph (1855), Daily Mail (1896) and Daily Express (1900) became the megaphones of Conservative Party (former Tories). The Manchester Guardian (which changed the name on The Guardian in 1959) was founded in 1821 by the group of liberal bourgeoisie that defended positions of Liberal party (former Whigs). Daily Mirror edition which was founded in 1903 as an edition for a woman audience only (with woman authors), over time realized unavailability of that time society to gender equality, passed to support of Labor Party (third political force that finally being formed in 1905).

The continental Mass-media also supported the «party» trend of Great Britain soon. A push to appearance and active development of the political press became the events of «Spring of people» – the

wave of European revolutions in 1848–1849, as a result of which «not only bourgeoisie grows into effective force but also journalists aspire to the political engaging, and publishers put to themselves an aim to serve to some one idea [2, p. 132].

Media palette of European party Mass-media of the second half of the XIX century presented editions of liberal, democratic, social democratic and clerical (mainly catholic) directions. Many of them have long history.

In particular, the newspaper «Neue Preußische Zeitung» (New Prussian newspaper), which was founded in 1848, became the center of association of conservative forces of Germany. This newspaper existed until 1939 and by that time became the iconic organ for conservative higher class, the subscribers of which were noblemen, officers, high-ranked officials, industrialists and diplomats.

In the trend of conservative tradition other German printed publications were published of the second half of the XIX century, such as «Wöchentlich preußisch» (1851) (Prussian weekly), «Preußische Volkszeitung» (1859) (Prussian folk newspaper), «Norddeutsches wöchentlich» (1861) (North German weekly).

In opposition to the conservatives the Frankfurter Zeitung should be noted. It was founded in 1856 and was an edition that became the voice of liberal bourgeois extra-parliamentary opposition in the last third of the nineteenth century. The history of this edition is interesting because after the newspaper was closed in 1943, the legal inheritor of it became «Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung» («Frankfort universal newspaper») – one of the most authoritative editions of Germany of the second half of XX – the beginning of the XXI centuries. And nowadays this newspaper that was founded on November 1, 1949 positions itself as liberally-conservative edition. The editorial apartment of «Frankfurter Zeitung» became a «maternity hospital» for other well-known German newspaper Frankfurter Rundschau («Frankfort review»). First number of this newspaper was published in the American sector on August 1, 1945 and was similar in ideology to the Social Democrats. The newspaper became the first German daily edition of post-war period.

The media mosaic of the modern German press is incomplete without mentioning the publications of the conservative orientation. The most influential is Die Welt (World) (the first number of the newspaper was published in Hamburg on April 2, 1946). The Süddeutsche Zeitung (South German Newspaper) that was founded on October 16, 1945, is a leader in the left-liberal direction.

The strengthening of social democratic movements and the spreading of Marxist ideas in the second half of the nineteenth century led to the emergence of the first «workers» parties in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. In 1888, the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Austria (one of the most influential in modern Austria) was created with its party foundation, Arbeiter-Zeitung.

The spreading of Marxist theory among Ukrainians led to the creation of the first Ukrainian modernist party – the Rusko-Ukrainian (the Ukrainian) Radical Party (1890) with its own press organs, such as «Narod», «Radikal», «Khliborob».

In 1898 the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) with its official body «Working newspaper» was defeated shortly after the proclamation. The first all-Russian illegal Marxist newspaper «Iskra», which was created in 1900, served to unite the scattered Russian and foreign Marxist circles. The journal Pravda, which had a left-wing focus and a group of authors, many of whom adhered to Marxist views, was founded in 1903. By 1906, the journal ceased to exist, becoming the basis for the creation of a mass working (Bolshevik) daily newspaper «Pravda» (1912), which exists intermittently to these days.

The end of the XX – the beginning of the XXI centuries are characterized by a radical change in the Mass media picture of the world. In conditions of competition among Mass media for the attention of the audience, traditional forms of party publications often give up their former irreconcilable positions. «Gone are the days, – one of the Guardian Seth authors marks, – when history was written solely by the victors. In today's democratized climate of instantly disseminated words and images, those on either side of a battlefield have the potential to feed facts and figures to media outlets around the world, or to pass on video footage and photographs that their opponents might prefer never saw the light of day» [9].

In their striving to convey the ideology, strategy and tactics of their parties, party elites have to take into account the interactivity, speed, mobility and multimedia content of the modern media space. But one of the fundamental laws of dialectics proclaims not only the struggle of opposites, but also their unity. In the new, multicultural world, «the partisanship is returning to journalism, – notes S. G. Korkosenko, – editorial offices actually adjoin one or another political organization, becoming, as it were, their agitation division» [5, p. 50].

There are many reasons – from the existence of an established «party» audience (the Russian «Pravda») to nostalgia for the past part of society («Komsomolskaya Pravda», which is no longer «Komsomolskaya», but actively exploits the brand), from the personal worldview of editors to financial side sponsors' support of the publication.

English press was the first that caught new tendencies on the European continent. Furthermore, a reader has a cognitive dissonance more often right here. The conservatism of the edition is sometimes

surprisingly combined with scientific progress, globalism with an «island» mentality, political correctness with caustic cartoons on the verge of a foul in the spirit of Charlie Hebdo. The previously impossible tendency of «changing the shoes on the move», in other words, changes in party preferences of the alleged party press, is also traced.

So, the first Internet newspaper in Europe was released by one of the oldest British newspapers Daily Telegraph in 1994. As in the XIX, and at the turn of the XX–XXI centuries, the publication is firmly supported by the conservative party of Great Britain, for which it was nicknamed «The Torygraph». It turns out that conservatives are not so «conservative» when there is an opportunity to expand the audience for Internet users.

Competitors do not fall behind. Nick Hugh who was appointed on the position of Telegraph Media Group CEO in June, 2017 and for 18 years was immersed in internet business and never engaged in publishing activity, symbolizes – perhaps – the most radical change in the long history of one of the most popular newspapers in the UK [<https://jrnlst.ru/telegraph-media-group>]

The British newspaper The Times, which is one of the most authoritative editions in the world, is also available on the Internet since March 1999. But that's not all! Traditionally the newspaper had moderately conservative views, but during elections in 2001 and 2005 the Times unexpectedly supported Labor Party [14].

The modern US press gradually moved away from the rigid support of party views and at the same time strived not to lose the well-established readership. Therefore, the New York Times, which positioned itself as a republican edition in the initial period of its existence, after the time D. Trump became a president began to criticize the republican head of the White House together with mass media that supported the Democratic Party (The Washington Post).

It is important to mark that edition did not mimic in favor of new readers, but consciously changed a former «party» course. On July 7, 2018 the president of the USA Donald Trump in a social network «Twitter» declared that the newspaper The New York Times and The Washington Post doomed to leaven the mass-media market – allegedly because of the propensity to create «fake news» by them. He named the first newspaper as the Failing New York Times and the second – the Propaganda Machine for the Amazon, who constantly quote anonymous sources, and called Twitter to get rid of fake Mass media accounts in a record location within the framework of general politics [10].

Craig Gilbert, the famous American researcher of the party press, indicates, that in the conditions of «disappearance of political differences within parties (...), presented some Republicans that were more liberal than Democrats. And some Democrats that were more conservative than some Republicans», journalists (including party media journalists) have to «adapt to this new, hyperpolarized political climate» [8].

Modern Ukrainian party mass media actively use the media system in search of electoral success and – as a result – a breakthrough to Power. The right-center Petro Poroshenko Bloc «Solidarity» publishes the newspaper «Solidarity» [1]. Similarly, other political forces – Batkivshchyna, Samopomich, Radikal – are not looking for the «original» names. The online versions of these publications do not require print capacity, are able to respond quickly to challenges, and sometimes even distribute unverified information.

A review of the modern party press will be incomplete without a newspaper, which represents the almost 100-million-strong army of the Chinese Communists – «Renmin Ribao» (People's Daily). The Communist Party of China Party Organ is one of the leading newspapers in the world and is the most influential newspaper in China. The publication is available in 14 languages. Over a thousand journalists work in 70 correspondent offices in different countries and regions of the world. The «paper» circulation of the newspaper reaches 2 million 800 thousand pieces and is annually increasing by more than one hundred thousand copies; the number of readers of the online version is also estimated at millions.

Aware of the importance of party publishing in a globalized, rapidly changing world, the PRC leadership is closely following the needs of officialdom, keeping abreast of the editorial policy.

So, on January 25, 2019, the President of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the Secretary General of the CPC Central Committee, Xi Jinping, visited «Renmin Ribao», where he pointed out the need to «make efforts to promote the in-depth development of the media convergence process and strengthen the influence of the media on public opinion to enhance a common ideological base for the united struggle of all members of the party and the people of the country». During the visit, the leader of China emphasized that «party newspapers and periodicals should strengthen the development and innovation of their instruments of communication. Efforts should be made to develop websites, microblogging, WeChat, electronic newsletters, mobile newspapers, television using Internet protocols and other forms of media to allow the Party's voice to directly reach all types of user terminals and receive new fields of public opinion».

According to the President of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the work of news and public opinion is facing new problems, since profound changes have occurred in the ecology of public opinion, the media landscape and the devices of communication. «Integrated Mass media development

needs to be accelerated to make penetration, leadership, influence and trust in mainstream media stronger, » said Xi, calling for the creation of competitive, highly influential new types of mainstream media. «Priority must be given to mobile platforms, » he said, calling for research on the use of artificial intelligence in collecting, generating, distributing, receiving and feedback»

«The management of new media in accordance with the law should be strengthened to ensure a cleaner cyberspace», – Xi said.

Xi also asked the mainstream media to provide more accurate and objective information with clear points of view in a timely manner and called for efforts to improve the online content to protect the country's political, cultural and ideological security.

According to him, party committees and governments at all levels should provide greater support for the integrated development of the media in terms of politics, means and talents.

Emphasizing the status of «People's Daily» as the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Xi demanded that the newspaper should improve its work in order to take full advantage of its key role in managing public opinion [12].

IV. Conclusions

The party press was born and was created in order to promote certain political ideas. Such a magazine or a newspaper was sharply oriented on «its» audience, but did not miss the opportunity to agitate «fellow travelers». Entertaining content, not to mention the raising of discussion questions, to put it mildly, was not welcomed.

The political changes that took place in the twentieth century all over the world made media magnates and editorial boards of popular publications change their approaches in a changing world. The propaganda of narrow-party ideas was replaced by ostentatious objectivity; publishers aspired to expand readership and attract advertiser investors. Journalists and publishers of leading media learned how to take into account not only the internal audience, but also the international response to the printed word.

It even happened that at certain historical moments the party press unexpectedly began to criticize «its» party power (Soviet newspapers at the time of Gorbachev's perestroika, some conservative editions of England in the early twentieth century, and republican editions in the USA of D. Trump's time, etc.)

Significant part of the press which used to be party turned into pluralistic publications, far from their ancestors.

The use of the Internet has become a fashionable trend, and even ideas of attracting artificial intelligence to modern journalism have been expressed.

However, as is known, development goes in a spiral, and nobody has canceled the dialectic law of denial of denial. The party press per se has not disappeared anywhere, and in some cases (Renmin Ribao) acquired international significance.

The future of the party press itself is formulated by the leadership of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Less influential political forces, of course, should take into account their own, more modest possibilities. But the implementation of innovative technologies in publishing is a global tendency. Both for the party press and for the press, which is underscored apolitical.

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Макарчук О. Г. Парти́йна преса: минуле, сучасне, майбутнє (загальні тенденції)

У статті розглянуто питання зародження, історичної генези, місця та перспектив розвитку партійних видань США, Китаю, європейських та інших країн світу в системі засобів масової інформації. Зроблено висновок, що історично органи партійного друку виходили на ринок ЗМІ для пропаганди тих чи інших політичних ідей. Політичні та суспільні зміни, що відбулися у ХХ ст., змусили мінятися і партійні видання. У розвідці проаналізовано ці загальні для партійних ЗМІ зміни, окреслено шляхи розвитку й майбутнє партійної преси в умовах світу, що кардинально змінився.

Ключові слова: преса партійна, історичний дискурс розвитку преси, нові тенденції в партійній журналістиці.

Макарчук Е. Г. Парти́нная преса: прошлое, настоящее, будущее (общие тенденции)

В статье рассматриваются вопросы зарождения, исторического генезиса, места и перспектив развития партийных изданий США, Китая, европейских и других стран мира в системе средств массовой информации. Делается вывод, что исторически органы партийной печати выходили на рынок СМИ для пропаганды тех или иных политических идей. Политические и общественные изменения, произошедшие в ХХ в., заставили меняться и партийные издания. В статье анализируются эти общие для партийных СМИ изменения, определяются пути развития и будущее партийной прессы в условиях кардинально меняющегося мира.

Ключевые слова: пресса партийная, исторический дискурс развития прессы, новые тенденции в партийной журналистике.