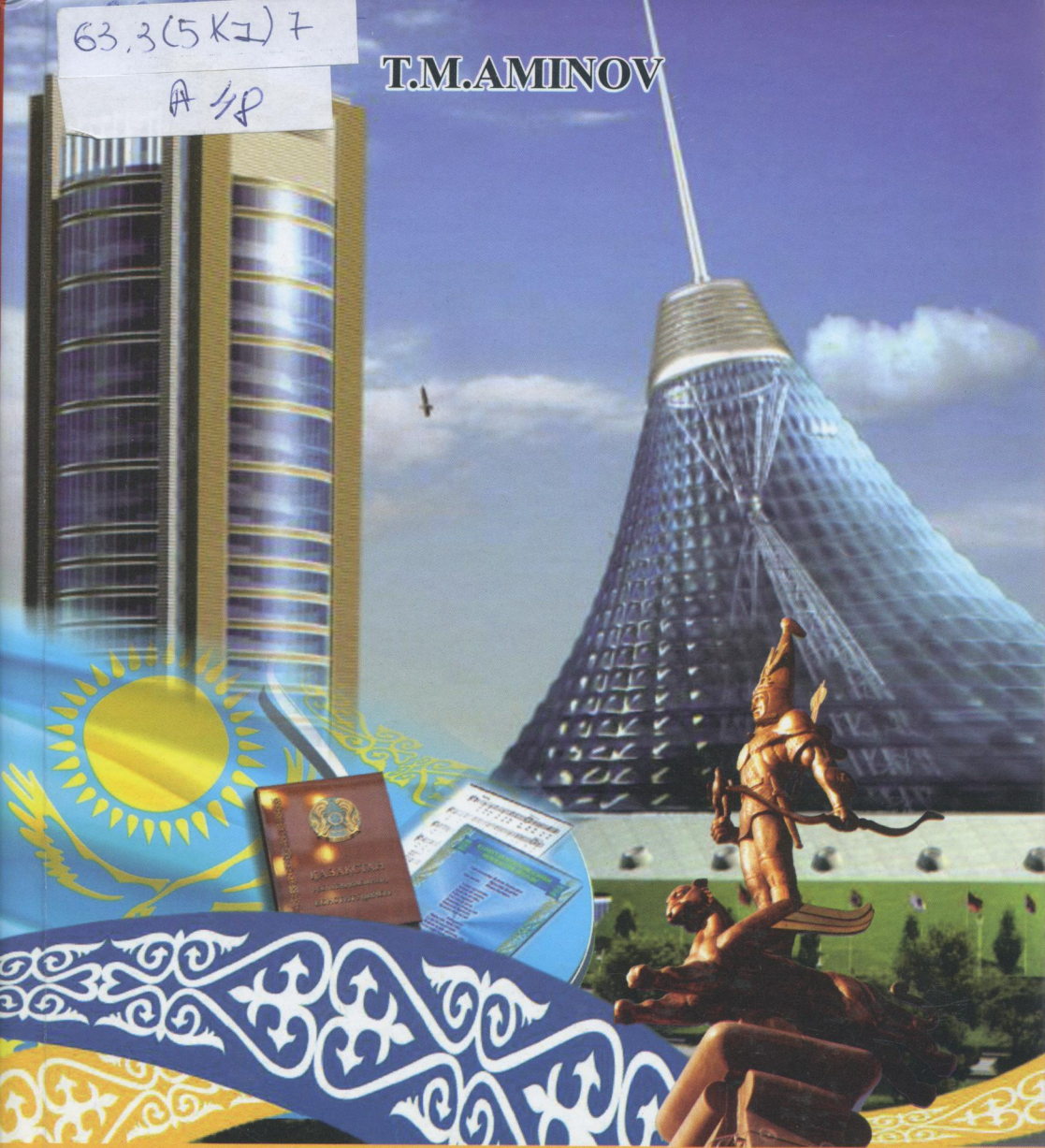


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T.M.AMINOV



# MODERN HISTORY OF KAZAKHSTAN

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

**T.M.AMINOV**

**MODERN HISTORY OF  
KAZAKHSTAN**

**Lectures**

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The tutorial «Modern History of Kazakhstan» is written in accordance with the standard curriculum. It includes main subjects as per both traditional and credit training systems used in the educational process of higher educational institutions. Lectures includes a description of main events that took place on the territory of Kazakhstan from the stage of completion of the formation of the Kazakh nation as an ethnic group and the formation of the Kazakh Khanate as one of the major prerequisite for the national state till the present day.

The main section is devoted to the study of acute problems of the modern history of the Republic; therefore the study of each of the historical process is closely linked to social and spiritual life of independent Kazakhstan.

At the end of each lecture there are control questions. The list of basic and additional literature is offered at the end of the tutorial.

The tutorial includes corresponding lectures, assignments for seminars and students independent work, as well as a glossary.

The tutorial is intended for students of higher and specialized secondary educational institutions, as well as for those interested in the history of the country.

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## ABBREVIATION

<b>HSTC</b>	Higher Scientific and Technical Commission
<b>DUMK</b>	Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Kazakhstan
<b>EAEC</b>	Eurasian Economic Union
<b>ENPF</b>	Single accumulative pension fund
<b>KASSR</b>	Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
<b>KSSR</b>	Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic
<b>NAS</b>	National Academy of Sciences
<b>NGO</b>	Non governmental organizations
<b>OSCE</b>	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
<b>CSTO</b>	Organization of the Collective Security Treaty
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>RSFSR</b>	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
<b>Kazakh CEC</b>	Kazakh Central Executive Committee
<b>REC</b>	Russian Executive Committee
<b>UCEC</b>	Union Central Executive Committee
<b>RSDLP (b)</b>	Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks)
<b>RCP (B)</b>	Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)
<b>ARCP (b)</b>	All Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)
<b>CICA</b>	Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<b>RK</b>	Republic of Kazakhstan
<b>CIS</b>	Commonwealth of Independent States
<b>CPSU</b>	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
<b>CPC</b>	Communist Party of Kazakhstan
<b>MTS</b>	Machine and Tractor Stations
<b>NEP</b>	New Economic Policy
<b>SCO</b>	Shanghai Cooperation Organization

## From the Author

A decisive turn in the study of the national history was made with the acquisition of the state independence by Kazakhstan. For many years Kazakhstan was dependent on the Soviet totalitarian system of government, our people were subjected to neglect their historical past, our new generations were denied the opportunity to communicate in their native language, to owe national traditions and customs. Radical changes, that took place in the modern period in the political, economic and socio-cultural life of the country finally allowed to roll up the sleeves and get down to a comprehensive study of the national history. As a result of this turn, many of the issues of our history undergo revision and acquire new contours.

Replenishment of the national history, including the modern history of Kazakhstan, with the new concrete realities greatly enhance our spiritual world, give us a new way to explore our past and present, look at our future from the modern position.

Based on the historical logic and the significance of the historical events, the tutorial «Modern History of Kazakhstan» is structurally divided into two interconnected sections. The first section «Main Premises of Modern Independence» briefly describes historical events leading up to the December 1991 events. This section summarizes the development of the times, which all together have become the key to Kazakhstan modern independence, since the study of modern times is not possible without understanding the historical past. Thus, in universities the study of the course of the national history should become a new step, not a mere repetition or continuation of the textbooks on the history of Kazakhstan for secondary schools.

The second section, «New Kazakhstan in a New World» coherently reveals the history of modern Kazakhstan since the independence time.

The history of independent Kazakhstan is the most important part and the continuation of the country's history. Kazakhstan has not yet been long on the way of its real independence – just for 25 years. But the government has made the transition to the market economy, experienced a complex social upheaval during this relatively short period of time. Learning, understanding, learning from this historical period is the urgent task of our historical science.

Glory and honor of the people is measured not only by the size of the area it occupies and its number. In the first place it is measured by its contribution to the world culture and the world civilization. Therefore, familiarization of the students with the true pages of the heroic centuries-

old history of our nation, which is successfully building a truly independent and democratic state now under the leadership of Nursultan Nazarbayev, is of great importance for enriching the horizons of students and helping to develop their patriotism, sincere love for their native land and the homeland.

Based on the said above, this tutorial is written in accordance with the modern requirements for the study of the national history. We have also taken into account and the fact that the subject «Modern History of Kazakhstan» is a part of the state examination by the decision of the Ministry of Education and Science, which attaches a special importance to it among the social and humanities subjects.

The tutorial includes corresponding lectures, assignments for seminars and students independent work, as well as a glossary. In this study each of the historical process is closely linked to the social and spiritual life of independent Kazakhstan.

## SECTION I

### MAIN PREMISES OF MODERN INDEPENDENCE

#### **Topic 1. Introduction to the History of Kazakhstan. Subject and Objectives of the Course «Modern History of Kazakhstan»**

##### *Lecture Plan:*

1. *History of Kazakhstan as a part of the world history, its relationship with the social and human sciences.*
2. *Object and purpose of the course «Modern History of Kazakhstan».*
3. *Sources of the modern history of Kazakhstan.*
4. *State policy in the field of the national history.*

##### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. History of Kazakhstan as a Part of the World History, its Relationship with the Social and Human Sciences**

History is a constantly evolving science. It is a knowledge of the world and the disclosure of its past. It looks like as if we are travelling within space and time with the help of history. At the same time, we not only imagine the past as something common for old and new generations, but also realize the dynamics of its changes in the context of time. Our past is more and more transformed on the hairpin bend of the history, and we perceive it as a valid key for the resolution of difficult and complex problems of modern life against this background. During impetuous changes in the life of society, the people determine its historic choice looking back deep into their past. Thus, the history becomes the main source of their self-knowledge.

History of Kazakhstan is an integral part of world history, and is closely linked to the social and human sciences. Its subject as a science and discipline is the study of the origin and the basic stages of formation of the Kazakh people and other ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of the country, their state and legal systems, economic and cultural, social and political relations.

Kazakhstan has passed a great and worthy way in the history. Kazakh statehood has taken a variety of forms at different stages of its history: Khanate, protectorate, autonomous and union Republics. However, a full-fledged statehood of the modern type, corresponding to the national interests and the challenges of the XXI century, was built only in 1990-2000-ies, that



is, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and gaining independence. A new independent state came in the historical arena – a full member, a subject of world politics, a member of the United Nations.

The historical significance of this crucial period is that it was in the decade Kazakhstan, headed by the first President, the Leader of the Nation Nursultan Nazarbayev, the real founder of the modern state, has gone from independence to a real national sovereignty, has become a recognized, respected member of the world community.

A comprehensive strategic process of strengthening of sovereign Kazakhstan is dynamically and consistently continued: the future prospects of the state to 2030 and 2050 have been defined. Since independence, the country's leaders and citizens of Kazakhstan fulfilled a great volume of creative work. Kazakhstan achievements (summarized in its modern history) should become an inspiration to the new generation and an authoritative argument in understanding of the correctness of the political and economic course chosen in the 1990s. Therefore, we need to study and generalize the construction and strengthening of the modern state taking place in front of our eyes.

The study of the modern history of Kazakhstan in higher education has an important educational and consolidating value; it is the key to the formation of Kazakhstani patriotism.

## **2. Object and Purpose of the Course** **«Modern History of Kazakhstan»**

The subject of the course «Modern History of Kazakhstan», when considered in the traditional sense, will cover the period 1990-2000-ies. However, given the historical relationship, this course provides an enhanced understanding of modern history, rooted in the previous period. As a whole, this understanding covers a wider historical period – from ancient times to the present day. History of Kazakhstan prior to independence in 1991 is a record of creativity and spiritual power, struggle and resistance. The achievement of the state independence was a landmark event in the long history of Kazakhstan. Therefore, the history of sovereign Kazakhstan of the end of XX – beginning of XXI century, at the turn of the millennium is a new, modern chronicle of the achievements of the citizens of the Republic, gained independence and building a new state.

The history of independent Kazakhstan is the most important part and the continuation of the country's history. «Thinking about the present,

remembering the past, thinking about the future». This catch phrase pinpoints the problems of the history as a science in society and the state. The foundation of the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan makes up the state system of Eurasian nomads that influenced a large part of the world, and the history of the struggle for freedom of Kazakhs for several centuries, the experience of co-existence within the Russian Federation and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Kazakhstan has not yet been long on the way of its real independence – just for 25 years. Compared to the world history a quarter-century is not very long, but it's a whole era for us. During this relatively short period of time the government has identified the main political vectors of the development, made the transition to a market economy, has experienced difficult social upheavals. New Kazakhstan was formed in the new world. Learning, understanding, learning the lessons from this historical period are the urgent task of the national historical science.

The study of «Modern History of Kazakhstan» in higher education should be a factor contributing to the formation of the students' patriotism and citizenship, the consolidation of deep scientific knowledge on the centuries of the history of Kazakhstan, and especially on the history of formation and the development of Kazakhstan as a sovereign state, including the reform of the political processes, economic and social spheres of the society, coverage of real achievements of sovereign Kazakhstan in domestic and foreign policy.

This implies the following tasks:

- to reveal the essence and content of the main stages of the history of Kazakhstan from ancient times to present on the basis of the problematic approach by analyzing general laws of historical development;
- to show the place of the era as the cradle of the modern nation and as a prerequisite for the subsequent historical development through coverage of fundamental problems and the events of the ancient history of the country;
- to reveal the main aspects of the process of formation of the Kazakh nation and the statehood;
- to show peculiarities of the historical development in the period of Kazakh khanate and during the further loss of independence at the colonial era;
- to identify a nature and a history of contradictions of the Soviet Kazakhstan period;

- to reveal a historical content of the basic laws of historical processes (political, economic, socio-cultural) in transit societies in the context of formation of independence;
- to provide a basic knowledge of the documents that make up political and legal framework of the state independence (see Chrestomathy);
- to reveal the historical role of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in strengthening of the sovereignty of the state, in gaining a worthy place of Kazakhstan in the international community;
- to trace evolution of the state and its institutions at the stage of independence;
- to clarify the course and the content of political processes, economic and socio-cultural reforms and growth of the economic potential of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- to reveal the process of the country's entry into the international and regional community of the states as a sovereign subject of international relations;
- to promote a science-based formation of the civil position of students, their ability to navigate in the internal events and in international relations of the state.

To address these problems the efforts of historians and political scientists, sociologists, philosophers who study modern events should be coordinate in the process of teaching the «Modern History of Kazakhstan».

### **3. Sources of Modern History of Kazakhstan**

Now let us consider the main sources of study of the history of modern Kazakhstan. We know that history is not written without facts. Traditional source base of historical science includes a variety of archaeological, ethnological, folklore and other materials. Historians use many written sources that are stored in library collections and archives. The source base for the history of Kazakhstan before the independence period includes materials of archaeological excavations, works of ancient, medieval – Western, Persian, Arabic, Russian, Chinese, Mongolian and other historian-chroniclers, as well as archival documents. Various documentary sources of the Soviet period conclude a significant base for the history of Kazakhstan; however, we should be aware that they bear the imprint of the ideology of those decades.

The main sources of the study of the modern history of independent Kazakhstan, reflecting the political, social, economic, and spiritual changes of the society are the following documents and materials:

- decrees, letters, reports, speeches of the Head of the State in which the goals, objectives, priorities and results of the development of the Republic are revealed;
- legislative instruments adopted by the Parliament;
- government regulations and documents specifying internal and external development of the country, political, regional, social and economic aspects of the evolution of Kazakhstan;
- documents of the central and regional executive authorities, proceedings of meetings of the different levels;
- materials reflecting the position of the institutions of civil society, political parties and foreign experts;
- contemporary evidences - direct participants in the construction of independent Kazakhstan;
- materials of the polls, statistics;
- conceptual and fundamental works of local and foreign scientists on the modern history of Kazakhstan;
- periodic press materials;
- internet resources on relevant issues.

The fundamental documentary basis of the history of independent Kazakhstan is the laws, legislation, and strategic programs. The main of them are the Constitutional Law «On the State Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan» (1991), the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 1995; the Message of the President of Kazakhstan «Kazakhstan-2030: Prosperity, Safety and Welfare of all Kazakhs» (1997) and all subsequent messages of the Head of State. The legislative acts and policy documents have laid the foundations of the vector of future development and provided the fundamental changes in the country.

The works of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev are very important for the study and understanding of public policies, which provide detailed information about the development of the state and the civil society, about the internal and foreign political situation, problems, successes, and achievements in the process of becoming independent. The particular relevance of the works of the Head of State is that he is not just a participant in the historical process, but also a politician, making important decisions both during the period of dissolution of the USSR, the period of independence, and at present. The works of the Head of

State are not only the focus of the historical facts; they are of an analytical and a general character.

Among the sources on modernization of Kazakhstan's economy there should be noted presidential decrees having the force of law and stimulating economic development, the addresses to the people of Kazakhstan and the President's statements on major international forums and meetings. However, some of the events and processes such as deregulation and privatization are not well reflected into documentary sources, there is also a negligible amount of analysis and journalistic articles on the subject. The importance for the analysis of the statistical data as an indicator of socio-economic development of the country should also be noted in understanding the reform progress.

Numerous testimonies of contemporaries of the events of the second half of the 1980-2000-ies, memories, and accounts of statesmen and politicians (including foreign) are of particular importance in the study of the modern history of Kazakhstan. They complement the source base; allow a deeper understanding of the events of the recent past, the difficulties, and achievements of the passed way.

The materials on the reform of the education system, the development of science in market conditions, materials of scientific-practical conferences and forums, statistical studies data are essential to study the socio-cultural sphere.

The foreign policy of Kazakhstan, its place in the structure of the international relations are clearly defined by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and in numerous treaties concluded by Kazakhstan as a subject of world politics.

Currently the study of the modern history of Kazakhstan has just been started. Therefore, the creation of a full-fledged multi-faceted scientific historiography on the basis of which the way in Kazakhstan in 1990-2000-ies would be thoroughly analyzed and studied in all aspects – political, economic, socio-cultural, international, is an urgent task today historical science.

An important subject of historiography is the state activity of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and in particular the establishment of Astana as the new capital of Kazakhstan. The President gave a notable example to the historians in his book «In the Heart of Eurasia» (2005), in which he revealed the causes and consequences of the capital transfer, thoroughly and comprehensively analyzed the importance of Astana in the further development of the state. From scientific, journalistic and



documentary works of this kind one can also note the following books: «Formation of the Institute of Presidency in the Republic of Kazakhstan» (2000), «Elin Suygen, El Suygen Elbasy» (2005) by M.Kasymbekov, «Nursultan Nazarbayev. Laws of Leadership» (2005) by Zh.Saadanbekov, «Nursultan Nazarbayev: Portrait of a Man and a Politician» (1998) by O.Vidov, a collection of «Bayterek» (2003), «That was the Beginning of Astana» (2008) by A.Dzhakysbekov.

The historiography of the international relations of recent decades is represented by the works of K.Tokayev «Under the Flag of Independence. Essays on Foreign Policy» (1997), «Diplomacy of the Republic of Kazakhstan» (2002), «Light and Shadow» (2008); a research by T.Mansurov «Kazakh-Russian Relations in an Era of Change» (2001). Among the literature on political history the work of K.Burkhanov, B.Sultanov, B.Ayagan «Modern Political History of Kazakhstan (1985-2006)» (2006) should be noted.

General and specific historical significance for the understanding of the history of modern Kazakhstan are given in the following works: «Ult Zhane Orkeniet» (2001) by M.Kozybayev, «Time to Change» (2005), by K.Sultanov; «El Tagdyry – Er Tagdyry» (1997) by M.Zholdasbekov; «Political Philosophy» (2006) by G.Esim, «Kazakhstan: History, Identity, Theory» (2006) by Kh.Abzhanov; «Kazakhstan and Nazarbayev: Logic of Change» (2001) by E.Ertysbayev, «The Republic of Kazakhstan and the Modern World» (2000) by R.Kalievoy; «Actual Problems of the History of Kazakhstan» (2003) by T.Omarbekov; «Strategic Matrix» (2006) by I.Ageev etc., «Nursultan Nazarbayev. Kazakhstan Breakthrough and the Eurasian Project» (2008) by R.Medvedev; «Solid Pace of the Country» (2007) by A.Gursky; «Way to Leadership: the Socio-Economic and Political Reforms in Kazakhstan» (2007), «The History of Independent Kazakhstan» (2010) by B.G.Ayagan, H.M.Abzhanov, S.V.Seliverstov, M.S. Bekenov and others. It is too early to summarize the historiography of modern history of Kazakhstan, since an accumulation of thorough research on the subject is still on.

Historical experience and possibilities of Kazakhstan allow us to formulate and put into practice an efficient and balanced state model in the new century: «economic prosperity – political stability, social peace». This is a model, which optimally combines the most important human values. This is the historical foundation on which the present and future of Kazakhstan is based.

In pre-revolutionary period, a significant contribution to the study of the history of the Kazakh was made by the Russian scientists P.I.Rychkov, A.I.Levshin, V.V.Radlov, V.V.Bartold, N.A.Aristov. The first experience of systematization of the history of Kazakh people from ancient times belongs to A.I.Levshin (1832). His work «Description of the Kyrgyz-Cossack or Kyrgyz-Kaisak Hordes and Steppes» is the crown of all historical and ethnographic literature of his time.

Creation of the first programs and textbooks, general works on the history of Kazakhstan falls mainly onto the Soviet period. At the beginning stage of the formation of the science there was a lack of historians, especially teachers, there were no textbooks or manuals. In these difficult conditions, a great scholar and enthusiast, a Chairman of Society for the Study of Kazakhstan A. Chuloshnikov wrote «Essays on the History of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz People in Connection with the Common Historical Destiny of other Turkic tribes» (1920), which covered the main stages of the ancient history of the Kazakh people. An in-depth presentation on the ancient history of the regions is found in the book by M.Tynyshpaev «Materials on the History of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz People» (1925).

The work of the first Kazakh professor of history S.Asfendiyarov «History of Kazakhstan from Ancient Times» (1935) are featured with originality of the conceptual provisions and a rich empirical base. The Author highlighted the main aspects of the pre-revolutionary history of Kazakhstan, dividing it into two stages: before and after the conquest by the tsarist government. In this book S. Asfendiyarov outlined the Russian of policy, denied the voluntary accession of the Kazakh lands to it, as well as the progressiveness of this process.

«Essays on the History of the Kazakh SSR» by M.Vyatkin (1941) covers Kazakhstan's history from ancient times to the 70s of XIX century. In 1943 the first edition of the «History of the Kazakh SSR from Ancient Times to the Present Day» was published giving systematic exposition of the history of the Republic. The prominent Soviet scientists A.Pankratova, S.Bahrushin, N.Druzhinin and other took part in its creation. The great contribution was made by Kazakhstani scientists and public figures, in particular, I.Omarov, M.Abdyhalymov, E.Bekmahanov. Their works soon became the subject of criticism of the Party authorities. The authors were accused of embellishing the past of Kazakhs, underestimating the role of the class struggle, exalting the Kazakh khans and sultans. A new edition of the «History of the Kazakh SSR» (1949) was also a subjected to fierce criticism.

In the third edition of the «History of the Kazakh SSR» (1957) the accession of Kazakhstan to Russia was estimated as an important progressive historical event for the Kazakh people. Despite the facts, the book highlighted only positive changes in the economy and culture of the Kazakh society, while the national liberation movement led by Kenesary Kasymov was portrayed as a feudal-monarchical.

A huge contribution to the study of the history of Kazakhstan was made by a talented scientist, linguist, archaeologist, historian, academician A.H.Margulan. His research on the heroic epic of medieval urban culture, material, and spiritual life of the population of the steppes of the Bronze Age, the compilation of the Archaeological Map of Kazakhstan are featured by diverse subjects, broad chronological range, and originality of the findings.

A big contribution into the historiography of Kazakhstan was made by the book of St. Petersburg scientists S.Klyashtorniy and T.Sultanov about the history of the Kazakh people from ancient times to the XVIII century (Kazakhstan. Three Millennia Annals, Alma-Ata, 1992). The main advantages of this monograph are a high scientific level, the use of written and archaeological sources, and simplicity of exposition.

An invaluable contribution to the study of complex and urgent problems of the Kazakh people's colonial history was made by an Academician M.K.Kozybayev. He is the author of over 800 scientific papers on the history of the native people, of which about 500 were written during the years of independence. As the director of the Institute of History and Ethnology of the National Academy, he turned it into a true center of historical science. Under his personal supervision there were published the works on the general history, a five-volume edition of the modern «History of Kazakhstan» was completed. He was also the author of several textbooks for secondary schools. Decolonization of the historical sciences is associated with the name of M.K.Kozybayev, he is practically the founder of a new methodology.

The historical science of independent Kazakhstan got free from the shackles of centuries of colonization and must now to form the historical consciousness of the people from the objective position by all means. A large contribution to this process was made by such historians as M.Koygeldiev, T.Omarbekov, B.Ayagan, O.Ozganbayev, Zh.Abylhozhin, N.Masanov, B.Kumekov, Zh.Kasymbayev, Zh.Artykbayev, S.Syzdykov, S.Kozybayev, I.Kozybayev, B.Irmuhanov, I.Erofeeva, V.Galiev, N.Bekmahanova, V.Yudin, M.Abuseitova, A.Kadyrbayev, archaeologists Kh.Alpysbayev, K.Baypakov, K.Akishev etc.

The activity of a historian, a well-known political and public figure I. Tasmagambetov is of particular note, thanks to his efforts the copies of the monuments of runic letters have been delivered to Kazakhstan, a series of «Kazakhstani oriental studies» was published, a lot of work on the study of certain periods in the history of Kazakhstan was accomplished.

If you think of society as a system, where individual elements are connected with each other in time and space, the time communication functions are carried out by history and historical consciousness. Therefore, today an objective study of history, its popularization is very important for us. Awareness of this fact led to the fact that 1998 has been declared «The Year of the Unity of the Peoples and National History» by the President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

This has had a beneficial effect on the development of the historical science in Kazakhstan. A large number of sources and monographs were published, a series of conferences on the history of the Republic was held. An important event was the publication of the work by N.A.Nazarbayev «In the Stream of History» in 1999, where the historical process is seen in the context of the development of the national spirit, the national idea, and the marked problems of the formation of the national and state identity.

Thus, the modern history of Kazakhstan as an independent discipline takes an honored place in the curriculum of training of highly qualified specialists. It is studied at the undergraduate level and goes through till the final state examination of the students.

A high school course of the Russian history is the logical continuation of the knowledge acquired in the high school, and contributes to a fundamental educational basis together with other disciplines, specialist of any skill level.

#### **4. State Policy in the Field of the National History**

From the first days of independence, the state pays great importance to the development of historical science and the formation of the historical consciousness of citizens. Searching for a new nation-wide idea is the task on the agenda of modern Kazakhstan and the historical science. In 2003, in his Address to the people of Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev instructed to develop a special program exploring the cultural heritage of the Republic, reconstruction of historical, cultural and architectural monuments, generalization of centuries-old experience of the national literature and writings. As a result, since 2004 the state program «Cultural Heritage» began to operate, which was realized in several phases: 2004-

2006, 2007-2008, 2009-2011, and was carried out in the following areas: systematization, preservation, and restoration of monuments of history and archeology.

As part of the program, the excavations more than 30 cities and other settlements, burial mounds and other facilities have been carried out. They are Buzykty in Akmola, Koilyk and Talgar in Almaty, and Sarayshyk in Atyrau region, Berel-Shilikty in East Kazakhstan, Merke and Zhaisan in Zhambyl region, Zhaiyk and Karaoba in Western Kazakhstan, and Toktaul, Aibas and Kent in Karaganda, Bestamak in Kostanay, Kyzylorda Rabat, Toksanbay in Mangistau, Shildirti in Pavlodar region, Botai in North Kazakhstan and Zhuantobe, Karaspantobe, Otrar, Sauran and Seytak in Southern Kazakhstan. Foreign projects were successfully implemented. They are the restoration of the mausoleum of Sultan Az-Zahir Baybars in Damascus, the mosque of Sultan Baybars in Cairo, the construction of the historical and cultural center and mausoleum of Al-Farabi in Damascus.

Particular attention was paid to the publishing business, aimed at the formation of a single global fund of artistic thought in the Kazakh language. Among the key editions are «Kazakh Folklore» and «Selected Works of the World Literature», «Anthology of Kazakh Music», «The Legacy of the National Philosophy», etc.

At the initiative of President Nursultan Nazarbayev in 2013, a special program of historical research under the title «The People in the Flow of History» was developed. Its main purpose is to create conditions for a qualitative leap of historical science of Kazakhstan on the basis of advanced methodologies and techniques; to expand the horizons of the national history of Kazakhs, to form a new historical outlook of the nation; to understand of the two decades of Kazakhstan's history.

The speech of the Secretary of RK M.Tazhin made in June 2013 at the walls of the Eurasian National University named after L.N.Gumilyov is a good evidence of the success of the taken measures.

Priorities for further development of the historical science of Kazakhstan were summarized as follows:

- The national history should be a central element among the social sciences.
- It is necessary to develop a qualitatively new level of the overall concept of the history of Kazakhstan. It should be closely linked with the history of the world, clearly shows the place of Kazakhstan in the global historical processes, the system of relationships and scientific periodization.



- Priority should be given to the collection, compilation, and classification of all available local and foreign historical material about Kazakhstan. It is necessary to carefully examine all of the major foreign repository of historical artifacts (this also applies to the recent history), as well as to explore the possibility of repatriation of these historical materials into the country, or if this is not possible, to replicate them and to ensure the subsequent provision of access to them of scientists and the general public.
- Among the priorities is the study of Central Asian nomadic civilization, the keeper of which is the Kazakh ethnos.
- An issue of quality history textbooks is on agenda now.

As we can see, the main focus is almost exclusively on the future development of our own national history, which is quite understandable. Being formed as a separate branch of scientific knowledge in the mid-twentieth century, the historical science of Kazakhstan continues an active process of self-understanding by the nation, which is enhanced by the tectonic events of the late twentieth century – the collapse of the Soviet Union and an ability to write our own nation's history.

The next step in the formation of historical consciousness was the idea of a Patriot Act «Mangilik El». The «Plan of the Nation – 100 Steps to Implement the Five Institutional Reforms», 85th and 89th steps are devoted to the idea of «Mangilik El» to create a project of a patriotic act. President Nursultan Nazarbayev announced about «Mangilik El» idea in his address to the Nation «Strategy» Kazakhstan-2050». New Political Course of the Established State» in December 2012, although it was reflected in the triumphal arch of the same name on December 15, 2010, which was called «the new symbol of modern Kazakhstan and the triumph of the people of Kazakhstan, to realize the centuries-old dream of the independence and sovereignty of their country».

The idea «Mangilik El» sounded in the most complete form in the President's address «Nurly Zhol – Path to the Future» on January 17, 2014: «Mangilik El» is the national idea of our common Kazakhstan house, the dream of our ancestors. During 22 years of sovereign development core values that unite all Kazakhstanis and form the foundation of our country's future have been established. They are taken not from the transcendental theories. These values are the experience of Kazakhstan's way, which withstood the test of time.

First, it is the independence of Kazakhstan and Astana. Second, it is the national unity, peace and harmony in our society. Third, it is a secular society

and high spirituality. Fourth, economic growth based on industrialization and innovation. Fifth, it is the Universal Labor Society. Sixth, it is a common history, culture, and language. Seventh, it is the national security and global participation of our country in addressing global and regional issues. Thanks to these values we have always won, strengthened our country, and multiplied our great successes. These constituent, national values are the ideological foundation of the New Kazakhstani patriotism». When the President talks about the future of Kazakhstan as «Mangilik El», he puts the issue of the historical consciousness of the nation on one of the first places on the agenda.

The idea itself has undergone certain changes in the process of formation, both in substantive and symbolic, as well as in the subjective way. The conductor of the idea is the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan.

The Patriot Act «Mangilik El» promotes education of the new Kazakhstan patriotism; equality of rights of citizens of all ethnic groups; development of the Kazakh language and trinity of the languages; revival of the culture, traditions and the identity; raising the role of the national intelligentsia; strengthen the secular character of the state, all these are an important conditions for the successful development of Kazakhstan.

The image of a country is its competitive advantage, a strategic approach to the development of its strengths and a vision of where the country can move. The country will not be able to compete without such vision. A state's image is directly related to the attitude of foreign public to it as well as the attitude of its own citizens. It determines the level of patriotism in a country, the love and respect of its citizens to their country.

Kazakhstan continues to search for symbols that would make it recognizable all over the world. President Nursultan Nazarbayev made a proposal to establish a world-recognized brand of the Republic, which would distinguish it from other countries and form the image of the country. «Even I'm starting to think about this question. For example, Japan is called the Land of the Rising Sun, Korea is the country of morning freshness, Netherlands is the Country of Tulips, China is the Celestial. We are a Country of Great Steppe», said the leader of Kazakhstan, speaking in Astana during a TV broadcast «New Industrialization».

According to Nursultan Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan should have its own unique identifier that would create its distinctive image in the eyes of the world public opinion and would make it stand out from other countries. The Republic's authorities have been arguing over the formation of a new image over the past few years – this task, on the idea of Astana, should serve,

in particular, to the international exhibition EXPO-2017. The topic «Energy of the Future», according to the organizers, is to show the world that Kazakhstan, which exports the resources, is committed to a green economy.

The benefits that come as a result of a strong country brand can be in direct economic benefit, such as increasing the tourist flow. But the country branding is also designed to address strategic policy goals – cooperation with neighboring States or international organizations, which ultimately affect the political and economic situation of the country. In this case the historical science becomes an essential resource for its formation.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What social and human sciences does the history of Kazakhstan collaborate with? How is it manifested?
2. What exactly does «Modern History of Kazakhstan» studies as an academic discipline?
3. What are the main sources on the Modern History of Kazakhstan?
4. What is the difference between the course «Modern History of Kazakhstan» and the course “History of Kazakhstan», which was studied in universities in previous years?
5. What is the State policy in the field of the national history?

## **Topic 2. N.A.Nazarbayev on the Celebration of the 550<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Kazakh Khanate. Formation of the Kazakh Khanate – an Important Historical Milestone on the Way to Independence**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

- 1. Nursultan Nazarbayev on the celebration of the 550th anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate.*
- 2. Kazakh Khanate – the successor to previous state formations, the continuation of the traditions of the steppe statehood.*
- 3. Dzungar invasion of the territory of Kazakhstan.*
- 4. Completion of the Kazakh-Dzungar wars. Activities of Khan Abylai.*
- 5. Kazakhstan and Russia in the conditions of modern times. Start of the colonial era in Kazakhstan.*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Nursultan Nazarbayev on the Celebration of the 550<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate**

Kazakhstan is an owner of the rich history and cultural heritage of their ancestors. The study of its history will always be relevant for all time. In 2015, the official Kazakh statehood celebrated 550 years and, of course, the celebration of this date was a significant event in the life of our relatively young sovereign country.

History is an interesting and diverse science. Activities of Khans Kerey and Zhanibek are important milestones in the history of Kazakhstan. They took the first step towards the independence of Kazakhs.

Time passes, the eras are changing, and today we live in an independent state of which our ancestors dreamed. Activities related to the celebration of the anniversary of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate are designed to reveal the origins of our statehood. The idea to celebrate the commemorative date was proposed by President Nursultan Nazarbayev at the end of October 2014. On December 31, 2014 the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan accepted Decree № 1448 «On Preparation and Carrying Out of the 550-Year Anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate in 2015».

This date is very important for the whole country. As noted by our President in a meeting with representatives of the leading Russian TV channels in the autumn of 2014: «We have gained independence at the difficult times, went through hardships. Now, with the improvement of the

situation, we should pay attention to the history, the spiritual component. I think the celebration of the 550th anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate is very necessary for us, especially for young people».

And so, according to Elbasy, celebrating the 550th anniversary of the Kazakh statehood is an important event in the history of the country. He stressed that now is the time to pay tribute to history. «We are the descendants of the great Khans and batyrs. They did not have much of what we have today, but they have always been the unity. We have survived thanks to the unity. It is always necessary to remember why we hold celebrations next year»...., – said, Nursultan Nazarbayev. Then the Head of State noted that the current generation has a duty to preserve and increase the gained history and traditions for future generations.

«Every nation has a history. There are no people in the world without history. The Kazakh statehood has a long history, it is necessary to understand and remember it. We must preserve our statehood and independence for future generations, as our ancestors did for us. And we can do this only if we live in unity. This memorable event – the 550<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate, is a reflection of the unique spiritual and historical continuity of generations. The Kazakh government has not arisen out of nothing; it has been built for centuries. Let this holiday be the basis for the rise of the spirit of our people and the strengthening of patriotism», – concluded Elbasy.

On October 9, 2015 in the frame of the celebration of the anniversary, Nursultan Nazarbayev took part in the opening ceremony of the monument «The 550<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate» in Taraz, and visited the museum «Ancient Taraz». During the ceremony Elbasy laid flowers at the base of the monument and made a congratulatory speech. He congratulated everyone on the 550<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate, noting the importance of the celebrations that began in the capital and continue in Taraz.

«During the years of independence, several expeditions were sent to different corners of the world to study and collect information about our ancient past. Our history dates back to the Sakas, Huns, Turks, and continued with the carting of Khans Kerey and Zhanibek to the shores of the Chu River, where it raised the flag of the Kazakh Khanate. We hold these festivals in order to demonstrate the antiquity of our history around the world, tell the younger generation», – said the President. He further underlined that any holiday is used by us to do more for the people. In the world there are outbreaks of instability, conflicts, and wars, while in our



country the people live in peace and in an atmosphere of mutual respect. Kazakhstan is known and respected by other countries. Our country is a mediator in resolving conflicts; it conducts Congresses of Leaders of the World and Traditional Religions. All this is achieved thanks to the unity of our people.

«We gained independence in difficult times, went through hardships. Now, with the improvement of the situation, we should pay attention to the history, the spiritual component», – he said. Meanwhile, according to the President, the historical heritage sites are located throughout the country. There are many graves of the Kazakh khans along Zhaiyk around the Ulytau in Turkestan. We need to explore our history, to raise awareness of people about it. And we begin with the celebration of an important date of the Khanate. Many people ask: «How could our ancestors maintain such a large area in the difficult conditions with small population?» To answer this question, we need to recall the history of the Khanate. It arose not from scratch. In Kazakhstan there is no dialect, there are no differences in the traditions and customs. Kazakhs have never been separated; our entire history consists of the union. When all sides of state gathered soldiers and formed one unit, no one could stand against the people. The enemy could defeat us only when he sought our separation, – said the Head of State.

Nursultan Nazarbayev noted that the independence of the country begins with the inner sentiments of the people, with its relations to each other. «It should be remembered. To maintain our independence, it is necessary to avoid strife among the people. It would be a terrible mistake if because of this we cannot keep the land saved for us by the ancestors, our statehood. Kazakhs have a saying: «If four are together, prosperity will come, if six are apart, they will lose everything», – concluded Elbasy.

Nursultan Nazarbayev said the following at the celebrations dedicated to the anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate, held on 11 September 2015 in Astana: «We give tribute to the memory and deeds of our forefathers, mindful of the fact that the history of our sacred land has several millennia. It is artfully woven into the unique ornament into the inflorescence of the past and present civilizations of Eurasia. Invisible thread of Chronos connects us with the thousand-year history of China and modernity, past and present, many Middle Eastern nations. A myriad of linguistic and cultural ties, we are connected with our brothers – the Turkic peoples, now living on the shores of the Arctic Ocean till the Mediterranean. Grand Turk El – this is our common homeland with common ancestors and heroes, common spiritual wealth. It is our great shared heritage».

He went on, we shared the historical path of hundreds of years with the peoples of Russia and, first of all, with the Russian people. He also noted that during the years of independence we have acquired common pages of the history with the European Union, the United States of America, the Islamic world, they tell of many important international events of recent times, including those which took place in our country; Kazakhstan will always cherish and increase the friendship and trust with our neighbors, will build good relations with all countries of the world.

In the conclusion of his speech he said: «In the world there are many examples where one or the other people use a special informal concept in addition to the official name of their state. Our sacred land of ancient times was called the Great Steppe, and we are the children of the Great Steppe. We are building a new Kazakhstan with incredible new features and prospects, which our ancestors have never had. Our land has changed for many thousands of years of history. In the XXI century it was newly transformed, and the immense space of the Eurasian steppe got flourished. We lit a new beacon of our history! Therefore, today, and forever, our Kazakhstan is Uly Dala Eli! This country is the country of the Great transformed Steppe. This is the ancient name of our beloved Motherland. It reflects both the past and the present, and the future of our country. It captures our Kazakh character and its main features. This is openness and breath of our souls, our hearts, our warmth, hospitality, and love of peace, wisdom and prudence, hard work and entrepreneurial spirit. It is the belief in our strength and the ability to achieve unprecedented prosperity of the beloved land. I am convinced that this way of our new Kazakhstan will find a place in the mind and heart of every citizen of Kazakhstan, it will be recognized all over the world».

Every young citizen of Kazakhstan should become a worthy citizen of the country, who is aware of the greatness and dignity of the Kazakh steppe, especially on the day of the 550<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate. Olzhas – a poet, Laureate of the Prize of Peace and Progress of the First President of Kazakhstan – Leader of the Nation described the importance of this anniversary: «Today is a very important day for all of Kazakhstan, and it will certainly be an event to Eurasia. At this day Kazakhstan got conscious of itself, taking into account all its history, and announced that it would continue the once laid tradition, the tradition of the great steppe. Due to the fact that Kazakhstan could endure the difficulties, could keep this great steppe, the steppe did not become small and devastated. It blooms in its own way, richer, opens up new possibilities».

As the poet underlined, Nursultan Nazarbayev's purpose is to educate patriots, worthy young generation. «The President calls on the new generation to pay attention to the greatness of our Kazakh steppe. It is not just the land, it is a very rich, historical land full of jewels. They should treat it with reverence, using the epithet «great». Your birthplace is the Great Steppe, and you have to be great», – said O.Suleymenov. «All the words are addressed to new young generation. It is important that they are aware of the greatness of their country, and added to it the greatness of their work, with their talents. We hope that it will be so» – he added.

The 550<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate is a significant event for the country, which has a deep historical significance. According to the deputy of the Senate of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan Vladimir Redkokashin, the anniversary date can be compared to the Independence Day, BNews.kz correspondent reports. «First of all, I would like to congratulate everyone on this holiday – the 550 the anniversary of our statehood. In my opinion, the importance of this festival can be compared to the Independence Day. The basis of our statehood is the formation of the Kazakh Khanate. Of course, the main component of this holiday is the formation of historical consciousness», – said the deputy.

Also, the deputy of the Senate praised the significance of the book by N.A.Nazarbayev «In the Stream of History». «We can say that in his book «In the Stream of History» the Leader of the Nation Nursultan Nazarbayev, as always, very aptly defined the importance of education of the Kazakh Khanate, and determined the value and essence of the holiday. I think that the formation of the historical consciousness, patriotism, a manifestation of the future strategy of building a state is the main part of our celebration» – said V.Redkokashin. «550 years is a milestone in the history of Kazakhstan. It must be said that this is the biggest milestone. Different historical nations, states lived on our ancient land for thousands of years. Our ancestors had a huge influence not only in Asia, not only in the neighboring countries, but they had a huge impact on the overall development of the world history of world civilization», – he added.

During the years of independence of Kazakhstan, President Nursultan Nazarbayev has laid the foundation for the development of Kazakhstan for 550 years ahead. That opinion shared the Rector of the Gumilyov Eurasian National University Yerlan Sydykov during the solemn meeting devoted to the celebration of the 550<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate, BNews.kz correspondent reports. «We celebrate this date in the conditions of independence. We are already a recognizable, authoritative, peaceable,

dynamically developing state. And all this is thanks Elbasy Nursultan Nazarbayev. Moreover, over the past 20 years Nursultan Nazarbayev has created a foundation for the future of the Great Steppe for at least 550 years ahead». In his opinion, the work done for the celebration of this date will affect the deeper study of the history. So, he said, the scientists of ENU will actively participate in the research problems of the Kazakh Khanate., the statehood. The State National Congress of historians publishes the magazine «Mangi El» in three languages, created a series of volumes «People in the Stream of History». «Moreover, this event will affect the education of the younger generation, education of new Kazakhstan», – added E.S Sydykov.

Thus, according to a number of prominent public figures and statesmen, in the works of N.A.Nazarbayev the Kazakh Khanate was presented as the beginning of the national state, an important historical milestone in the life of independent Kazakhstan.

## **2. Kazakh Khanate – the Successor to Previous State Formations, the Continuation of the Traditions of the Steppe Statehood**

As it was rightly noted by the Head of our State Nursultan Nazarbayev at a solemn meeting September 11, 2015 in Astana, on the anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate, the history of the Kazakh statehood dates back to ancient times, beginning with the Sakas, Wusuns, Huns and other of ethnic communities living in ancient times on the territory of Kazakhstan. The experience of governing over ancient ethnic groups was taken over by Turks, who created a Eurasian empire – Turkic Khanate. The statehood of Oghuz, Turgesh, Karluk and of other Turkic ethnic groups of the Middle ages was built on the basis of the traditions of this khanate. A new stage of development of the nomadic statehood is associated with the emergence of the empire of Genghis Khan and the states formed on the territory of Kazakhstan after the its collapse.

The natural successor to the previous state formations, the successor of the steppe tradition of the statehood was the Kazakh Khanate, which existed on the Kazakh land in the XV - beginning of the XVIII century. It should be noted that recently the debates about the history of the Kazakh statehood have intensified, and there is a trend of denial of its existence before the proclamation of the state independence in 1991.

The dating of the time of the occurrence of the Kazakh Khanate – the first nation-state in the Central Asia, which bore the name of its founding ethnic group – Kazakhs, has long remained one of the most controversial

issues of the national historical science. There are many works devoted to this subject in the Kazakh scientific and popular scientific literature. A well-known Kazakh scientist Kadyrgali Zhalayiri describes the history of the Kazakh Khanate in the XV-XVII centuries in his «Shezhire Zhinagy» («Collection of Chronicles»). Today, most historians share the view that the formation of the Kazakh Khanate should be dated August 1465 – August 1466. There is only one indication of the time of formation of the Kazakh Khanate in the historical sources. The famous work «Tarikh-and-Rashidi» by Mohammad Haidar Dulati (1499-1561) from the Turkic tribe Duglat (Dulat) states that the power of the Kazakh khans Kerey and Zhanibek began in the 870<sup>th</sup> year of Hijra.

There is no particular reason not to trust this approximate date of the author of the most valuable work on the history of the Kazakh Khanate. The 870th year of Hijra began on August 24, 1465 and ended on August 11, 1466 according to the modern chronology. Considering that, according to the customs the Kazakh kurultais, where the election of khans was held, took place in mid-autumn, the accession to the throne of Kerey Khan and, consequently, the formation of the Kazakh Khanate should be dated October 1465. A place of origin and formation of the Kazakh Khanate is the Chu region, Kozybashi in southern Kazakhstan. So, in the autumn of 2015 it was 550-years since the formation of an independent state association of the Kazakh people by Kerey and Zhanibek – the Kazakh Khanate. All these dates show the historical continuity of the return of the public consciousness and become a major pillar of the new independent state the Republic of Kazakhstan. This is an indication that we have our own Mangilik El. The Kazakh nation and the Kazakh Khanate celebrated five and a half century of their formation, the centuries-old history of the Kazakh people, and political history of the great Kazakh khans **will strengthen Kazakhstan's statehood and patriotism.**

The age-old goal of our ancestors to form an eternal people, to create a perpetual state gets a new meaning in the idea of Nursultan Nazarbayev «Mangilik El» – the eternal country of Kazakhs. In his book «In the Stream of History», the Head of State wrote that in our history there is nothing that our generation could be ashamed of. The history of Kazakh people is written by the hooves of horses. Our ancestors were fighting for survival, and we must fight for it to become a great nation.

The formation of the Kazakh Khanate was complex in nature and a long-term multi-dimensional process. It was the logical result of the socio-economic and ethno-political events taken place in the vast territory of

the East Dasht-i Kipchak, Semirechie (the Seven Rivers) and Turkestan (southern Kazakhstan). The formation of a single economic region based on the integration of natural areas with a mixed economy, a nomadic herding and a settled agricultural, with an urban economy of the trade and craft type, prepared conditions for the unification of all the lands of the region into a single political structure in the XIV – XV centuries.

The specific course of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate is associated with the internal political situation of the two states on the territory of Kazakhstan – Khanate Abulhair (a state of nomadic Uzbeks) and Moghulistan. In both countries the economic power of the nomadic nobility increased, its centrifugal aspirations grew. The most influential leaders of the clans and tribes of the eastern Dasht-i Kipchak and Semirechie sought political independence.

Back in the 20's of the XV century, Kalmyks attacked the Semirechie in search of pastures, booty, and an access to the trade centers. In 1457 Abulhair Khan suffered several defeats. Making peace with Abulhair on heavy for him conditions, the Kalmyks left via Chu to their land, and Abulhair began to restore the order in his encampments, including in the south of Kazakhstan, by brutal measures annihilating every Zhuchid who did not recognize his authority. Actions of Abulhair and inability of the Moghulistan Khan to protect the population of the Seven Rivers from Kalmyk hordes, led to further discontent of the masses.

Most of the tribes of the south of Kazakhstan rallied round Kerey and Zhanybek already in the 40-50 years of the XV century. Led by numerous Kazakh tribes they migrated in Zhetysu, which was part of the Moghulistan. This action of the masses was the beginning of the subsequent unification of disparate groups of Kazakhs, including of Semirechie, in one state.

The Kazakh Khanate originally occupied the territory of the Western Semirechie, Chu and Talas valley. Friendly attitude of the Moghuls Khan to the sultans of the Uzbek ulus was due to the fact that, first of all, Esen-Buga had no possibility to ward off an attack of the raiding northern nomads by the force of arms at that time, secondly, in the face of Kerey and Zhanibek and their soldiers he saw a stronghold for protection of the western borders of their possessions from the claims of his brother Yunus supported by Timurid Abu Sa'id.

Another reason that made Esen-Buga to take such a step could be the fact that the power of the Khan both internally and in external relations is determined mainly by the number and strength of supporting ulus feudal nobility and the people. Therefore, it was natural to his desire to win over

the enemies of its powerful neighbors and use them, if need be, against their own countrymen. After the death of Esen-Buga in 1462 there was complete anarchy in Moghulistan. Under these conditions, the emergence and consolidation of the Kazakh Khanate in Semirechie was quite a natural act.

As have already been noted, Mohammed Haidar Dulati considers that the time of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate was 870 year of Hijra (1465-1466). In subsequent decades of the XV century the Kazakh Khanate strengthened economically and expanded geographically to include a large part of the ethnic territory of Kazakhs. The Khanate of Shaybanid Abulkhair Khan came down from the stage of the history in the East Dasht-i Kipchak. The past military and political power of the Timurid state past away at the end of the XV and the beginning of XVI century, finally losing the power over Mawarannahr in the fight with the leader of nomadic Uzbeks – Abulkhair Muhammad Shaybani's grandson. In fact Moghulistan split into several fiefdoms.

Kerey and Zhanibek became heirs of the previous state associations of Altyn Orda (Golden Horde) and Ak-Orda (White Horde). It can be rightly claimed that the contribution of the founders of the Kazakh statehood Kerey and Zhanibek into the history of Kazakhs is huge and is a historical basis for the formation of Kazakhstan and the national identity, as well as for strengthening of Kazakhstani patriotism. Thus, the Kazakh Khanate, appearing on the historical scene in the second half of the XV century, evolved from a small nomadic formation into one of the most powerful and stable states in Central Asia in a very short time. In the XVI century, it led the fight in the southern region of the Syr-Darya area and defended its territory in the north-east against the attempts to capture the land by the Bashkirs, Russian Cossacks. Turkmens were forced out of Mangystau in the XVII century. Beginning of the XVIII century was marked by the transformation of a huge territory from the Siberian forests to Tashkent, from the lower reaches of the Volga River to the foothills of the Altay in their own property – the Kazakh Khanate.

The period between the second half of the XV – beginning of the XVIII century (from Kerey and Zhanibek to Tauke Khan) was the most important in the Kazakh history, since it was during this time when it was possible to preserve and protect the independence and the territory of the national Kazakh state, to stabilize the power system, to carry out a fair lawmaking to conduct a series of changes in the democratization of society, to ensure the country's stability.

With the period of the creation of their own state Kazakh Khanate was fully committed to the preservation of independence. Elevation and strengthening of the Khanate contributed to the internal unity of Kazakhs themselves, as well as to some favorable external circumstances, in particular, the struggle for power in neighboring states, and the strife between Shaybanids and Ashtarkhanidamn.

The process of formation of a single nation was finished by the XVII century. As a result, all Turkic and non-Turkic tribes of Central Asia who became members of the Kazakh Khanate were called Kazakhs. Thus, by this time the formation of ethnic traditions, customs, one religion, a language, and culture was completed.

The rulers of the steppe and the people fought for preservation of integrity of the national territory with creative tenacity. The Kazakh Khanate gradually became an independent subject of international relations.

A kind of steppe democracy was implemented in practice in the Kazakh Khanate. A well-known scientist-orientalist and a state activist Alexey Iraklievich Levshin witnessed elections of a Khan of the Kazakh steppe. He wrote: «All the neighbors of Kyrgyz-Kazaks are controlled either by a monarchical or a despotic rule, all kindred peoples live in regrettable slavery, while they almost do not know the chain of command, they do not have even a citizen's name, or the name of an owner». The phenomenon is very interesting for politicians! He was also impressed by combination of the government and the traditional legal relations in the Kazakh society.

Human life and freedom are the unshakable foundation of the steppe democracy. This is evidenced by the fact that the decisions of the big court had often the same effect to the decisions of the khan. Features of the Kazakh political and legal system were well understood by A.I.Levshin. However, the scientist pointed out the special historical role of Khan Tauke in the life of the Kazakh society. He wrote: «... there was a time, say wisely from Kyrgyzstan, when our people lived in peace, there was a time when we had order, there were laws and justice. This golden age of which they talk with sighs, was the reign of the famous Tauke, which, according to legend, was really the genius of its kind, and the Kazaks chronicles must stand together with Solon and Lycurgus. Pacifying an anxiety lasted for generations, he not only introduced the stability and order, but also gave them a lot of laws».

In general, the formation of the state in the Great Steppe simultaneously facilitated the process of increasing the number of Kazakh people, transforming them into a sustainable holistic national unity on the basis of



economic and cultural, linguistic unity, recognizing the common legislative standards within broad ethnic space.

### **3. Dzungar Invasion of the Territory of Kazakhstan**

From the beginning of the XVIII century the Kazakh Khanate was undergoing profound upheavals caused by the further aggravation of the foreign policy situation. At the time Tauke Khan managed to overcome inter feudal strife, to restore peace in zhuzes by enhancing the impact of biys and thereby protecting the nomadic Kazakh tribes from outside intruders.

However, the struggle for power and separatism of the sultans shortly after his death broke the unity of the Kazakh people, and immediately the neighbors took advantage of it. Central Asian Khanates Bukhara and Khiva afflicted Kazakhs from the south; Volga Kalmyks supported Yaik Cossacks raiding from the southwest; Siberian Cossacks oppressed them from the north; Bashkirs claimed the pastures behind Yaik.

But the greatest threat to the Kazakh people was the military-feudal Dzungar Khanate. The fight between Kazakh and Dzungar rulers lasted for more than a century. Rivalry for pastures was at the heart of it. As the livestock population grew Mongolian nomads were forced to broaden the farming territory, necessary for the livestock.

After the fall of Genghis Khan's empire, rich and numerically grown Mongols, who had been living in peace for one and a half centuries, decided to revive the former glory of their empire. To this end, they decided to expand its borders from Altay to Atyrau, from the Urals to the borders of India. Under the pretense of fighting each other for pastures, they invaded the neighboring countries.

In 1635 in the west of Mongolia or in the north-eastern part of Central Asia a huge nomadic state – Dzungar Khanate was formed, which consisted of Mongol-Oirat tribes. The basis of its economy was extensive cattle breeding, similar to the neighboring Kazakhs, Khakassia and the Altay people.

Episodic invasion of Dzungars in Kazakh lands began in the XV century. At the end of the XVI century a small part of the Oirat tribes became dependent on a Kazakh khan Tauekel after unsuccessful raids of Dzungars on Kazakhs.

In 1640, in Tarbagatay mountains of the Dzungar Empire led by Taishi Batura, a plan for further action named «Steppe Campaign» was approved.

In this plan the internal state of the Khanate system, its economic culture, internal and external policies took the militaristic nature.

In the 60s of the XVII century, Kazakh-Dzungar clashes were limited to skirmishes, but the large scale military action resumed under hongtaiji Galdan Boshugtu. Son of Zhangir – Tauke Khan (1680-1717) could not stop Dzungars, and in 1681 Galdan troops crossed the river Chu. As a result of the raids during 1683-84 years Dzungars captured and destroyed Sayram city, and invaded the Ferghana Valley. Kazakh-Dzungar relations intensified especially in the 90 years of the XVII century, when Dzungaria was ruled by hongtaiji Tsewang Rabtan. Exhausting, very destructive war for pastures with a powerful enemy weakened the Kazakh Khanate. Despite some victories in major battles, gradually Kazakhs lost their encampments along the Irtysh, Tarbagatay, in Zhetysu, retreating farther to the east.

Since the end of the XVII century Dzungar threat was becoming a serious risk to the existence of the independent Kazakh state.

After being defeated in the war with the Qing Empire, Dzungar feudal lords tried to compensate the losses by conquering Kazakhstan and Central Asia. In 1698 Dzungar hordes the invaded nomadic land of the Senior Zhuz which was the beginning of a new band of armed clashes between aggressive Oirat and the Kazakh feudals. The fight became more violent and bloody, Dzungar feudals inflicted on the Kazakhs one defeat after another, rustling cattle and prisoners, taking pastures and property, sometimes destroying whole villages and clans. Crushed and exhausted by incessant clashes, by external and internal strife the Kazakh people experienced the greatest disasters and deprivation in this period of their complex history.

A large Dzungar invasion in the territory of Kazakhstan took place in 1710-1711. But it had no success, the combined forces of the Kazakh zhuzes rebuffed; Dzungars retreated but not abandoned their plan to capture the Kazakh land.

Kazakh-Dzungar wars clearly showed all contradictions that had accumulated in the Kazakh society in the XVII – beginning of the XVIII centuries. The aggravation of the foreign policy situation has led to strengthening of the role of warriors and sultans by virtue of their social status specializing in military affairs. At the same time bias continued to play a dominant role in the political life of the Kazakh society. By the beginning of the XVIII century a contradiction between the principle of zhuzes autonomy and the need to strengthen the central government for more effective confrontation to Dzungarian aggression began to grow. During the lifetime of Tauke Khan, Sultans started to strengthen in the

border regions of the Kazakh Khanate, who were brought forward in the course of the Kazakh-Dzungar collisions. Conditions for the revival of ulus system began to appear.

A strong young energetic Sultan Abulkhair began to strengthen his position in the north-western regions. He participated in the Bashkir uprising against Russia in 1709-1710, and repeatedly led the campaigns against the Ural Cossacks and the Volga Kalmyks. At the same time some military organizations and junior zhuzes got subjected to the sultan Kaip.

Soon Dzungars resumed their trips. In 1716, a major part of their army began its march from the river Ili towards Ayaguz. The battle on the river Ayaguz that occurred in the spring of 1718 ended with the defeat of Kazakhs. Lack of coordination of actions of the Kazakh commanders of Abulkhair and Kaip, warring among themselves, as well as a sudden blow of Dzungars from the rear allowed the outcome of the battle. In the same year Dzungar troops defeated other units of the Kazakhs on the river Arys.

After the death of Khan Tauke, the Sultan's group began a fierce fight for the position of a supreme ruler in 1717. After much debate, Kaip was elected the Khan (1717-1718).

Kaip Khan died in 1718, and the struggle for supremacy of sultans resumed. A suitable candidate was a young energetic Abulkhair but the Biy's top, which did not desire the strengthening of Genghis, chose weak-willed Bolat (1718-1729). However, the bet on communal democracy in war did not justify itself, and Bolat could no longer control the situation in the Khanate. In the condition of the weak central government, the community of junior and middle zhuzes went on to expand their sovereignty and chose Abulkhair Khan (1718-1748) as their leader. Thus, a process of disintegration of the Kazakh Khanate began. Zholbarys was raised on a white rug in Tashkent, and a part of the Middle Zhuz recognized Shakhmukhambet (Samek) as the Khan. These rulers could really organize resistance to Dzungars, however, Kazakhs had to endure a terrible defeat.

Dzungarian lords, making peace with the Qing Empire, untied their hands, and in the spring of 1723 hit Kazakhstan and Central Asia with all their might. The Kazakhs of the nomadic areas, busy preparing for the transition from winter to summer pastures, were caught off guard. Sweeping away the barriers from the disparate and few Kazakh troops on their way, Dzungar regular troops quickly moved into the territory of Kazakhstan, leaving piles of dead bodies of innocent people, ashes of fires, driving away tens of thousands of prisoners and caravans with the plundered wealth to Dzungaria.

In the fierce battles Kazakhs retreated, exhausting enemy forces. Notwithstanding the onslaught of superior enemy forces, the Kazakhs went to Central Asia and further to the West saving people and leaving the cattle and their belongings behind. The tribes of the Junior Zhuz crossed the Syr Darya and migrated to Khujand. Most of the tribes of the Middle Zhuz moved to Samarkand, and the Junior Zhuz went to Khiva and Bukhara, the Volga and Astrakhan going around Sauran.

The movement of large masses of nomads and refugees from Kazakhstan agricultural and handicraft centers to the towns and villages of Central Asia exacerbated ethnic conflicts, famine, destruction, displacement of the inhabitants of these oases into the deaf, waterless regions. An Uzbek historian Muhammad Yakut Bukhari wrote: «... Bukhara came so hungry that even human meat was a food to the people; the dead were not buried but eaten. There was total confusion. In Bukhara, two Husars (quarters) of residents were left, in Samarkand there were no a living soul left».

Those terrible times had entered into the Kazakh people's history as the years of the «Great Tribulation», it was called «Aktaban Shubyryndy, Alkakol Sulama» in Kazakh oral tradition, which means «completely exhausted by hunger and fatigue people dropped to the ground and lay still at the lake Alkakol» – that is on the left bank of the Syr Darya.

In this difficult period the outstanding batyrs of the Kazakh people Bogenbay, Kabanbay, Nauryzбай, Eset and others became the leaders of the people in the fight against the enemy. In 1726 in Ordabasy district (near the city of Shymkent) a meeting of representatives of all three zhuzes was held, a well-known Kazakh bi - Tole bi, Kazybek bi and Aiteke bi participated in it. At the meeting it was decided to organize a single home guard headed by the Khan of the Junior Zhuz – Abulkhair.

#### **4. Completion of the Kazakh-Dzungar Wars. Activities of Khan Abylai**

The threat of national independence made Kazakhs to unite. Already in 1727 a joint army of all three zhuzes commanded by Abulkhair Khan inflicted a heavy defeat to Dzungar s in the locality «Kara Siyr» on the bank of the river Bulanty, where batyrs Tailak and Sanyryk got famous for their military talent and courage. This area became known as «Kalmak Kyrylgan» – a place of Kalmaks death. This victory inspired Kazakhs. In the spring of 1729 in Anyrakay area, near the Lake Balkhash Kazakhs defeated the Dzungar army. However, Kazakhs failed to build on the success of the

Anyrakay battle. The struggle for supremacy in the Kazakh steppe among the Kazakh aristocratic elite, strengthening of the centrifugal forces within the society of the nomadic Kazakhs, the exhaustion of material resources, the enormous loss of lives did not allow to complete the liberation of the Kazakh lands from Dzungar invaders.

After the Anyrakay battle a question of uniting the Kazakh Khanate and the election of a Khan instead of the deceased Bolat were on the agenda. But the union did not take place, Abulkhair failed to achieve the title of the supreme Khan.

Discord between the sultans and khans nullified the victory of Kazakh in 1727-1730 and the unified Kazakh front was split again. The unity lasted only due to the efforts of the biys of the zhuzes – Tole bi, Kazybek bi and Aiteke bi, as well as the nominated after the Anyrakay battle Sultan Abilmansur known as Abylai. Only in 1739 the new Supreme Khan – Abilmambet, was elected.

The weakening of Kazakhs were used by Dzungars, which concluded peace with the Qing Empire in 1739, threw all their forces to the west, and started a new last campaign against the Kazakh steppe in 1741. Kazakh troops led by Sultan Abylai were broken in the clashes, and the Abylai was captured. Russian administration watched these events rather indifferently, only when there was a direct threat to their possessions, it prepared the embattled forces of the Orenburg line and demanded Dzungars to withdrawal their troops. This caused the Khan of the Middle Zhuz Abilmambet to declare to Russian ambassadors about the futility of the Russian citizenship, and the recognition by Kazakhs of Dzungar s dependency. The conclusion of peace with the Dzungar government contributed to the liberation of Khan Abylai from captivity. The Embassy of Major Miller, directed to Galdan Tseren in 1742, was limited to verbal threats against Dzungars. However, they did not take it seriously and began to prepare to march to the Russian territory in the upper reaches of the Irtysh, the fortress of Ust-Kamenogorsk in the summer of 1744. Only the death of the hongtaiji in 1745 prevented the beginning of the Russian-Dzungar war.

After the death of Galdan Tseren hongtaiji, a fierce struggle for power began in Dzungar State, which was exacerbated by the repeated incursions of Chinese aggressors into its limits, which in its turn lead to a weakening of the military-political potential of Dzungars.

Sultan Abylai skillfully took advantage of this situation, combining the forces of all three zhuzes, he began a powerful military operation for the

liberation of the cities of Turkestan and other Kazakh cities captured by Dzungars during their intervention.

Due to the strategic talent of Abylai, who managed to rally the outstanding warriors of the time kanzhygaly Bogenbai, karakerey Kabanbai, uak Bayan, shapyrashty Nuryzbay, shakshak Zhanibek, Batyr of the Younger Zhuz Bugybay etc, the liberation of the territory of Kazakhstan from the Dzungar invaders was completed almost successfully. Hongtaiji Tsewang Dorjee was forced to conclude a peace treaty with Kazakhs, on the basis of which city Sozak. Sayram, Mankent and Shymkent were transferred to the possession of the Kazakh Khanate. The question of the return of the city of Turkestan was agreed to consider later. The victory of Kazakhs over the Oirats in 1745 marked the beginning of the destruction of the Dzungar Empire. The final victory over Dzungar hordes was succeeded in the battles at the Lake Ayakoz in 1750, at the Dzungar Gates – in 1752 and in the valleys of the Altay and Kolby in 1752-1755. This put a period on the Dzungars military intervention, and their predatory invasion in the Kazakh lands, which had lasted for more than one century.

Simultaneously with the above events after the defeat of Dzungars, in the 40-ies of the XVIII century a new revival of the Kazakh statehood began, it is associated with the name of the Sultan – and later Khan – Abylai. A Real name of Abylai is Abilmansur. He was a son of the Central Asian ruler, Sultan Kazakh Korkem Ouali. During the Dzungar invasion twelve years old Abilmansur ran into the steppe and, concealing his origin, was a simple shepherd for some time. At the end of 20-30 Abilmansur took part in the battles with the invaders as an ordinary soldier at the beginning, then he quickly moved out and became one of the most powerful batyrs. Abilmansur took the name Abylai, the name of his grandfather, the famous Batyr who became famous in battles.

In 1740 Khan Zholbarys was killed in Tashkent. Most tribes of the Senior Zhuz swore to Abilmambetu – the official head of the Kazakh Khanate, with the support of Tole bi. Many tribes of the Junior Zhuz, also obeyed Abilmambet and Abylai with the adoption of the Russian citizenship by Abulkhair. In 1759, the royal administration proposed Abylai to shift Abilmambeta and take his place, promising its support, however the influential sultan refused. Only after the death of the khan in Turkestan, in the mosque Khoja Akhmet Yassawi Abylai was raised on a white rug and proclaimed the new Khan of all three zhuzes.

**Abylai Khan (1771-1781)** – the last (official) Kazakh Khan, whose authority was unquestioned in all Kazakh lands. Only a small part of the

tribes of the Junior Zhuz, wandering near the boundary line, recognized the power of Abulkhair's sons. By keeping political independence, Abylai refused to accept the tsar's gifts and taking the oath to St. Petersburg. Abylai regained Kazakh city in the south, in the short time he returned Sozak, Sayram, Shymkent, and Tashkent. However, his attempts to create an anti-Chinese alliance of Central Asian states did not succeed. He supposed that Afghanistan, Bukhara, Kokand, and Kyrgyzstan would be the allies, but the strong contradictions with Kokand and Kyrgyz resulted in armed clashes. Bukhara was the only one that agreed on unity with Kazakhstan. The activity of Abylai within the state was more successful. Kazybek bi and Bukhar zhyrau were influential political figures of the Khan's entourage.

Abylai's governing was marked by attempts to change the state and legal system of the Khanate in the direction of strengthening the central government. The Khan conferred the right to impose the death penalty, which previously could be done only by the biy court. In addition, Abylai took steps in the direction of reorganization of local government and limiting independence of the Kazakh tribes. In addition to preserving the traditional Potestarian (preclass) system Abylai tried to implement ulus system through the actual appointment of his sons and relatives as the rulers of the individual parts of the Khanate. Sultan Adil was in control of the Western community of Zhetysu, Suyuk – Northeastern Zhetysu. Abylai's in-law Sultan Kudaymendy owned the steppe of Low Tobol basin, the other his son, Sultan Dair – a part of Central Kazakhstan.

However, Ablai Khan was unable to fully consolidate his power. The same Sultan Dair challenged his title of the Khan, the ruler of Naimans Sultan Abulfeiz was almost independent. Some members of the nobility tried to oppose the central government. Russian Border Administration actively encouraged individual Kazakh rulers to separate contacts, in every way supported any action against the Khan, thus trying to weaken his authority. However, until the end of the XVIII century the dependence of the Kazakh Khanate from Russia was purely nominal.

Abylai Khan died in Tashkent in 1781 and was buried in the mosque Khoja Ahmet Yassawi in Turkestan. His name remains in the memory of the Kazakh people and more than once it became a symbol of the struggle for national independence and the revival of the Kazakh state.

Abylai Khan entered the history of Kazakhstan as a great statesman, a talented military leader and an outstanding diplomat. He is a remarkable figure in the dramatic history of the Kazakh people. According to

Valikhanov he was the only Kazakh Khan, who had unlimited power, and did much to strengthen the centralized state power.

Numerous local and foreign written sources reliably described the strategic talent of Abylai for management of major military operations against the foreign invaders. Thus, the Kazakh troops under Abylai's command won several battles against the Chinese invaders Dzungars and, as a result the country of Kazakhs gained its sovereignty and freedom from external enemies.

While leading a relentless struggle for the preservation of freedom and unity of the Kazakh country, Abylai Khan pursued an independent foreign policy. A brilliant military talent and strong diplomatic skills made him one of the great political and public figures of the era.

Abylai sought to preserve the territorial integrity of the country and wanted to achieve its true independence. The Great Khan's dream was now fully realized thanks to the wise policy of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

## **5. Kazakhstan and Russia in the Conditions of Modern Times. Start of the Colonial Era in Kazakhstan**

In difficult foreign and domestic conditions which got extremely aggravated in the first third of the XVIII century, representatives of individual tribes of Kazakhs Junior and Middle zhuzes were forced to turn to the Russian Empire, and ask its citizenship for them. Abulkhair – the Khan of the Junior Zhuz, closest to the Russian territory of Kazakhs sent the embassy to St. Petersburg to the Russian empress in the summer of 1730 with a request for its acceptance and subjected to him Kazakhs in subjection to Russia. Thus Abulkhair Khan sought to resolve several strategic objectives: to preserve the Kazakh state, Kazakh ethnic group in a difficult foreign policy situation, relying on the Russian administration to become the sole ruler of all three zhuzes, whose power would be inherited. Abulkhair's ambassadors returned to the Kazakh steppe, accompanied by the Mission headed by a diplomat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs M.Tevkelev, who made Abulkhair Khan, Batyr Bogenbay and 29 petty individual titles swore allegiance to Russia on February 19, 1731. Soon, due to the new Dzungar raids the tribes of the Middle Zhuz appealed to Russia for help and requesting the adoption of a protectorate, and in accordance with the Decree of Anna Ioannovna on June 10, 1734 they became citizens of Russia.



Relations between Russia and the Junior Zhuz were built on the principles of the Protectorate, in the form of colonial rule, when a dependent State retains its sovereignty in all areas except the foreign policy. In addition, Russia assigned the right to assert the supreme rulers – Khans. The state-protector («defender») was supposed to protect the dependent state from external enemies.

The agreement was violated by the Russian side from the beginning. Raids of Russian citizens did not stop. A fortress was built at the mouth of the Or not for Abulkhair, but to «put on them (Kazakhs) a bridle». Simultaneously with this fortress called Orenburg, there were others laid – Perevoloki, Novosergeevskaya, Elshanskaya, Karolayskaya, Irgulskaya, Berdskaya, Guberninskaya, forming a fortified line on the lands of the Junior Zhuz. According to some scholars, as a result of Abulkhair's separate actions against the unified Kazakh anti-Dzungar front broke. The Junior Zhuz forces were no longer involved in the wars with Oirats, moreover, they became a threat to the Middle and Senior Kazakh zhuzes. But Russia did not think of the provision of any assistance to Kazakhs in their fight against Dzungars.

After the adoption of the Russian citizenship by the Junior Zhuz rulers of the tribes of the Middle and the Senior zhuzes also expressed the desire to be «under the protection», taking, however, no obligation. The only reason was to prevent Abulkhair's advantages in the domestic political struggle. Kazakh khans and sultans did not attach much importance to this diplomatic act. They hoped that such a course of action would enable them to protect the northern border, get help (especially firearms) in the war against Dzungars. And most importantly, they were in desperate need of peaceful trade and diplomatic relations with its formidable north-western neighbor. However, this diplomatic act served as a legal basis for colonial activities in Kazakhstan.

Tsarist government failed to comply its commitment to the Kazakh khans. Kazakhs did not receive military assistance. City Orenburg, built at the request of Abulkhair Khan, became a mainstay of imperial administration in the process of colonization of the Kazakh steppes. The North-western border of Kazakhstan became more restless. Cossack atamans, believing the land owned by Russia, began to build fortresses and other military installations without delving into the interests of the indigenous population.

Thus, the adoption of the protectorate by the north-western part of Kazakhstan brought Kazakhs colonial oppression. This led to the disruption of traditional economic system, which seriously undermined

the productive forces. It began the impoverishment of ordinary Kazakh community members. Military threat from Dzungaria was not eliminated. In 1741 Dzungar troops again attacked the Kazakh land. The fight of Sultan groups continued. In 1748, Abulkhair was killed by Sultan Barak. Death of Abulkhair Khan suited the Orenburg General-Governor I.I. Neplyuev as there were serious disagreements between them in recent years.

Formal recognition of the Russian protectorate by Kazakhs gave Russia a legal basis for the military and political expansion in the region. The colonial authorities considered two measures as the best way to strengthen in Kazakhstan: the construction of the fortified lines of fortresses on the Russian-Kazakh border with military garrisons and the use of the Kazakh-Kalmyk-Bashkir contradictions to suppress any anti-Russian actions of these people.

The whole chain of fortifications from the Caspian Sea along the Ural, Irtysh River to the Altay Mountains surrounded the Kazakh steppe. This allowed the Russian authorities to establish a base for further expansion deep into Central Asia.

Already in the 30s of the XVIII century the Russian authorities were beginning to use the contradictions between the peoples of the region to consolidate their power. An active policy of fomenting ethnic hatred was carried out by the Orenburg Governor I.I. Neplyuev. He developed a plan that included a series of measures in the event of anti-Russian acts of Kazakhs. At the slightest disobedience of the nomads Orenburg authorities had the right to send military forces against them from the town Yaik, Orenburg, Orsk, the Uysk and Siberian lines. In addition to regular regiments Meshcheryaks, tributaries Tatars, Kalmyks, Kazan Tatars, Bashkirs, Don and Yaik Cossacks, Ekaterinburg, Iset and Siberian peasants were used. Thus, the plan called for large-scale use of irregular and «foreign» troops in the colonial wars.

**Cossack Troops on the Territory of Kazakhstan.** In the XVIII century Orenburg Cossack army was created. By its organization it was close to the regular forces and carried the service along Verkhnejajtskaya line – from Yaik town to the fortress Verkhnejajtskaya. The land of Yaik Cossacks stretched along the Ural Mountains, on the right bank of which they built 7 fortress and 11 outposts by 1745, by 1769 there were about 15 thousand families of Cossacks government living in Yaik lines.

On the land, which was regarded as a combined arms ownership, Cossacks engaged in agriculture, cattle breeding and fishing. Since 1748 by

the decree of the Government, the Cossacks began harvest hay in summer and build farms near fortifications.

From that moment, there were numerous farms appearing between the Yaik and Ilets'k town on the small rivers flowing into the Ural. This led to further restrictions on land for Kazakhs, who were not allowed to roam in areas of Cossack farm buildings.

In 1752 the line of military fortifications consisted of 10 forts and 53 redoubts was built connecting the Uiskoe line with the Irtysh. It tied the Omsk fortress with Zverinogolovskoy (Bagkhlan) and was named Novo-Ishim. As a result, the Russian border was unveiled at 50-200 miles in the land of the Middle Zhuz. This violated the existing migrations system, the Kazakh population was deprived of pasture on the right bank of the Irtysh.

Construction of military lines made it possible for the tsarist government to adopt the first legal documents, legalizing land restrictions for Kazakh of the Middle Zhuz in the 50s of the XVIII century. In March 1755 the Board of Foreign Affairs banned the move to the Irtysh. Since 1764 Kazakhs were allowed to roam no closer than 10 miles from the Irtysh River and 30 miles in the area of forts and outposts. Kazakhs lost their best pastures, which explained their desire to destroy the Cossack farms.

Thus, it can be argued that the Russian colonial administration begins active penetration in the Kazakh steppe in the XVIII century, at the same time introducing a lot of restrictions, undermining the economic basis of Kazakh society. All this gave rise to a broad anti-colonial movement of Kazakhs, which took organized forms in the 70s of the XVIII century. At the same time the struggle was not only with the Russian troops, but also with a part of the Kazakh elite, faithfully serving the tsarist government.

**Joining of Kazakhstan to Russia – as a Result of Political, Socio-Economic and other Factors.** Expansionary Polito Russian state in the Kazakh steppe was part of its Eastern policy, and the accession of Kazakhstan to it is part of the overall process of accession of the national borderlands to Russia and the creation of a powerful Russian Empire.

However, in spite of the colonialist policy of Tsarism, Kazakhstan entry into Russia had a progressive value to some extent in the sense that it was included in the all-Russian economy, which contributed to the destruction of the natural forms of the economy, introduction of the Kazakh people to the Russian culture, and to the universal culture through it.

And so, the accession of Kazakhstan to Russia brought the Kazakh people not only oppression and distress. This process took a lot of positive, which was mentioned many times in the Soviet period. More than 70 years of the

life under socialism gave, of course, much more than the oppression under the tsars. If, by Lenin's words, during this period there were two Russia: Russia of Romanovs, Purishkeviches and Russian of Herzen, Belinsky and Chernyshevsky, we can find the roots of the objective aspiration of peoples to each other.

Discussions, various opinions, scientific controversy continue to emerge and erupt around the issues of accession of Kazakhstan to Russia, highlighting the need for further examination. The relations of Russia with the Kazakh steppe have deep roots.

Therefore, the entry of Kazakhstan into Russia at the beginning of the XVIII century is to be seen as the result of the cumulative impact of many factors, among which we should highlight the political, military, economic, cultural, natural, and geographical conditions. As the accession process lasted for almost 150 years, it was characterized by acceleration, braking, and even retreats at times. There were voluntary moments in it, moments of violence, capture, enslavement. In addition to the objective factors, the subjective factors of the plan played an important role.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What is the significance of the celebration of the 550th anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate in the history of Kazakhstan?
2. What is the role and the place of the Kazakh Khanate in the formation of the national statehood?
3. What contribution did Kazakh batyrs led by Abulkhair and Abylai Khans make into the victory over Dzungars?
4. What purpose did Abulkhair Khan pursue in making the Russian protectorate?
5. What factors (objective and subjective) contributed to joining of Kazakhstan to Russia?

### **Topic 3. National Liberation Movement of the Kazakh People in the Period of Accession of Kazakhstan to Russia**

#### ***Lecture Plan:***

1. *The role and the place of the national liberation movement in the history of the Kazakh people, its nature, and the driving forces.*
2. *Activation of the colonial policy of the tsarist government in Kazakhstan in the XVIII – the early XIX centuries.*
3. *The anti-colonial struggle of Kazakhs in the Junior Zhuz (1883-1897).*
4. *Bukey Khanate. The uprising led by I.Taymanov and M.Utemisov (1836-1838).*
5. *The national liberation movement led by Kenesary Kasymuly (1837-1847).*

#### **Summary of the Lecture**

##### **1. The Role and the Place of the National Liberation Movement in the History of the Kazakh People, its Nature, and the Driving Forces**

The national liberation movement is a response to the political, economic, ideological, spiritual and cultural domination of a metropolis. Where the classical imperialistic principles act, that is the policy of «divide and rule», political and economic interests of the indigenous population sink into oblivion. The scientific approach to the study of national liberation movements involves consideration of both general and specific causes and their circumstances.

The national liberation movement, or uprising, occupied a special place in the history of Kazakh people. There were obvious reasons and motives of this: the people that at first were under the influence of the Russian Empire during three centuries and then under the pressure of a totalitarian system, a survivor of forced modernization of multi-format, never gave to defend its sovereignty and enter the path of independent development. In this way of a continuous struggle for the freedom the people chose the peaceful ways of solving problems, but when the dominant system was taking a position of extreme misunderstanding and used violence, the people tried to resist. As a rule talented leaders were at the head of the people and the national liberation movements.

Since the uprising of Batyr Syrym Datuly at the end of the XVIII century to the armed uprising of Amangeldy Imanov in 1916, there were

more than three hundred acts of liberation, not a smaller number of them there were in the Soviet era in Kazakhstan. In one way or another, in one form or another they were a demonstration of the Kazakh people of their dissatisfaction with the policies carried out by the Empire and then the Soviet totalitarian system.

The essence of the idea of the national liberation movement was the liberation of the country from the colonial power, protection, and preservation of the unity of the nation. «El» has been a sacred concept for Kazakh society since the days of ancient Turks: the foundation of the country, its territory, the land. A famous scientist E. Bekmakhanov was right, arguing that «Kenesary went to fight under the flag of liberation of the Kazakh lands seized by the Kokand and the Khiva Khanates, for the creation of the central state of the Kazakh people inside Russia... The scale of the movement primarily was gained by participation of the masses in it, mainly interested in returning confiscated from them zhailau (pasture». For the loss of land will necessarily lead to a deterioration of the economic situation of the people.

Different social strata took part in the liberation movements, which, according to their position in society, perceived their own expected results of the struggle. Participants of the movements did not consider that independence does not cancel differences between Khans and the biy, between a batyr and a simple man. They perceived such phenomenon as independence in their own way, sometimes claiming the status of biys and warriors, believing that such a status will enhance their credibility.

It would be wrong to believe that from the outset the adoption of Russian citizenship, all Kazakh steppe united under the flag of the struggle for independence, showing unity and solidarity in order to achieve this goal. To consider that among those who faithfully served the Russian government, there were only sultans yeah, would be a one-sided interpretation of the historical facts. In the Kazakh steppes there were a lot of those individuals who, by understanding and anticipating the complex consequences of colonialism, still considered the fact of being a part of Russia as quite effective by moving the Kazakh society to a higher stage of civilization development. Introducing the future of the Kazakh territory as part of Russia, they did not deny the problem of political independence, socio-economic and industrial development, but put high hopes for the enlightenment, science, and education of the people.

Colonial Kazakhstan fully experienced the negative effects of the administrative-territorial reforms. The absence of a single political and

administrative space, heightened by new demographic, religious issues, led to regional peculiarities of the national liberation movements.

## **2. Activation of the Colonial Policy of the Tsarist Government in Kazakhstan in the XVIII – the Early XIX Centuries**

For the purposes of colonization of Kazakhstan, development of resources, security, trade and the consolidation of new regions in the Russian Empire in the first decades after the adoption by Kazakhs of Russian citizenship, the tsarist government started the activities of the political and economic nature. In 1734 under the project of the Chief Secretary of the Senate I.K. Kirillov the Orenburg expedition was set up that later was renamed the Orenburg Commission. On April 19, 1735 Orenburg city was established, that became an outpost of the Russian penetration in Kazakhstan.

With a New Ishim (Bitter) line, the land of the nomadic Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz as cut by 70 thousand sq. miles. This was the way I.K. Kirillov put into practice the project of moving the Russian border from the Zakamsk line to the south-east of the Bashkirs. Orenburg, Chu, New Ishim and Irtysh lines made one continuous line of forts and outposts from the mouth of the river Ural to the fortress Ust-Kamennaya (length of 3.5 thousand miles). Between the forts there were redoubts built with guards on the pillars, there were no more than 50 miles between the fortifications.

The main purpose of fortification was the expansion of the south-eastern borders of Russia. The fortresses had well-to-arms military garrisons. Their strategic location ensured consolidation of Russia in the Kazakh territory and the displacement of the local population in marginal lands. Military fortress became a stronghold of colonization, the construction of the fortified lines led to the withdrawal of traditional nomadic Kazakhs and intensification of the struggle for pasture.

In 40-50 years of the XVIII century, colonial policy of the tsarist government in Kazakhstan began to intensify. By the Decree of the Head of Orenburg Commission I.I. Neplyuev as of October 19, 1742 Kazakhs were forbidden to wander near the river Yaik and the Yaik Cossack town. In 1755, the College of Foreign Affairs recommended to the Siberian authorities to close the access of Kazakhs to the inner area, i.e., to the right bank of the Irtysh. In the mid 60-ies Kazakhs were forbidden to approach the Irtysh closer than 10 miles, pass the river Ishim, use the right bank, it was forbidden even to approach the built fortresses.

These activities taken by tsarism in the initial period of the occurrence of Kazakhs accession under the protectorate of Russia indicate that the original character of its policy towards Kazakhs was colonial.

Thus, the tsarist government took steps to consolidate its power in the newly acquired territory. In 1822, the «Charter of the Siberian Kyrgyzstan» was adopted developed by the Governor-General of the Western Siberia M.M.Speransky. **Under this Charter Khan's power in the Middle Zhuz was abolished and the Siberian Area of Kyrgyz was formed.**

According to the Charter of the Siberian Kyrgyz of 1822, the region was divided into inner and outer districts, which, in turn, were divided into townships and villages.

Inner Districts included Omsk, Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk and Ust-Kamenogorsk.

Outer Districts consisted of Karkaraly, Ayaguz, Kokshetau, Akmola, Kushmurunsky, Bayanaul and Kokpekty.

The population of the outer districts was Kazakhs, roamed outside of the Irtysh River. Districts were ruled by «Duans», consisting of the administration, police, and the courts. Orders were given or led by the Aga sultans. Aga sultans (senior sultans) had helpers in the face of four judges, two of whom were Russian and appointed by the governor, the remaining two were nominated by biys and elders of Kazakhs.

In accordance with the Charter of the Siberian Kyrgyz of 1822, Aga Sultan was chosen for three years at a meeting of the sultans. During the service he was given the rank of Major. After three years aga Sultan could count on a title of a hereditary nobleman. Each district had about 15-20 townships. The leaders of townships were township sultans. However, they were not always the sultans, sometimes the head of the township was elected among representatives of the «black bones». Representatives of black bones were equal to the officials of grade 12 who had executive power: the execution of tasks given by aga-sultans. Each township had 10-12 villages (auls) with up to 50-70 yurts or shanyrak. The organization of villages and townships considered tribal position, division.

The Charter of the Siberian Kyrgyz of 1822 divided judicial cases into criminal and civil. Serious cases of political leaders and other complex cases were withdrawn from the biys court and were solved at a higher level. According to the Charter of the Siberian Kyrgyzstan, a tax or tribute was set in the amount of one head of cattle from each 100, which approximately equal to one percent. The tribute did not include camels because they were considered as the basis for the development of the trade. In addition,



according to the law, Kazakhs, adopted a charter did not have to pay taxes during the first five years. In addition, the Charter specified many other aspects, such as the protection of convoys, mail, horse-drawn service, surveillance of communication routes.

Based on the above, one can conclude that the main objective of the Charter of the Siberian Kyrgyz was the colonization of the North and Central Kazakhstan, settlement of the local villages and a collection of tax from the Kazakh population.

The whole area populated by «Siberian Kyrgyz» was the Middle Zhuz, which covered several districts of the region. District consisted of 15-20 townships, a township included 10-12 auls (villages), an aul had from 50 to 70 yurts. Administrative and police, financial and judicial functions in the district were carried out by the order of the district, consisting of a chairman (aga Sultan), 2 judges appointed by Russians and 2 judges from the «honorable Kyrgyz» (biys), elected by the local nobility. A township was led by a sultan, an aul – by a foreman. Officials were listed in the public service: Aga Sultan held the rank of Major, and for three terms (9 years) in office received the status of hereditary nobleman.

According to the «Charter of Orenburg Kyrgyz», Khan's authority was abolished in the Junior Zhuz in 1824 subjected to Orenburg Governor-General. Its territory was divided into three parts - the Western, Central and Eastern, the head of each was a sultan-ruler. In turn, these three parts were divided into distance (sites) with remote chiefs, and the distances were divided into tribes and their parts, the governor of which were appointed by the Orenburg Boundary Commission from among notable biys. All three parts of the Junior Zhuz were under the Orenburg Boundary Commission. The tsarist government built fortified lines deep in the Kazakh steppe in order to consolidate its power.

### **3. The Anti-Colonial Struggle of Kazakhs in the Junior Zhuz**

Thus, in the second half of the XVIII century the independence of Kazakhs was gradually liquidated, traditional nomadic land was captured that became the cause of the resistance of the local population. The process of colonization caused growing problems of the centralized power and the issue of land.

In particular, these problems affected the territory of the Junior Zhuz. After the murder Abulkhair his son Nuraly had no influence in the Zhuz. The tribe Shekty proclaimed his Batyr as Khan, Ayshuak and Yeraly aspired

to independence; Nuraly himself had the power among the tribes of Baiul and Zhetyru and had to keep closer to the border areas with Russia. In the vast space boundaries with Russia of the Junior and the Middle zhuzes the fortified line was built that served the tsarist government as a support in the implementation of the colonial conquest. In 1756 a decree was issued forbidding Kazakhs to move to the western side of the Ural River in the winter.

Land restrictions imposed by Russian border administration seriously affected the economy of the Kazakh communities, wandering near the boundary line. Prohibitions to roam near the fortifications and Cossack hamlets, constant raids of Yaik and Orenburg Cossacks and Bashkirs servitors, the seizure of communal grazing by the the the pro-Russian elite of Kazakh auls pushed nomads in the organized resistance to the colonialists. The anti-colonial movement of Kazakhs of the Junior and the Middle zhuzes coincided with a peasant war led by Pugachev.

On August 11, 1773 a runaway Don Cossack Emelyan Pugachev appeared in the Volga steppes (the western border of modern-day Kazakhstan) and declared himself the Emperor Peter III, he issued a manifesto in which he called the Cossacks, Kalmyks and Tatars for an uprising against the nobility. Soon an army of 25 thousand men was formed around Pugachev, which continuously replenished by the Cossacks, splitters, fugitive peasants, Bashkirs, Kalmyks and Tatars. The huge area was soon embraced by the rebels, fight of the peasantry culminated in the Peasant War of 1773-1775, which was attended by Kazakhs Junior Zhuz.

Ordinary sharua expected that with the victory of Pugachev and the new Khan, who would defend their interests, they would be able to find the «best happiness on earth». But the overall objectives of their struggle were unclear, although they sought to understand them.

At the beginning of October 1773, the Cossack troops of Pugachev took a number of tsar fortresses. Kazakh troops were on their own on the line of upstream and downstream of the Urals from Atyrau to Ilets town, and in the autumn they controlled all Pri-Aralsk steppe. Local small garrisons were unable to provide them with serious resistance, and the imperial government could send the first few punitive expedition only in December. But even this measure did not significantly change the situation in the Kazakh steppe. Kazakh troops acted purposefully, had served Pugachev at the siege of Orenburg. Mass demonstrations of Kazakhs on the side of the Russian rebels and peasants continued when they operated far from the borders of the Junior Zhuz.

The main driving force behind the uprisings of the late XVIII and the middle XIX centuries were sharua-peasants. Nobility participated in uprisings together with the aul mass – the foreman, Bies, batyrs since tsarist authorities had been tightening their rights and privileges as well. The participation of Kazakhs in the Peasants' War, led by Pugachev, to some extent paved the way for future fight of sharua against the colonial policy of tsarism in Kazakh Zhuzes, as well as against the feudal aristocracy – its local support.

The main reasons for the uprising of Kazakhs of the Junior Zhuz at the end of the XVIII century was the aggravation of the land issue, the prohibition by the tsar's government of the move to the gazing land of «the inner side», the other side of the Urals, infringement of the rights of the tribal elders. In winter 1782-1783 starvation forced pastoralists to move voluntarily to the «inner side», regardless of the prohibitions of the royal administration. In addition, there were frequent raids and cattle theft by the Ural Cossack troops. By spring of 1783, they hijacked 4 thousand Kazakhs' horses, adding to the already difficult position of sharua, still recovering from Jut (hunger). In such a situation mass unrest of sharua spontaneously began in the Junior Zhuz, they were led by a popular among the people Batyr Srym Datuly.

By the beginning of 1785 Srym squad accounted for 2,700 people who raided the nearest outposts and forts that made the tsar death squads return to the fortified line.

Fighting of insurgents against Khans, sultans and the tsar death squads aroused warm sympathy of the people. The power of Nuraly Khan was in obvious crisis, the people turned away from him, and the tsarist authorities were convinced of his weakness. In April 1786 under the pressure from the rebels, demanding the resignation of Nuraly, he was forced to flee to Orenburg under the protection of the tsarist authorities.

In October 1796, Sultan Yesim son Nuraly was proclaimed the Khan of the Junior Zhuz. The new ruler applied active measures to suppress the uprising: he gave the captured rebel leaders to the tsarist authorities. On the night of 26 to 27 March 1797 the squad led by Srym attacked the Khan's village, and Yesim Khan was killed, its villages destroyed. The newly appointed Orenburg Governor-General Baron O.A. Igelstrom made concessions to the insurgents. At the request of Srym Datuly, he created Khan's council of elders and representatives of the Sultans, which Batyr Srym joined. He said that due to the difficult situation of the population and the establishment of the Khan's Council he stops the fight. The rebel unrest

continued from 1783 until the end of 1797, i.e., for almost 14 years, and then gradually began to decline, and soon the revolt was defeated.

**The meaning of Syrym Datuly uprising is that it marked the beginning of the organized general movement of the Kazakh people against the domination and oppression of the tsar and local administration, against the humiliation and arbitrary attacks on the freedom of the people.** Freedom-loving spirit of the rebels under the leadership of the national Batyr S.Datuly served as an inspiration for subsequent national liberation movements.

As a result of this uprising, Kazakhs were able to return to the land between the Urals and the Volga, raids of the Ural Cossacks in the Kazakh steppe were banned. It is also important that the tsarist government was forced to improve the Khan's rule in the steppe.

Thus, the blood of Kazakhs who died in the liberation wars of the late XVIII century, forced the Russian to temper its colonial appetite in Kazakhstan.

#### **4. Bukey Khanate. The uprising led by I.Taymanov and M.Utemisov (1836-1838)**

After the uprising of Syrym Datuly the local tsar administration made concessions and allowed Kazakhs to use pastures in the area between the Urals and the Volga. In 1801, large groups of the Kazakh population organized the Internal or Bukey Khanate (after the first Khan Bukey). The tsarist government intended to make the Inner Horde an «exemplary» area of the Kazakh steppe in the sense of control and colonial tutelage, appointing Sultan Bokey, the son of Nuraly Khan, as Khan in 1212. It considered him as prudent, experienced, and dedicated to the tsar. After his death in 1815 his minor son Zhangir took the throne, in 1829 the tsarist government signed a letter of recognition him as the Inner Horde Khan.

In Inner Horde there was a process of strengthening the feudal institution of private property in land use, they gained economic importance in society and independent legal status. Land-grabbing in nomadic areas of Kazakhstan took place at the initiative of the local nobility and, as a result, the wealth concentrated in their hands. Also, individual ownership of pastures apparently merged with the actual possession of them and continued to exist as part of aul-nomadic communities, without losing the outward signs of the collectivity. In the Inner Horde, starting from the second quarter of the

XIX century, the transfer of plots of land in the property of the nobility and the rich peasants was carried out on the initiative from the top – the Khan's power. During the 1830-1845 Khan granted 1517 acres (1 acre is equal to 4046.8 sq. m. or about 0.5 hectares) of land to the private ownership.

**So, the system of private property on land was formed**, which became the basis of land relations, and it was a hit on the «community-generic» principle of land ownership in Kazakh society.

Agricultural policy of the Khan's power, aimed at the priority interests of the feudal lords, deepened and intensified the social relations and the process of separation within the nomadic groups, and the society as a whole. There was a category of landless families and villages, wandering on another's land for a fee or detention. There were more peasant households, that owned plots of land, but did not have wells and water sources; therefore, they were «attached» to the auls of rich neighbors. Land had become an object of trade, abuse, and court cases. Khan environment and the local nobility benefited from this policy.

In such circumstances, in 1836, a rebellion of Kazakh sharua – herdsmen broke out led by Isatai Taymanuly and Makhambet Utemisuly. By spring of 1837, the main centers of the armed uprising were formed. The rebels burned houses, seized the property of the nobility, and drove away the khan villages from nomadic grazing land.

Several large groups approached Zhangir fort, destroying the houses of the khan officials on the way. In autumn, the siege of the khan fort began. The troops to quell the rebellion went out from Astrakhan, Orenburg, and Uralsk. On October 30, 1837, Isatai was forced to lift the siege and retreat. However, he could not break away from persecution. On November 15 in Tastobe tract there was a battle with the punitive expedition, which ended with the defeat of the rebels.

In December, Isatai and Makhambet broke through the boundary line with a small group and went into the territory of the Junior Zhuz. Contacting Zholamanom and Kaipkali, they began to gather a new army. In spring of 1838 at the Junior Zhuz maslikhat, it was decided to form an alliance with Khiva and declare the «holy war» against Russia.

Attaching great importance to the military preparations of Kaipkali, Isatai and Makhambet, and in fear of their association with Kenesary, the tsarist government allocated special troops led by Lieutenant Colonel Goecke. The last battle took place in the area of the Ilets protection. Sultan Kaipkali managed to escape from pursuers, but Isatai died. Then many batyrs joined Zholaman and Kenesary, while Makhambet went to Khiva

and started, together with Kaipkali, preparing a new uprising in Bukeyev Khanate.

At the same time the Kazakh Middle Zhuz started the struggle against the colonialists. In order to implement provisions of the «Charter of the Siberian Kyrgyz» of 1822 and the construction of the military fortifications two groups were sent to the steppe: one under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bronevsky, the other – under Lieutenant Grigorovsky. **In 1824, with the participation of the pro-Russian-minded sultans fortress Kokshetau and Karkaralinsk were laid and the corresponding orders were opened.** Spontaneous anti-Russian movements began in the North and Central Kazakhstan.

Sultan Sarzhan Kasymuly headed the Kazakh troops, who waged a tireless struggle against the Russian colonizers and aga-sultans for twelve years, demanding the withdrawal of troops from the Kazakh steppes, destruction of the orders and fortresses. In 1826, his troops took a raid on Karkaraly order. The Russian army under the centurion Karbysheva came to help the besieged in Karkaralinsk and Sarzhan was forced to retreat.

**In 1832, the Russian forces laid Akmola fortress and opened Akmola order.** At the same time a detachment of the centurion Potanin paid Sarzhan defeat in the tract Sulukol. These failures prompted Sarzhan to refer to Kokand authorities with a proposal for an alliance against Russia. The Tashkent ruler accepted the offer. In 1834, the combined forces occupied the area of Ulytau Mountains, but the detachment of General Bronevsky defeated Pakhtakor and forced Sarzhan to leave the territory of Central Kazakhstan. In 1836, Tashkent kushbegi, fearing the growing influence of Sarzhan in southern Kazakhstan, treacherously killed him together with his brothers Esengeldy and Yerzhan.

**Thus, the first stage of the national liberation struggle took place in the form of local uprisings.** In the Junior Zhuz they were headed by Syrym Datuly, then by Zholaman Tlenshiuly, in Bukeyev Khanate – by Isatai and Makhambet, in the Middle Zhuz – by Sultan Sarzhan Kasymuly. The scattered forces of Kazakhs were united only under the leadership of Sultan Kenesary Kasymuly.

## **5. The National Liberation Movement led by Kenesary Kasymuly**

In 1837 a new, more powerful uprising began, led by the brother of Sargan – Kenesary. Leading unceasing fight against the Kokand Khan,

Kenesary was aimed at returning to Kazakhs the Senior Zhuz land weaned by him.

Kenesary started the struggle under the slogan «restoring their (Kazakhs) ancient independence», i.e., creation of an independent Kazakh state. In the initial period of movement Kenesary tried to exploit the discontent of Kazakh workers with the colonialist policy of the tsarism. Sometimes the fighting of Kazakh sharia arose spontaneously and often regardless of the uprising of Kenesary.

Ideology of Kenesary Kasymuly was quite consistent with his position of sultan, Abylai Khan's descendant, so he considered Kazakh zhuzes as his crown domain. He repeatedly stated that «will take away all of the Kyrgyz (Kazakhs) from the Russians»... On May 14, 1841 on zhailau in the town of Karashatau, which is in the upper reaches of the river Irgiz, Kenesary Kasymuly was proclaimed Khan. His troops attacked the fortified posts and garrisons.

The social base of the movement was the feudal lords dissatisfied with the political-administrative reform of the tsarist government; the core of the troops was his immediate family, the main military force were batyrs with their retinues.

As head of the national liberation movement, Kenesary abandoned the policy of his brothers, who sought support in the «same faith» Central Asian khanates. He decides to fight on two fronts – against the tsarist Russia and the Central Asian khanates, primarily against Kokand, enslaved of the Kazakh people.

In spring of 1837, Kenesary with a small detachment went to the territory of Akmola region. Kazakhs started to gather massively under his flag. At the head of the individual detachments there were both close Kenesary's relatives – Nauryzbay, Abylgaziev, Alzhan, Bopay Khanum, as well as the batyrs from the ordinary people – Agybay, Zhanaidar, Iman Dulatuly, Zholaman Tlenshiuly, Buharbay. In addition, there were many fugitive Russian soldiers, exiled Poles, Bashkirs in squads of Kenesary. Bashkirs and Russian cased guns, produced shotguns, taught Kazakh warriors food operations. At the first stage, a number of sultans and beys joined him, who were on the Russian service. Some of them pursued their own interests; the other did it in the fear of Kenesary.

**Successes of the Kazakh Army.** In summer of 1837 a punitive expedition under Chirikov was crushed, and Akmola, Kokshetau, Bayanaul Karkarala and other districts were under the authority Kenesary. At the

beginning of 1838 the disparate forces of Kazakhs were united under the authority of Kenesary.

In the spring, he sends an embassy to the West-Siberian governor P.D.Gorchakov with a special letter of protest. In his letter Kenesary he demanded the destruction of the fortifications on the Kazakh territory, return of the taken away pasture. In case of default, he reserved the right to continue the war. The representatives of the Sultan were unable to deliver the letter to P.D. Gorchakov: on the road to Omsk, they were captured and brought to justice. It made Kenesary to resume action.

Kazakhs defeated the detachment of the sergeant Simonov, auls of aga Sultan Konurkulzhi Kudaymendin, attacked the Amankaragaysky order. In summer of 1838, Kenesary's troops were concentrated in the Akmola fortress. After a fierce assault the fortress was taken, all its fortifications were destroyed and buildings were burned. The commandants of the fortress Karbyshev and Konurkulzha fled. During the autumn, Kazakhs continued guerrilla warfare, systematically attacking the orders, pickets and patrols, devastating sultans – the rulers' villages and disrupting communications. At the same time the troops of Kenesary beginning to move into the areas of the rivers Torgay and Yrgyz to combine with the units of the Junior Zhuz, headed by batyr Zholaman.

Since the end of 1838, Torgy and Yrgyza area became the main base of the Kazakh troops and Kenesary army united the most of the tribes of the Middle and Junior zhuzes. The colonial administration, seeing the futility of punitive expeditions, changed the tactics and concluded a truce with Kazakhs. In 1840, Kenesary received amnesty, his family was returned from captivity, punitive expeditions of Russian troops in the steppe were discontinued, and negotiations between Kazakhs and the Russian government began.

**Restoration of the Kazakh State.** A new stage in the liberation war began in 1840, it was connected with the revival of the Kazakh statehood. The prepared meeting of representatives of the Kazakh tribes, as already noted, was completed in September 1841 by the election of Kenesary as Khan of the restored Kazakh state.

Kenesary Khan held a number of administrative and judicial reforms aimed at strengthening the centralization of power and the creation of durable logistics to continue the fight. The Khan's advisory council worked under the Khan, which consisted of his associates. Bodies responsible for the collection of taxes, military training, and diplomatic correspondence were organized.



Local executive power belonged to Khan's representatives – zhasauls. Their duties included control over the collection of taxes and the implementation of Khan's orders, the definition of nomadic areas, as well as campaigning and attracting Kazakh villages to Kenesary. Zhasauly appointed by the khan in every Kazakh association out of its soldiers and tolgenguts.

The judicial system of the Kazakh Khanate underwent significant changes. The supreme judicial authority belonged to Kenesary himself; he also appointed biys to solve important cases. In fact, traditional biy court was eliminated, and the judges turned into government officials. Meritorious biys were awarded the title Count borrowed from Russians.

An important task of Kenesary Khan was ordering the taxation, needed to strengthen the state. All subjects of the Kazakh Khanate were exempted from all taxes and payments in favor of Russia, Kokand and Khiva. Instead Kazakhs paid zyaket. The agricultural population paid ushur in the amount of about 10% of the crop. In addition, there was an aul tax of one horse and one coat from the aul for the troops.

1 The Khan reformed his army. For the first time it organized a regular military training, which was carried out by runaway Russian soldiers and Bashkirs. They trained two hundred Kazakhs infantry, taught them to use firearms, etc.

The army was divided into thousands and hundreds, the office of zhuzbasy, mynbasy and sardara were introduced. In addition, there were mergenbasy – commanders of the shooters, snipers.

Khan managed to create a disciplined, well-trained, mobile horse army, numbering up to 20 thousand people.

**Battles in 1841-1844.** Using a brief respite in the struggle against Russia, Kenesary started the war with Kokand to release the tribes of the Senior Zhuz. In September 1841, his troops occupied the cities Sozak, Yany-Kurgan, Zhulek and Ak Mosque. However, in 1842 a truce with the Russian government was violated. A Siberian detachment under the command of Sotnikov attacked villages of Kenesary, stole a large number of cattle and prisoners.

Hostilities resumed in the steppe in August 1843. A group of 5 thousand men under the command of Colonel Bizanov started from the fortress Sakharnaya, other groups left from Omsk, Petropavlovsk and Karkaralinsk. The detachment under the Sultan Ahmet Zhanturin started from the Tobol River consisting of Kazakhs devoted to tsarism. Skillfully maneuvering, Kenesary pooped Bizanov's squad in battles and forced him to retreat to

Orsk in September 1843. The rest of the troops were also forced to leave the steppe and return to the fortress with the onset of the autumn frosts.

At the end of 1843 Kenesary army totaled 8 thousand well-trained and armed men. His main base was Torgay and Yrgiz. The colonial authorities surrounded the rebels while three troops: from Orsk, from Tobyl and Ulytau mountains. The sergeant Lebedev was in charge of the Orsk detachment, Sultan Ahmet Zhanturin was in charge of Tobyl, Major General Zhemchuzhnikov – of Siberian. These troops were to connect at the end of May and to close the encirclement of Kenesary in Torgay. Ignorance about the steppe conditions, skillful disinformation fired by the scouts of the Khan and constant raids of the guerrilla groups thwarted this plan. Maneuvering, the rebels went away from Lebedev detachment, and out of the encirclement. The Siberian squad was late, and Lebedev was forced to return to Orsk.

In the summer of 1844 Dunikowski's detachment was sent to connect to the detachment of Colonel Zhemchuzhnikov. In the upper end of the Revier Tobyl Ahmet Zhanturin was supposed to join him. But on the night of 20-21 of July on the Ulkoyak Rive, Kenesary completely destroyed the detachment of Zhanturin and passing by the troops of Dunikowski and Zhemchuzhnikov attacked the Orenburg line. In mid-August, he defeated Catherine's village with a fortress. Punitive detachments were forced to retreat. The tsarist government again began negotiations with Kenesary. The Khan asked to draw a line between the Kazakh Khanate and the colonial troops on the rivers Nura and Ishim til the Urals, that is he no longer requested to release the land, captured earlier. But the tsarist government was going to take over the entire Kazakh steppe to begin the conquest of Central Asia. In these plans of the tsarism there was no place for the independence of the Kazakh state.

**Retreat of the Kazakh Army.** By the mid 40-ies of the XIX century, Russian troops advanced far deeper into the Kazakh territory. Lines of fortifications running from Siberia and Orenburg, were to connect with the encampments of the Senior Zhuz. Russia set a task to complete the conquest of Kazakhstan. To do this, new fortress were erected in the center of the Kazakh nomad areas – Kokpekty (1844), Torgay and Irgiz (1845).

In the autumn of 1845 Russian troops and forces of loyal to tsarism agasultans began new offensive attacks on the villages of Kenesary. Suffering heavy losses, Kazakhs were forced to leave the Turgai steppe and retreat to the areas of the Sarysu and the Chu rivers.

Stepping back to the south, the Khan did not stop his fight against the Russian troops, but the main forces were sent to war with Kokand. Joining forces with Batyr Zhankozha Nurmuhameduly, Kenesary began the liberation of the Kazakh tribes from the authority of Kokand. At the beginning of 1846 the alliance of Bukhara and Kokand as well as the march of the punitive detachment of the Major-General Vishnevsky, forced Kenesary to retreat and to gain a foothold on the peninsula Kamal in the estuary of the Ili River. In winter 1846, Kenesary's units appeared in the encampments of the Senior Zhuz on the River Ili in the vicinity of Alatau. Kenesary appealed to kyrgyz manaps, encouraging them to work together against Russia and Kokand. However, Kyrgyz headed a Manap Orion, rejected his proposal. A heavy war on three fronts began against Kokand troops, Kyrgyz and detachment of Zhemchuzhnikov acting in Zhetysu.

**Death of Kenesary.** In autumn of 1845 under the pressure from the tsar troops Kenesary was forced to migrate from the Turgai steppes into the lower reaches of the Sarysu and Chu District, and at the beginning of the next year – to the inner land of the Senior Zhuz. During the 1846-1847 Kenesary managed to unite Kazakhs forces of the Senior Zhuz, to seize Merka fortress, and to begin the construction of fortifications on the river Chu.

However, after the defeat from Kyrgyz, in spring 1846, he went to the foothills of the Karatau, then in September of the same year he occupied a hard-to-reach peninsula Kamal in the estuary of the River Ili. There Kenesary attempted to bring the Kyrgyz people on his side, and to get together to fight against the Kokand and the approaching Russian squad under Abakumov.

The negotiations with the Kyrgyz did not yield results, then he made forays into nomadic lands of Kyrgyz. The reason for this was the fact that they began to incite their relatives in the attack on the Kazakh auls. Suddenly attacking the detachment of the famous Batyr Zhuz Sauryk, they killed him and stole 700 horses. Sauryk himself was ambushed during the chase and killed by Kyrgyz.

The Kenesary groups, that entered the Kyrgyz ownership in 1847, faced with enormous challenges. Not knowing the area, the hostile attitude of the local population, the joint action of the Kyrgyz, Kokand and Russian troops predetermined defeat.

**The last battle of Kenesary with the Kyrgyz took place in the Kekliktau Mountains south of Bishkek.** He was surrounded on three sides, and to break through the swampy valley of the River Karasu was

almost impossible. As a result, an attempt to break out of the encirclement failed. True to his associate Nauryzbay brother died in an unequal battle, and Kenesary was captured and executed. Kyrgyz Manap Caligul Alibekov passed the severed head of Kenesary to «the chief officer of the Siberian Kyrgyz».

Kyrgyz Manaps Ormont and Jantai sent the heads of the killed Kazakhs as a gift to the Kokand Khan a sign of their loyalty and friendship. This is stated in the testimony of a caravan-bashi, given to the captain Ryltsov: «In Tashkent I saw with my own eyes dikokamen Kyrgyzs sent to the local authorities two loads of heads of the killed gang of Kenesary as a present, the heads were put on long poles in Tashkent bazaar»... (E.Bekmakhanov, Kazakhstan in 20-40-ies of the XIX century, p. 339).

«The outcome of the battle of Kenesary with Kyrgyz was defined advance in favor of the Kyrgyz manaps. First of all, the command of the tsar troops agreed the plan of military operations with the manaps... Second, the Kazakh Sultan Rustem and the Bi Sypatay, who had joined the movement of Kenesary due to the fear of robbery, left Kenesary's squad on the night before the battle»... (E.Bekmakhanov, Kazakhstan in 20-40-ies of the XIX century, p. 335).

After the death of Kenesary Khan and the defeat of the Kazakh army in Kyrgyzstan almost all the lands of Kazakhstan were under the Russian rule. However, Kazakhs continued resistance. The units of Batyr Eset acted in the Junior Zhuz, Zhankozha Nurmukhameduly groups – on the Syr Darya, Sultan Syzdykov Kenesaryuly – in Southern Kazakhstan.

Kenesary movement was the longest one, it lasted for more than 10 years, and was supported by the masses during the most of this time. The most influential, universally known batyrs all three Kazakh zhuzes were part of his troops. His companions were such batyrs as Agybay (the Middle Zhuz), Zholaman Tlenchiev (the Junior Zhuz), Bogubay (the Senior Zhuz), and many others.

The social composition of the rebels was diverse; they were representatives of the most varied strata of the then Kazakh society, from the most prominent sultans and noblest biys ending with aul poor. It goes without saying that such a motley composition of the movement could not but lead to its weakening sooner or later and, eventually, to the inevitable defeat.

A characteristic feature of the movement led by Kenesary, is that from the first day he was joined by some representatives of different nationalities living in the rebelled areas: Russian, Tatars, Bashkirs, who were hiding in

the Kazakh steppe from the prosecution of the authorities, raised to fight the common enemy – tsarism together with Kazakhs. Some fugitive Russian soldiers participated in the military campaigns of Kenesary.

The broad participation of the masses sharua in the movement was because Kenesary used the idea of liberation from colonial oppression, promising to return the land taken away by the tsar authorities to the people.

Rebellion of Kenesary was defeated. However, it takes the place of honor in the history of the struggle of the Kazakh people for liberation. It was an excellent school of political education of the masses. Subsequent uprisings of 50-60-ies of the XIX century developed based on this movement. All subsequent decades were marked by unrest of sharua, but neither the revolt of Eset Kotibaruly in 1855-1858, nor the movement under Zhankozha Nurmuhameduly in 1856-1858, nor any of the revolts of 60-70-ies could be compared in scope or in its value with the mighty and formidable movement of the masses, led by Kenesary. The last barriers to the expansion of the tsarist in Kazakhstan fell with his defeat.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What are the features of the aggressive and expansionist nature of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire?
2. What were the activities of the tsarist regime on the gradual enslavement of Kazakh region?
3. What was the political and socio-economic status of the Kazakh society in the conditions of the Russian colonial expansion?
4. What there the main stages, results, and meaning of the national liberation movement of the Kazakh people for deliverance from oppression and double exploitation (by the tsar and the internal regime of the khans).
5. Describe the rise of Kenesary as the last barriers to the expansion of the tsarist in Kazakhstan.

## **Topic 4. Kazakhstan at the Beginning of the XX century. The New Stage of the National Liberation Movement of Kazakhs**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

- 1. Socio-political and socio-economic life of Kazakhstan in the beginning of the XX century. Influence of the reforms on the introduction of the elements of capitalism in Kazakhstan.*
- 2. A new phase of the resettlement policy. Stolypin agrarian reform.*
- 3. Participation of Kazakhs in the Revolution of 1905-1907 in Russia. Kazakh Deputies of the State Duma against the agrarian policy of tsarism.*
- 4. The First World War and the national liberation movement in 1916. View of Kazakh intelligentsia and political positions of the revolt.*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Socio-Political and Socio-Economic Life of Kazakhstan in the Beginning of the XX Century. Influence of the Reforms on the Introduction of the Elements of Capitalism in Kazakhstan**

As already noted, in the 80-90-ies of the XIX century the government of the Russian Empire continued to implement reforms to unify the administrative-territorial structure of the Kazakh lands in their colonial purposes. A Regulation «On Management of Turkestan Region» of July 2, 1886 and a Decree «On the of Akmola, Semipalatinsk, Semirechensk, Ural, Turgay Region» of March 25, 1891 were adopted. According to these documents, Kazakhstan territory was divided into 2 general-government areas – Turkestan and Steppe, with centers in Tashkent and Omsk. The Inner or Bukeyev Horde joined Astrakhan Province, Mangyshlak – Trans-Caspian Province.

The elements of capitalism penetrated Kazakhstan as a result of the implementation of the reform. Russian capitalism expanded due to colonization of Kazakh lands. The established administration system eased the colonial oppression of the indigenous population of the region. It contributed to the merging of the tsar officer-bureaucratic apparatus with the local tribal nobility. In general the reforms were carried out in the interests of Russian capitalism and legally strengthened the colonial situation in the Kazakh steppe.

The development of capitalism in Kazakhstan drew the Kazakh economy in the all-Russian commodity circulation, breaking its patriarchal isolation, and thus had a strong progressive impact on the old forms of life. Kazakhstan was involved in a nationwide social division of labor, and gradually incorporated in the all-Russian market. The development of commodity-money relations were especially promoted by fair trade. Large shopping centers were built in Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk, Akmola, Atbasar, Kokshetau, Oral, Atyrau, in the neighboring provinces of Russia – Omsk, Kurgan, Tyumen, Orenburg. In Nizhny Novgorod summer and autumn fairs were running. Russia – Kazakh trade was mutually beneficial and its volume increased from year to year.

Progressive changes touched the traditional forms of the Kazakh nomadic economy, commodity value of cattle breeding increased. Kazakhstan continued to play a major role in a transit trade, supplying camels and horses to caravans. The structure of Kazakhstan's trade turnover with Russia reflected the essence of the relationship of backward agrarian colonial suburbs with the industrialized metropolis.

Butter and meat was exported from Kazakhstan through Petropavlovsk and Omsk after commissioning of the Trans-Siberian railway road. For example, in 1900, 30.4 thousand pounds of butter and 1,044 thousand pounds of fresh meat was moved to St. Petersburg and Moscow. Cattle farming were an important industry throughout the region and in farms of all social groups.

At the beginning of the XX century, Kazakhstan started to export ever increasing amounts of bread (grain and flour), which led to an increase of commodity production of bread in resettlement and Kazakh farms. The rapid growth of commercial agriculture, convenient markets contributed to the creation of large flour production in Semey, building of powerful steam mills. It annually exported more than one million pounds of high-grade flour.

At the end of the XIX – beginning of the XX centuries import of the Russian investments to Kazakhstan contributed to the organization of local industrial production. To this end, there were favorable conditions: cheap land and raw materials, a massive surplus of labor, low wages. Gold mining, mining of ore and coal deposits developed. At the beginning of the 1900s there were about 560 deposits of valuable minerals discovered. The development of the coal mining industry contributed to the growth of the state and public demand, the rise of industry, construction, railways and river shipping. Russian capitalists invested in the construction of railways

from the interior of Russia to Kazakhstan. The Orenburg-Tashkent railway road which runs through the West Kazakhstan came into operation in 1904.

By the early XX century, the railway road, water routs, post, and telegraph connected Kazakhstan to Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod and other cities of Central Russia, Siberia, Altay and Central Asia. The development of means of communication contributed to the growth and mobility of the population, it was a prerequisite to the development of trade.

Penetration of capitalist relations in the Kazakh steppe accelerated the process of decomposition of the nomadic and semi-nomadic economy and the patriarchal-feudal principles, it gave birth to a new industry in the region, contributed to the social division of labor and the emergence of workers.

The emergence of Kazakh working class took place in the extremely harsh conditions of colonial pressure in the region. In most cases special recruiters carried out hiring of workforce for companies. Recruited fell into complete dependence on the industrialist and the factory administration, their fate was determined by the arbitrariness of the owners. Non-economic coercion pushed workers to agree to the conditions of the owners, just to get a job and be saved from starvation. The same thing happened in the industry, which was developed in Kazakhstan in the period of tsarism. The main industries - salt, fish and mining were based on the lowest technical basis. The main contingent of workers in these fields was Kazakhs.

The rate of proletariat growth in different regions of Kazakhstan was not the same, for example, the number of workers was higher in those regions where the mining industry evolved. At the enterprises of mining (including salt) industry in 1900, there were already 11,225 people. Working class of Kazakhstan was formed as multinational from the outset. For example, in Ekibastuz immigrants from more than 23 provinces of Central Russia worked, Kazakhs accounted for 60-70 percent of the total number of workers, the rest were Russian, Ukrainians, Tatars, etc.

Most of skilled workers arrived from Russia. Ordinary workers, having large knowledge and skills, were willing to transmit their experience to the local population workers.

Multinational composition of the working population of the region, of course, left its mark on the formation of the working class and its consciousness. Communication of workers of different nationalities at the work place was of great progressive significance, breaking national isolation, instilling a sense of international attachment, leading them to the establishment of contacts, uniting them in the struggle for their rights.



The situation of workers was very difficult; they were getting very low wages. Thus, the average salary of workers of the industrial enterprises of Kazakhstan was 2-3 times lower than in same factories in Central Russia. Workers suffered especially from numerous fines. A working day reached up to 14-16 hours in most enterprises. Living conditions of workers were unbearably hard, they lived in miserable huts without floor, and ceiling, with bunks in 1-2 rows, Kazakhs lived in their dilapidated yurts.

Thus, at the beginning of the XX century Kazakhstan finally took shape as a colonial province of Russia. This period was characterized by mass migration of peasants from Russia, barbaric exploitation of natural resources, destruction of traditional ways of farming, a forced Russification policy.

National oppression was stronger in Russia than in neighboring countries, and expressed in the complete absence of rights of national minorities. In this period, the indigenous population experienced an economic and social crisis. The basis of the existence of Kazakhs – nomadic herding, declined. Huge masses of people streamed into the region in search of free land and cheap bread. The tsarist government carried out expeditions that set land rules for Kazakhs, they sought surplus land, only the best land was enlisted. Traditional migrations routes were completely disregarded. Russian Immigration policy was carried out in order to strengthen position of the metropolis in their colonies. To prevent the growth of the national liberation movement the tsarist government strengthened the layers of the European population in the Kazakh steppe – Cossacks, resettled peasants, and the bureaucracy.

As noted above, the Russian colonial policy was embodied mainly through degradation of traditional livestock farming, which was reduced among Kazakhs by 35.9% in 1905.

## **2. A New Phase of the Resettlement Policy. Stolypin Agrarian Reform**

The development of capitalism in agriculture of Kazakhstan adversely affected nomadic herding of Kazakhs. Resettlement of peasants from the central provinces to the remote areas received a new swing.

The author of the agrarian reforms was Stolypin, the Minister of Agriculture of the tsarist government. The reforms were aimed at the destruction of rural communities and the formation of the social layer of land owners in villages. However, while preserving landlordsim a question

about new lands for peasants arose. In this regard, the new stage of resettlement of Russian and Ukrainian peasants to the land of Kazakhstan began.

On June 10, 1903 «Regulation on the Voluntary Resettlement in Public Lands in the Areas of Syrdarya, Ferghana and Samarkand» was adopted, it meant confiscation of «surplus» land from the local population. On June 25, 1903 «Rules on the Benefits from the Government to Move to Siberia and Steppe General – Government Land» were adopted. The document determined the size and benefits to peasants-immigrants. In 1904 a Resettlement Department was formed which was in charge of all affairs of the resettlement of peasants from the center to outskirts. It elicited a so-called «Surplus» lands, withdraw them from Kazakhs and formed a resettlement fund, from which settlers were allocated plots. «Provisional Regulations on Resettlement of Rural Inhabitants and Farmers» were taken on June 6, 1904. Together with the «Provisional Regulations» the government approved a special instruction «On the Procedure for Determining the State Agricultural Fund in the Areas of Akmola, Semipalatinsk, Torgay, Ural for Resettlement, as well as Other State Needs», which became the basic regulatory framework for the mass seizure of land from Kazakhs.

In 1905, the Resettlement Department was included in the Main Department of Land Management and Agriculture. On November 9, 1906 Stolypin's decree on resettlement of peasants from the community to single farm was issued. This decree was confirmed by the law of June 14, 1910, and strengthened the flow of migrants to Kazakhstan.

At the beginning of the XX century, migration of peasants from the interior provinces of tsarist Russia to the Kazakh steppe was massive. Thus, from 1906 to 1913 over 430,000 households were move to Akmola, Turgai, Uralsk and Semipalatinsk provinces.

The mass migration of peasants from the central provinces of Russia to the territory of Kazakhstan led to the fact that the vast fertile areas were transferred to the use of the peasants, and Kazakhs were pushed to the desert and semi-desert regions of the Central and Southern Kazakhstan. Some part of the population, leaving the ethnic homeland, was forced to migrate within the neighboring countries.

In 1906-1912 statistical expeditions, led by P.Skryplev and P.Rumyantsev inspected Kazakh farms of Syrdarya and Semirechensk areas. The data collected by the expeditions were published in Tashkent in 1908-1913 in 8 volumes. In 1904-1911 similar expeditions, led by P.Khvorostinsky, Kuznetsov, and A. Perepletchikov, conducted a statistical survey of Torgay,

Akmola, and Semipalatinsk regions. Materials were published in 13 volumes in 1909-1913.

The Russian government carried out mass confiscation of Kazakh land in a particularly large scale based on the statistical data of the expedition of 1907-1912. The resettlement land fund was created by the violent seizure of mainly developed lands from Kazakhs which had irrigation, forestation, construction. The result of the resettlement policy of tsarism was the mass seizure of lands and the ruin of the toiling masses of Kazakhs, strengthen colonial oppression.

Stolypin's policy, in particular the mass migration of peasants, contributed to further aggravation of the agrarian crisis. **As a result of the resettlement policy the tsarist government established itself in Kazakhstan through the support of the kulak colonizers.** In autumn 1910 it was decided to pass kulak farms (rich peasants farms) of the resettlement sites to the sole ownership in Siberia and Kazakhstan. In March 1911 the Ministry of Agriculture has issued a special statement in which resettlement management could create areas suitable for a sole proprietorship. Only in 1911, 431 plots of land for the sole use and 919 farmhouse plots were established in Torgay, Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions.

However, not all immigrants took roots in the new locations. A considerable part of them was forced to go back. Annually from 40 to 110 thousand displaced families returned to Russia from Siberia and Kazakhstan, many of whom were «returnees» from Kazakhstan. The peasant movement did not stop. All this was the evidence of the collapse of the Stolypin agrarian policy. Landlessness of Kazakhs led to an aggravation of the situation in Kazakhstan and to a new upsurge of the national liberation movement.

**Demographic Changes.** At the beginning of the XX century there was a qualitative transformation of the ethnic processes in Kazakhstan caused by an increase of Russian and Ukrainian immigrants. Deterioration of the living conditions due to the eviction on the barren, arid and semi-arid lands, led to a decrease in the natural growth of the Kazakh population and an increase in the share of the non-indigenous population in the area.

In some counties, where the withdrawal of the Kazakh land for resettlement sites reached the highest magnitude, Kazakh population was even in the minority. Thus, in Omsk province Kazakhs accounted for 38% of the population in 1897, while in 1915 it was 15%. In Petropavlovsk it was 44.5% and 32% respectively, in Kokshetau – 51% and 26%, in Kostanay – 77% and 41%, in Ural – 51% and 24%.

But in general, Kazakh population continued to predominate. For example, in Kazakhstan in 1911 the total population was 5 million 408 thousand men, Kazakhs accounted for 67.2%, that is 3 million 639 thousand men. At the same time, the share of Russian and Ukrainian people amounted to 28.5%, that is 1,543,138 people. Large groups of Kazakhs lived in Central Asia (235 thousand people), the Volga region (269,000), Urals (80 thousand). More than 100 thousand Kazakhs lived beyond the limits of the empire, mainly in China and Mongolia.

Seizure of the Kazakh land for resettlement areas strengthened migration of Kazakhs to Central Asia, where they were actively assimilated with the Uzbeks. Despite the adverse conditions, the overall Kazakh population of the Russian Empire was slowly but steadily growing. So, if in 1897 there were 3881.8 thousand Kazakhs, in 1915 the population reached 4753.6 thousand people.

**At the beginning of the XX century Kazakhstan was transformed into a multinational province of Russia.** The number of Tatars increased especially in urban areas, Mordvins, Estonians, Poles and others moved to Kazakhstan. A significant group of the population was Uyghur and Dungan.

Development of the industry, especially small industrial enterprises and railway network in Kazakhstan accelerated the growth of urban population. The population of regional and county-level cities was rapidly growing, which became not only administrative and commercial, but also industrial and cultural centers. Cities which were the fortification points during the colonization of Kazakhstan grew. Semipalatinsk with a population of 31 thousand people became one of the commercial and industrial centers in the Eastern Kazakhstan in 1900. In the North Kazakhstan in Petropavlovsk there were 21750 people, operated 66 different enterprises of processing agricultural products with a capital of more than 1 mln rubles. 1375 workers were employed in these enterprises. Population of Kostanay, founded in 1879, increased by 2.5 times and reached 14.3 thousand in 18 years. Akmola population also increased, the city became a center of commerce.

In the west of Kazakhstan Uralsk city was a trade and industrial town. In 1900 there were 39 thousand men in the city. Construction of the Ural-Pokrovsk railway in 1895-1896 contributed to the growth of the city. Such cities as Pavlodar, Guryev, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Karkaraly, Kokshetau, Kapal, Aktyubinsk, Zaisan also grew actively.

The population of Shymkent and Aulie-Ata increased. In the center of Semirechensk area, there were 37 thousand men lived in the city of Verny (now Almaty) at the beginning of the XX century.

Urban Kazakh population slightly increased. Separation of the society in Kazakh village forced the bankrupt population to leave to cities in search of work. However, Kazakh bais, traders, dealers also lived in the cities of Kazakhstan. The Kazakh population of Verny, Semipalatinsk, Petropavlovsk, Shymkent and other cities significantly increased. In such cities as Irgiz, Kazakhs accounted for one third of the population, Karkaraly – for more than half.

Most urban dwellers were craftsmen, factory workers, and clerks. Many of them were engaged in agriculture. However, in the cities, which were the economic and administrative centers, were many officials and traders.

### **3. Participation of Kazakhs in the Revolution of 1905-1907 in Russia. Kazakh Deputies of the State Duma against the Agrarian Policy of Tsarism**

At the beginning of the XX century Kazakhs, condemned by the colonial policy of tsarism on poverty, felt threatened even to its existence as an ethnic group. This caused a new upsurge of the national liberation movement.

**A new social class was at the head of this movement – young Kazakh bourgeoisie and national intelligentsia.** Kazakh nobility adapting its economy to the demands of the market, gradually changed its economic nature. At the same time it was engaged in trade and animal husbandry, agriculture and trade.

Merchants – entrepreneurs started to appear among Kazakhs. Many of them continued to be engaged in farming in their auls, owe large herds of cattle and have large areas of sown crops. These merchants worked actively in the market and conducted commercial operations with large Russian companies and banks, being mainly suppliers of raw materials for their industries. Kazakh capital ran into competition with Russian capitalists who owed most of the enterprises on primary processing of livestock raw materials and other agricultural products. In addition, immigration policy touched the economic interests of bais (Kazakh wealthy farmers). That is why Kazakh bourgeoisie stood in opposition to the tsarist authority, unlike in other colonies where bourgeoisie often collaborated with colonialists.

**Kazakh bourgeoisie and the national intelligentsia led a new stage of the anti-colonial struggle.** Already since 1902 the tsarist secret police began to intercept clandestine anti-government leaflets of pan-Islamic

character from Kazakhs. In summer of 1905 the liberation movement began to take on new forms. At the steppes rallies on the occasion of fairs began to organize, political articles started to appear in the pages of Russian and Kazakh newspapers.

**Labor Movement during the Revolution of 1905-1907.** The situation of workers, particularly of working-Kazakhs in this period was extremely difficult; the working day lasted 14-16 hours. People lived in damp, cold, dirty huts or in mud huts and caravans. Kazakhs received low wages, which was given irregularly, and at many enterprises workers received most of its in products and commodities from the factory shops.

Kazakh workers were not allowed to master professions requiring high qualifications. Their labor was used in the «black», the most difficult jobs. Skilled labor was mastered mainly by Russian workers.

In the first years of the XX century, there were strikes among railway workers – at the Siberian railway and at the construction of Orenburgeko-Tashkent road. The most numerous were the strikes of the workers in the station Mugodzhary where 800 people participated.

Since the beginning of the Russian Revolution frequent unrest happened also in industrial enterprises of Kazakhstan. For example, in 1905-1907 strikes and demonstrations took place in Orenburg, Omsk, Uralsk, Semipalatinsk, Petropavlovsk, Perovsk and other locations.

The largest was the strike at the mine Uspensky in December 1907, where 265 of the 300 workers were Kazakhs. The reason for the strike was «rude and defiant attitude of Englishmen (who owned the mine) towards them». The strike began on December 9, the workers formed a «Russian-Kyrgyz Alliance» and forced employers to accept some of their demands.

In 1909-1910 there were strikes of workers in enterprises of Karaganda, Central Kazakhstan copper mines, mines and pits of Ust-Kamenogorsk district. Two months strike of workers took place in the mine «Nikolay» in Ust-Kamenogorsk district.

Mass revolutionary action of the working class took place in the spring of 1912 in connection with the shooting of the workers in Lensky goldfields. In Kazakhstan, workers of Ridder, miners of Ekibastuz, as well as the worker of the iron foundry in Randrup near Omsk organized strikes. On May 12 workers at Spassky Copper Smelter were striking, on July 7 there was a major strike of workers in Emba oil fields.

However, workers' movement in Kazakhstan was weaker than in the central regions of Russia. Socialist ideas were not widely known among Kazakh workers who were closely associated with the nomadic community.

Small groups of workers, social-democratic groups acting in the territory of Kazakhstan, often operated in isolation from each other.

The rise of the national – liberation struggle took a new dimension at the time of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia in 1905-1907. The revolution began with the shooting of workers in St. Petersburg on January 9, 1905 («Bloody Sunday»). It went through two stages: upward (in December 1905 inclusive) and downward (up to 3 June 1907). The first stage was characterized by the growth of the strike movement (up to 3 million participants) up to the all-Russian October Political Strike, unrest in the army and navy (the uprising on the battleship «Potemkin», Kronstadt, Vladivostok, Sevastopol and other uprising), peasant and national-liberation movements.

The culmination of the revolution was December of 1905 armed uprising in Moscow and other cities, the emergence of revolutionary and democratic dictatorship official bodies represented by the Soviets of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers' Deputies.

Bolshevik tactics was determined by the decisions of the III Party Congress (b), explained in the book by Lenin, «Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution». Lenin believed that the working class is vitally interested in the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which resolutely liberate productive forces of feudal remnants, destroy the landed estates, and overthrow the tsarist autocracy. «The more complete and determined, the more consistent will be a bourgeois revolution, the more assured will be the proletarian struggle for Socialism», – Lenin wrote. He relied on the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one.

Mass protest against the tsarist policy in Central Russia, which grew into armed clashes in summer and autumn of 1905, forced the Tsar to make concessions to the people and to begin reforming the government system. On October 17, 1905 the Manifesto was published according to which inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association was guaranteed in Russia. The most important innovation was the announcement of the elections to the State Duma, the representative body, which was supposed to discuss and approve the laws adopted by the tsar. On April 23, 1906 the «Basic Laws of the Russian Empire» were published similar in content to the Constitution. According to them, a two-chamber parliament was formed, the upper chamber was the Council of State appointed by the Tsar in part, the other part was elected on the basis of caste and corporate. The lower house was the State Duma which was elected

by four curiae: landowning, urban, peasant, and labor. Voting rights were denied to women, soldiers, and young people under 25 years old. As a result of elections held in February-March 1906 only 14 members were elected from 30 million people lived in the eastern borderlands, including 9 from Kazakhstan – four Kazakhs: Alikhan Bokeyhanov (from the Semipalatinsk region), Akhmet Birimzhanov (from Torgay field), Alpysbay Kalmenov (from the Ural region), and Baktygerey Kulmanov (from Bukeyev Hordes). A mandatory requirement for deputies was the knowledge of the Russian language.

The I Duma insisted on the alienation of landed estates. Embittered by its stubbornness the Tsar signed the Manifesto on its dissolution on July 9, 1906. Since the end of December 1906 the elective campaign into the II Duma began, in which 14 members were elected from Kazakhstan, including 6 Kazakhs: Shaimerden Koshygulov (from Akmola oblast), Temirgali Nurekenov (from the Semipalatinsk region), Bakhytzhan Karatayev (from the Ural region) Akhmet Birimzhanov (for the second time on the Torgay region), Tleuli Allabergenov (from Syrdarya region) Mukhamedzhan Tynyshbaev (from the Semirechensk region).

However, the work of the II Duma was not more productive than the first one. Kazakh Deputies A. Bokeykhanov, Sh. Koshygulov, B. Karatayev were actively using the Duma rostrum for attempts to promote a new agrarian law, which would allow to stop migration of Russian and Ukrainian peasants to Kazakhstan and removal of land from Kazakh population. The agrarian question caused a fierce debate, with the majority of the deputies once again insisting on the alienation of landed estates from Kazakhs. At the sessions of the II Duma on May 16, 1907 B. Karatayev made a report on the impact of migration on the economy of Kazakhs. When the presiding judge interrupted the deputy, Karatayev made the famous statement that Kazakhs would support any Russian opposition movement for the confiscation of «privately owned land to meet the peasant land hunger».

Not wishing to go into concessions with the democratic opposition the Tsar dissolved the II Duma on June 3, 1907 and issued the «Regulations» of the elections to the III State Duma.

The new electoral law was even more aggravated by the current curial inequality. Now one vote of a landlord was equivalent to four voices of the wealthy, 68 voices of urban inhabitants, 260 voices of peasants and the 543 voices of workers. The indigenous population of Central Asia, including Kazakhs, was generally deprived of electoral rights and the right to be elected to the Duma.



Political activity of the Kazakh population and peasant settlers in 1905-1907 led to the fact that the government began to practice the «Regulation on Measures to Preserve the Sovereign Governmental and Public Order» of August 14, 1881 in Kazakhstan. It provided for the suspension of laws, introduction of a special regime of three types: enhanced safety, security, and emergency martial law. It was the martial law that was declared in Kazakhstan in 1905, which meant that emergency laws of war and violent criminal repression aimed at suppressing the liberation movement could be used.

At the end of 1905 in Uralsk there was the First all Kazakhs Congress held setting a task of creating the Kazakh national political party. The Kazakh party was supposed to be a branch of the Cadet Party, however, it was more radical and reflected the interests of the indigenous population of the region. At the head of the national liberation movement stood the best representatives of Kazakh intelligentsia: Alikhan Bokeykhanov, Myrzhakyp Dulatov, Bakhytzhan Karatayev, Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpaev, Mustafa Shokay, Akhmet Baytursynov, and others.

The tsarist government, concerned about consolidation of the Kazakh opposition, started repressions against its leaders. In January 1906 A.Bokeykhanov was arrested who was on the way to Semipalatinsk to prepare for the second all Kazakhs Congress. The Congress, however, took place in February of that year, 150 delegates attended it. The Congress program of Russian Cadets was approved. The program also contained a requirement to recognize all the lands owned by the Kazakh people of Kazakhstan, to adopt the law on the opening of schools, madrassas, and a university, stopping the resettlement of peasants.

However, these demands were not supported by the Cadets party leadership, although A.Bokeykhanov was a member of the Central Committee of the Party. Then new repressions were initiated against the leaders of the liberation movement of Kazakhs. In 1908, A.Bokeykhanov was arrested for the second time, and A.Baytursynov was arrested in July 1909.

**Kazakh Political Media.** Police Terror, which began in 1908, was not able to completely eliminate the liberation movement of Kazakhs. Now, however, it developed mainly along the political media line. So, in 1911, two printing bodies were established. In January, in Troitsk a printing house «Energy» issued a monthly magazine «Aikap» published by Mukhametzhonov Seraliuly and Erkem Alimuly. The magazine was of the modernist character, under the influence of revolutionary pan-Islamism

and Pan-Turkism, it openly and sharply opposed tsarism and the Russian presence in the steppe.

In March 1911, first in the khan's headquarters, then in Uralsk a newspaper «Kazakhstan» was published, its editors were Batyrsha Kairniyaz, Mokhammed and Omar Kurash Karshi (Karashin). Sultan Saginkerey Bokei (Bukeev) headed the the editorial. The newspaper was of revolutionary and pan-Islamic character, the Russian censorship forbade its release after 4 issues. «Kazakhstan» was published again only in 1913.

Many literary works of this period were of political nature. In 1909 in Ufa collection of poems by Myrzhakyp Dulatov «Oyan, Kazakh!» (Wake up, Kazakh) was published. The verses were aimed at awakening consciousness of the Kazakh people, focusing on the colonial policy of Russia and the oppression of Kazakhs.

From 1913 a new stage in the liberation movement, associated with the activities of the newspaper «Kazakh» started. It was published in Orenburg using the funds of Mustafa Orazayev and from the outset achieved significant for the time circulation – 3 thousand copies. The editor was Akhmet Baytursynov, surrounded by a whole galaxy of talented Kazakh journalists and writers, such as: Alikhan Bokeykhanov, Myrzhakyp Dulatov, Haleb Dosmukhamedov Magzhan Zhumabayev, Jusipbek Aymaulytov etc. «Kazakh» opposed the colonial policy of tsarism, refraining, however, from calling to armed struggle. During the 1913-1916 activists and supporters of the future party «Alash» gathered around this newspaper. The newspaper irritated the tsarism guards by its anti-colonial character of the publication, during 1913-1916 it was closed 26 times, and A. Baytursynov was repeatedly arrested.

Despite repressions by the authorities, the national liberation movement of Kazakhs in the early XX century grew stronger, increasingly consolidated, acquired the features of the political opposition to the regime. The period of 1905-1914 prepared the emergence of the Kazakh political party «Alash» and the new rise of the liberation struggle.

#### **4. The First World War and the National Liberation Movement in 1916. View of Kazakh Intelligentsia and Political Positions of the Revolt**

The First World War, which began in the summer of 1914, immediately showed the backwardness of tsarist Russia in the economic and technical terms. The individual victory of the Russian army cannot fix the overall

situation at the front, and 1915-1916 Russia lost much of its western territories.

Failures at the front demanded new resources, human and material. The labor shortage created a crisis in many sectors of the economy. The economy of Kazakhstan was also heavily damaged during the war. Taxes increased by 3-4 times, and in some cases 15 times. a special war tax was introduced. Abuse at all levels of the colonial system continued. In addition to direct and indirect taxes, the cattle and yurts were collected. During the three years of the war, only from Turkestan 70 thousand of heads of horses exported, 12.7 thousand of camels, more than 13 thousand of Yurts were exported.

Kazakhs were to supply free meat, bread, cattle and yurts to the troops marched to the front through the territory of Kazakhstan. Kazakh economy has suffered an enormous damage worth millions of rubles. Arable land was shrinking of both Kazakhs' and the resettlement's, resulting in sharply increased prices on bread.

By the end of 1915 the discontent of Kazakhs grew. Many townships refused to pay taxes, the cases of refusal to give donations and conflicts on this basis with the local administration increased.

During the First World War, the national liberation movement of Kazakhs took shape in three trends that formed their own political parties. The first group was formed around the newspaper «Kazakh» – the most significant part of the patriotic intelligentsia, demanding autonomy of Kazakhstan and carrying out progressive reforms of a democratic persuasion in the region. Later this group formed the party «Alash».

The second group proclaimed the ideas of enlightened Islam and mainly consisted of intellectuals of the southern regions of Kazakhstan, which were a part of the Turkestan province, forming the party «Shura-e-Islami» and «Shura-i-Ulema». The group «Ush Horde», formed in 1914-1916, adhered to the same orientation.

The third group was weaker than the previous two, was generated by the revolutionary events. Organizationally, it took shape only in the autumn of 1917 after the split of the «Ush Horde», creating a party «Ush Horde».

Representatives of various parties and groups hold to different views and attitudes during the 1916 uprising. The editors of the magazine «Aikap» acted against the mobilization of Kazakhs. The magazine was closed for the calls to resist. The party «Ush Horde» also called for armed struggle against the colonial administration. A more moderate position was occupied by the newspaper «Kazakh». Although Myrzhakyp Dulatov called the decree

of June 25, 1916 as «bloody», but Alikhan Bokeykhanov and Akhmet Baytursynov, were aware that any resistance would lead to a massive loss of lives, and were forced to published an appeal to the Kazakh people on August 11. It said that sending the people to the rear works could save the families of the mobilized and their households from utter ruin and destruction by chasteners.

Alarmed by the growing unrest in the Steppe and the danger of destruction by the regular army of the Russian Empire, the representatives of the liberal-democratic intelligentsia - Alikhan Bokeykhanov, Akhmet Baytursynov, Myrzhakyp Dulatov, Seitkazy Kadyrbaev, Mukhamedyar Tunganchin – appealed to the population of Turgay and Irgiz townships to refrain from participating in armed uprising. They pointed out straight that the tsarist autocracy would surely use armed forces to suppress unrest in the Steppe. And that the first victims of the punitive expeditions would primarily be women and children; economic life will be destroyed; military courts would start acting, which are mercilessly condemn the local residents to death and other penalties. The signatories wrote bitterly that they deeply shared anxiety and pain of the people. At the end of the appeal the intellectuals called on the rebels to obey the imperial decree. Nevertheless, the number of insurgents in Turgai and Irgiz townships did not decrease.

At the same time, one of the leaders of «Alash» Bakhytzhan Karatayev tried to dissuade the tsarist government from mobilizing and withdraw from Kazakhstan the punitive troops. The leaders of the uprising condemned them as people who did not understand the political situation and condemned Kazakhs to defeat untimely and unprepared events. A certain part of the exempt from the decree, that is those officials who were so-called «native» administration, unconditionally supported the royal decree and became its principal conductors in life, but the radical representatives of Kazakh intelligentsia (Bokin, Niyazbekov, Zhunusov) strongly opposed them and urged the people to armed resistance against the government.

In 1915, a question about the direct participation of Kazakhs in the war arose. The Kazakh intelligentsia, through the newspaper «Kazakh» offered to use Kazakhs as a fighting force in cavalry units. At the same time they pursued two objectives:

First, the seizure of land of Kazakhs who served in the army in favor of the resettlement was supposed to stop;

Second, participation in hostilities could prepare qualified military personnel in the event of the formation of the army of independent Kazakhstan.

In addition, it was the only way Kazakhs could get weapons needed to fight the colonizers. However, the Russian government was not going to arm the «unreliable» Kazakhs. Instead, it was decided to use the non-Russian population of Russia at the rear works.

On June 25, 1916 a decree according to which all non-Russian male population aged 19-43 years should have been «requisitioned» for the construction of fortifications in the area of the army and for the rear of the work was issued. In total, according to preliminary calculations, 390 thousand men should have been mobilized.

The decree set the Kazakh steppe in an extremely difficult position. Mobilization was carried out during the harvest and preparation of cattle to the move to the winter pastures, haying. The mobilization of able-bodied male population undermined the economic base of the Kazakh economy, already cranked by the permanent withdrawal of land for settlers. In fact, the rest of the Kazakh population was doomed to starvation in the winter 1916-1917.

The mobilization of Kazakhs to rear works gave rise to the powerful uprising of Kazakhs and other Central Asian peoples against Russian colonialism. Frightened by the scale of the uprising, on July 20 the tsarist authorities announced the postponement of the mobilization till the end of the harvest, and on July 30 – a postponement until September 15, 1916, however, the attempt to extinguish the flames of anti-colonial uprising Kazakhs failed.

The news of the decree of June 25 stirred up the whole Kazakh steppe. Spontaneous demonstrations against mobilization expressed in beating of township rulers, destroying family lists.

The struggle against mobilization and arbitrariness of the local authorities began with the destruction of the lists and it was no accident. In the absence of the metric records Kazakhs family lists were the only official document, which could determined the age of Kazakhs. Therefore, the destruction of the family lists and the failure to submit them to the district chief hindered and even disrupt the mobilization.

Military areas governors reported to St. Petersburg that the decree on mobilization to the rear work operation had caused a general excitement among the people, in auls there were mass meetings and lists of the mobilized were destroyed. In these messages it was also reported that Kazakh-workers quited their jobs everywhere and went into the steppe.

**Uprising in Zhetysu.** In July and August 1916 the excitement began to grow into a revolt, it gradually engulfed almost the whole of Kazakhstan.

One of the largest areas was Zhetysu, where an armed struggle against the colonialists began in July. The unrest was led by Tokash Bokin and Bekbolat Ashekeyev. The rebels burned the postal station, destroying telegraph lines, fought against punitive troops.

The tsarist government declared the entire Turkestan under the martial law. Death squads were directed against the rebels. At the same time the tsarist government was forced to postpone the mobilization of Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uyghur, and Dungan until 15 September. But this measure did not stop the development of the uprising. Armed clashes with rebel forces took place in August 1916.

The colonialists sought to foment ethnic hatred. By the order of the Turkestan Governor-General Kuropatkin and the military governor of Semirechye Folbauma armed groups among the Russian population were created to fight the rebels.

Special units of the tsarist troops with artillery and machine guns operated against the rebels. In villages and towns there were carried out mass arrests of «suspicious», military courts handed down death sentences.

In September 1916 there were armed clashes with rebels with the imperial armies in Lepsinsk County. The rebels carried out active offensive operations. This explains some successes of the rebel forces in clashes with the punitive troops. However, the tsar's troops had a big advantage in the number of forces; they also possessed artillery and machine guns. The Poorly organized and worse armed rebel forces were defeated. In late September, the rebels clashed with the tsarist troops in Kapal district. Here, the rebels gave last fight to the punitive forces, and then retreated to the mountains. The troops did not dare to pursue them. By October 1916 uprising was crushed in Zhetysu. The tsar punitive forces brutally dealt not only with the rebels, but also with the civilian population. Dozens of Kazakh villages were destroyed, many Kazakhs were killed. Pursued by the imperial armies of more than 300 thousand, Kazakhs and Kyrgyz left their homes and fled to China limits in Kuldja region and Kashgar.

The results of this uprising were as following: sentenced to death 347 people, sentenced to hard labor – 578, imprisoned – 129 people, not counting the shot without trial, killed by the army and kulak detachments.

And yet, the unrest continued. In a report to the tsar Kuropatkin wrote: «It is impossible, however, to guarantee that a part of the Kyrgyz from Semirechinsk and Syrdarya regions will not make another attempt to armed action after receiving back the grazing areas. Measures against such dangers are taken».

**Uprising in Syrdarya and the Western Kazakhstan Region.** By mid-July 1916 mass protests covered almost the entire territory of Syrdarya region. Rebels fought the «native» administration, destroyed property of the township rulers, went into battle with the police and the tsar troops. By early August the uprising spread to Aulie-Ata district of Syrdarya region. Many rebels had gathered near the city of Aulie-Ata, determined «not to give workers», they attacked the Cossack hundreds. By the end of September uprising in Syrdarya region was suppressed. Some auls, which did not subdue to the tsar 's authority, migrated deep into the wilderness, in the Turgai region.

During July-August 1916 mass demonstrations of Kazakhs took place in the Ural region and Bukey Horde, then in the part of the Astrakhan region. On July 8, Kazakh of Aul No. 5 of the Chingirlausky township demanded the township manager to stop compiling lists of mobilized to the military works. The township ruler refused to comply and threatened with violence, for which he was immediately killed together with his clerk by the rebellious peasants. The news on the Chingirlausky events spread to other townships. Soon the uprising covered Libschensky and Ural districts. On July 11 in Chilik district of Ural region the rebels attacked the township ruler, clerks, aul elders. Armed zhigit of Kyzylzharskoy township attacked a peasant chief, who had come to assist in the mobilization of Kazakhs to rear works.

In mid-May 1916, an uprising spread all over the Bukeyev Horde, and the Temir and Guryev townships. It began with a protest against the decree and grew into an open clash. It was reported from Temir: «The Kyrgyz are going to interrupt the telegraph, and take away the station horses. Starting with the threats to prudent Kyrgyz, who wanted to obey the supreme will and the rulers, they arrest them, take away the signs, destroy family lists».

Organizational weakness, spontaneity, locality of the people's unrest in the Ural region eased their suppression by the tsarist authorities in early October. However, Kazakhs did not go to the recruiting stations.

**Uprising in Akmola and Semipalatinsk Regions.** At the same time, the people's unrest swept Semipalatinsk and Akmola provinces. The rebels destroyed the lists and beat representatives of the local tsarist administration.

The uprising was also attended by Kazakh workers of Spassky mines, Karsakpay plant and Dzhezkazgan mine, as well as of the factories of the «Ridder Join Stock Company». In some areas, the number of rebels reached 7 thousand. 12 hundred of cavalry, 11 reinforced infantry detachments were sent against the rebels under the command of General Jagodin. In

September and October 1916, armed clashes took place with punitive detachments in Zaisan and Ust-Kamenogorsk, Karkaralinsk, Akmolinsk and Atbasar provinces. Rebels of Pavlodar district were fighting with punitive detachment in the tract Alabas from 21 September to 3 October. The battles took place in the tract Karazhar in Akmola district and other places.

On September 26 near the tract Kozhas, Kokshetau region, armed zhigits attacked a Cossack detachment. A day later, the battle took place in the township of Korzhunkulsky, Akmola region. In early October, near the tract Ainabulak, Akmola district 2 thousand Kazakh rebels attacked the punitive detachment twice. On October 8 in the area of village Alekseyevka the same squad faced a punitive detachment, after heavy fighting they were forced to retreat. On October 29 near the river Kypshak Atbasar district, more than a thousand rebels for several hours were fighting the tsarist troops. In spite of the heroism of the rebels, the uprisings were suppressed by the end of October 1916 in Semipalatinsk and Akmola regions by the heavily armed tsar troops. Suppression of the uprising contributed to the fact that the rebels acted separately, there was no coordination between them.

Some rebels Akmola and Atbasar districts in separate groups left in Turgai district and joined the troops Amangeldy Imanov. Some of them acted on their own until the February Revolution of 1917.

**Uprising in Torgay Area.** The Tsar Decree on mobilization of Kazakhs to the rear works was received in Orenburg on June 28, 1916. Torgay Regional Administration held congresses of township rulers and aul elders together with the «honorable elders», in which it was decided on an immediate and continuous implementation of the decree of the tsar. However, dissatisfaction of Kazakhs grew every day.

In the auls of Kostanay, Irgiz, Aktobe regions spontaneous demonstrations of peasants began. The Governor of Torgay region began to receive disturbing information about the armed interventions of the Kazakh population. One of the district chiefs reported that the rebels were concentrated in the gorges of the mountains, attacked the post office, dismantled railroad, and smashed township government, killed township rulers. Administration anxiously noted that the uprising covered the whole area.

In Torgay district a major insurgent group was formed, which was headed by Amangeldy Uderbayuly Imanov. Amangeldy was born on April 3, 1873 on the territory of the modern Amangeldy district of Kostanay region. Until he was 12 years old he attended the aul school, then the Madrasa of Imam Abdrakhman. There he studied for four years, mastered the Turkish,



the Persian and the Arabic languages. Since 1913 Amangeldy was «Aikap» magazine and the «Kazakh» newspaper subscriber. In 1910 in Terisbutake, where Amangeldy's tribe lived, a school was built on his initiative.

Even before the uprising Amangeldy was known in the steppes as a defender of people's freedom, an enemy of the colonial regime. More than once he had to go to prison, to travel to St. Petersburg on affairs of Kazakhs prisoners.

In July 1916 Amangeldy begins to gather scattered Kazakh troops in a single army, and in early August he was elected «sardabeg» (Commander in Chief) by the rebels in the tract Sursha. In addition, the Khans were elected: Abdugapparov Zhanbosynov from kypshaks, Ospan Sholak from Argyns.

Amangeldy Army differed from the other groups of rebels by organization and discipline. Sarbazy were divided into tens, hundreds and thousands. Control was via the Military Council, carrying out the functions of headquarters. There was secretariat at the Council, which decided all administrative matters, a post was located also there. The panel of judges at the headquarters dealt with complaints, solved various legal matters. Disputes between Sarbazy and civilians were settled by an elbegi, who was appointed by the headquarters per thousand households. Taxes and food for the rebels was collected by zhasakshi, a specially appointed kazynashi was in charge of finance.

Population that recognized the rebel Khans was exempt from all taxes, except bitamal, 4 rubles from the yard – the rich and well-off households to the needs of the rebel army.

By October 1916 in Torgay and Irgiz counties, there were 20 insurgent groups, each of which was 2-3 thousand men. The rebel forces were united in three groups.

On October 17 the rebels besieged the village Karabutak of Aktobe district, the next day attacked punitive expedition around the lake Kozhekul. After a fierce battle the tsarist troops were forced to retreat. On October 21 4 thousand rebels fought with a Cossack hundred and a police detachment in the area of Lake Tatar. On October 23, 15 thousand rebels headed by Amangeldy surrounded the city Torgay. The commander of the Kazan Military District telegraphed the War Minister that «the situation in Torgay and Irgiz districts is deteriorating rapidly. There is no not only the telegraph communication with Torgay, but any communication stopped. Torgay is surrounded, Irgiz is surrounded». At the same time it was reported that the rebels, having seized Torgay and Irgiz, intended to suspend the rail links through the Orenburg-Tashkent.

Kazakhs from neighboring areas joined Torgay rebels. In November 1916, the number of the rebels reached 50 thousand. The rebels almost completely paralyzed the local colonial apparatus. Punitive detachments were unable to quell the rebellion.

The tsarist government decided to take extreme measures. Special Expeditionary Forces were formed under the command of General Lavrentiev, which included parts taken from the front. The troops began to attack from three sides - from Kostanay, Aktobe and Shalkar.

The rebels tried to take Torgay before arrival of the tsarist troops, but their attempts to take the city by storm failed on November 6. The city remained under the siege for 10 days, but it was not possible to keep Torgay in the siege for a long time, because he is approached by the main forces of the punitive expedition. The rebels lifted the siege and were made to meet the orders of the Russian troops. On November 16 the rebels attacked the punitive detachments near Tunkoyma station. Hardly breaking through the ranks of the insurgents, the punitive detachment entered Torgau on the same day.

In the second half of November, the bulk of the rebels retreated to 150 km from Torgay and was concentrated in the area of the tract Batpak-Kara, the other part - in the sands Accum. In Batpak Kara the rebels created a Council to guide military operations and management over the occupied areas.

To combat the rebels a new punitive expedition of General Makarov started from Samara, it was joined by Orenburg detachments.

Early onset of winter, severe frosts, and snow hampered insurgency. Amangeldy and Abdugappar concentrated their forces in the areas hard to reach for punitive troops. The rebels provided themselves with food and fodder, built dugouts and yurts. Since the beginning of 1917 Amangeldy intended to resume the fight.

The first punitive detachment stepped out from Kostanay in the direction of Betpak Kary was blocked by the rebels of Naurzum two townships, numbering up to 2 thousand men. On January 13, 1917 in the tract Shoshkaly Kopa, and on January 14 in the tract Kuyuk-Kopa fights occurred that forced the punitive squads to retreat.

On the eve of the February Revolution, when hostilities ceased in other regions of Kazakhstan, in Torgay steppe battles between the death squads and insurgents continued. In mid-February 1917 Colonel Turgenev's detachment launched an offense against the insurgents' fortified base near Batpak-Kara. The clash of the insurgents with the punitive detachment

happened on February 18 in the area of Aul No. 6 of Karakuginsky township; on February 21 the battle was in the tract Kumkeshu of Karatorgaysky township, on February 22-24, the rebels entered the final battle with Russian troops near the Arc Urpek. Battling with exceptional tenacity, the rebels slowly retreated into the depths of the steppe. During the retreat of the Kazakh with auls on the ice of Torgay River the Russian troops, firing them from both sides, killed several hundred women, elderly and children, more than a thousand of Sarbazy.

In late February, punitive troops retreated, leaving Dougal-Urpek in the hands of the rebels. After the victory of the February Revolution, the number of insurgent groups has increased dramatically in the wilderness, and in late 1917 Amangeldy took over Torgay.

Thus, the tsarist government failed to suppress the main source of the uprising of Kazakhs, but the socio-economic situation of the Kazakh village deteriorated sharply during the uprising. Many farms had been looted by punitive troops, part of the rebels were forced to migrate to the territory of China and Mongolia. In general, over the years the number of Kazakhs in the Russian Empire was reduced by more than 600 thousand men.

Despite the fact that in most regions of Kazakhstan uprising was subdued, and in general, the national liberation movement in 1916 suffered a defeat, it led to a sharp growth of national consciousness, increased political activity, the accumulation of experience in the construction of an independent state.

### Control Questions:

1. What are the reasons for worsening of socio-economic situation in Kazakhstan at the beginning of the XX century?
2. Summarize the main objectives of Stolypin Agrarian Reform. How did it affect the migration policy in Kazakhstan?
3. What is the impact of the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 on the political situation in Kazakhstan?
4. When and why the First World War took place? How was it reflected in Kazakhstan?
5. What are the causes, the nature, driving forces of the 1916 uprising in Kazakhstan? What was the position of the Kazakh intelligentsia to this uprising?

## **Topic 5. Kazakhstan in Recent Times (1917-1920.). Historical Origins of the Formation of the Soviet Kazakhstan**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

- 1. February Revolution of 1917 and the changes in the political life of society, the emergence of the first political parties.*
- 2. Formation of a political party «Alash» and its work on the way to the nation-state.*
- 3. October Revolution and the establishment of Soviet power in Kazakhstan.*
- 4. Kazakhstan during the Civil War of 1918-1920.*
- 5. Formation of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (KazASSR).*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. February Revolution of 1917 and the Changes in the Political Life of Society**

On 23-27 February (March 8-12, 1917 the bourgeois-democratic revolution that overthrew the Tsarist regime took place in Russia. The Provisional Government that came to power announced its priorities which were the continuation of the war with Germany, the restoration of an effective administrative apparatus, carrying out fundamental political and social reforms and preparing the way for the transformation of Russia from a highly centralized state into a federation.

The Provisional Government abolished the death penalty, military field courts, servitude, and exile were abolished, all cases involving national security were handed over to the jury. Law «On Abolition of Religious and National restrictions» was adopted on March 20, 1917. Equal rights for admission to the civil service and education, movement and residence, the acquisition of property, employment in trade and crafts and etc were proclaimed for all citizens. The use of a native language was allowed in schools and in the paperwork. In early July, the commission was set up to develop the necessary legislation in order to convert Russia into a federation.

The duties of the local administration were assigned to the chairmen of provincial and district rulers, who received the rank of Provisional Government Commissioners. In Kazakhstan, where the councils did not exist, the commissioners were appointed by the people who were chosen

or recommended by local community committees. On April 7, 1917 a decree on the formation of the Provisional Government of the Turkestan Committee, replacing the Governor-General was issued. Management at the regional level and the county was entrusted to representatives of the Kazakh population for the first time. So, A.Bokeyhanov became the Commissioner of Torgay area, M.Tynyshpaev – Semirechensk, H.Dosmuhamedov – in the Urals, a number of leaders of the national liberation movement of Kazakhs were appointed commissioners for individual counties.

In addition, local executive power was passed to the regional and district executive committees. Committees were formed mostly at spontaneous meetings of the politically active part of the population in the regional and district centers. At the same time in the regions with predominantly Kazakh population their own governments begin to form.

At the same time, the Provisional Government proclaimed the principle of «continuity of the law» which continued the actions of the main provisions of the 16-volume Laws of the Russian Empire. The adoption of vital socio-economic laws as inadmissibly delayed. The implementation of land reform envisaged only in the spring of 1918, there were no discussions on the end the war. Many laws were supposed to be discussed at the Constituent Assembly. At the same time, the elections to the Constituent Assembly were tightened. It was possible to convene a special meeting on the drafting of the electoral law on by the summer. It provided universal suffrage, but the elections were held only in November 1917, after the overthrow of the Provisional Government.

The revolutionary and national liberation movement in the spring and early summer of 1917 in Russia was of more peaceful nature. On July 3 a powerful demonstration in Petrograd began demanding the transfer of power to the Soviets. On July 4 the number of demonstrators reached 500 thousand people.

To suppress demonstrations the Provisional Government brought the loyal to its troops from the front, disorienting them in current events, and started to suppress the revolutionary workers and soldiers.

After the events of July 1917, the political situation in the country changed, dual power ended, peace stage of the revolution development ended. Now all power concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie, while the SR-Menshevik Soviets turned into an appendage of the Provisional Government.

At the same time, half-hearted and inconsistent actions of the Provisional Government as a whole, led to the downfall of the bourgeois government

and anarchy that created the conditions for the seizure of power by the radical Left parties, the Bolsheviks and the Left SRs. Kazakhstan, like the rest of Russia, became the scene of a bloody civil war.

The February Revolution was greeted with enthusiasm in Kazakhstan. In April-May 1917 the provincial and county Kazakh congresses took place all over Kazakhstan, the elected national committees discussed the fate of Kazakhstan. In March a group of employees of the newspaper «Kazakh» began to take shape as a political party.

After a long preparation, at the first All Kyrgyz (All Kazakh Congress in Orenburg which took place on July 21-28, it was decided to form a party, to develop a program and to prepare for elections to the Constituent Assembly, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of October the party was named «Alash» – the name of the legendary ancestor of the Kazakhs.

Leaders of the national liberation movement – Alikhan Bukeikhanov, Akhmet Baytursynov, Myrzhakyp Dulatov, Khalel and Zhahansha Dosmukhamedov, Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpaev Magzhan Zhumabayev, Khalel Gabbassov and others were at the head of the Alash Party.

The clergy and the clerical-minded intellectuals of the southern regions of Kazakhstan, which were a part of the Turkestan province, formed a party «Shura-i-Islam» and «Shura-i-Ulema». biennium. A group «Ush Zhuz» adhered to the same orientation in 1914-1916, its leader – Kulbayev Togus published the newspaper «Alash» in Tashkent.

**Party «Shura-i-Islam»** («Council of Islam») was a bourgeois-nationalist organization in Turkestan. After the October Revolution it declared the Kokand Autonomy. It was disbanded in 1918, by Turkestan CPC, it was an organizer of Basmachis in underground.

**Party «Shura-i-Ulema»** («Council of Clergy») was a bourgeois nationalist, pan-Islamic organization. It separated itself from «Shura-e-Islam» in 1917. It was an organizer and a leader of Kokand autonomy and Basmachis. It ceased to exist with the defeat of Basmaches.

**Political for «Ush Zhuz»** was weaker than the previous two, it was formed by revolutionary groups. In the autumn of 1917 it was organized into the Kazakh Socialist Party – «Ush Zhuz». The first chairman of the Central Committee of the party «Ush Zhuz» was Mukan Aytpenov, Deputy Chairman of the Central Committee was Kolbay Togus, the Secretary – Iskhak Kobekov. The organ of the party was the newspaper of the same name Ush Zhuz, which was edited by K.Togusov. In its social basis it was a petty-bourgeois democratic organization. After the October Revolution, it

openly opposed the party «Alash» as its opponent. Gradually it moved to the pro-Bolshevik and Left SR position.

A serious political force was spontaneously formed by Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, acting not on the basis of the law but on the basis of the so called «revolutionary initiative». However, in Kazakhstan, its influence was small, and in the spring of 1917 the majority of the Soviets supported the authorities appointed by the Provisional Government.

## **2. Formation of a Political Party «Alash» and its Work on the Way to the Nation-State**

One of the most important phenomena of the Kazakh culture at the beginning of the XX century is the appearance of a thin, but a proactive and highly influential layer of educated Kazakhs who were educated at the European level mainly in Russia (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, Tomsk, Omsk, Warsaw). A patriotic idea to protect illiterate and uneducated Kazakh people from tyranny and oppression of the authorities originated in this intellectual layer. The movement took its name from the mythical Kazakh Khan – Khan Alash. It is this name «Alash» – identical to «Kazakh», that embodied the idea of uniting all Kazakh lands under a single authority, as well as the idea of an independent Kazakh state – the main tool in the protection of the national interests.

In 1910-1913 Kazakh magazines and newspapers «Aikap», «Kazakh», «Kazakhstan» were published on the initiative of Mukhamedzhan Seralin, Akhmet Baytursynov Alikhan Bokeykhanov etc. Their pages covered a real situation in the Kazakh society and reflected dissatisfaction of local residents with the social, national and financial policy of the district authorities (extortion, corruption, land rejection). These newspapers also castigated and ridiculed the negative features of the steppe: laziness, carelessness, ignorance, unfounded bragging.

Ideas of justice and protection of nomadic Kazakhs, modernization, and renewal of the society were the core line of the activity of these individuals. A.Bokeykhanov advanced at the forefront during these years - a high level politician, the deputy of the First State Duma of the Russian Empire. The leaders of «Alash» met the abdication of Nicholas II and the victory of the February Revolution of 1917 with enthusiasm, as they associated their hopes for liberation from colonial pressure with the advent of the Russian liberals, headed by Kerensky. As if to confirm these hopes, in March

1917 A.Bokeykhanov was appointed the Commissioner of the Provisional Government in Torgay region.

From 19 to 22 of April of 1917 in Uralsk, the first meeting of the Ural Regional Congress took place. Khalel Dosmukhamedov was unanimously elected the chairman at this Congress (despite the fact that he was absent). This meeting was a kind of test of strength and became an intermediate stage for a national congress.

To help the mobilized nomads who had been sent to the rear works, a group of intellectuals headed by A. Bokeykhanov left to the Western Front to the Minsk region. Being close to the line of the fighting, they brought with them such highly needed experts as medical assistants, doctors, teachers and translators. They organized a society «Erkin Dala» («Free Steppe»). The attitude to the problem of mobilization, the questions of the tactics of the political struggle for the liberation of the people split the Kazakh intelligentsia into several directions by 1917.

In that historical moment there was no such movement in the whole of Central Asia, which in its objectives, the political significance, and breadth of coverage could stand on a par with the «Alash» party.

In the draft of the program of the party «Alash» published on November 21, 1917 in the first paragraph it was stated that:

«Russia must become a Democratic Federal Republic (Democracy is people's power, a federation is a union of small states). Each individual State of the Federal Republic is autonomous and manages itself on equal rights and interests. At the head of the government is a Constituent Assembly, in between is a president elected by the Constituent Assembly and the State Duma for a certain period of years. The President governs through the Council of Ministers and is responsible before the Constituent Assembly and the State Duma. Legislative power is concentrated in the hands only of the State Duma, which owns the right of control over the government. Election rights belong to all without distinction of origin, religion and gender. Elections of the Deputies are carried out by equal and direct secret ballot». Further the program had the following provisions:

1. Autonomy of Kaysak – Kyrgyzs is formed from the regions and is part of the Russian Federation together with other nationalities.

2. In the Russian Federation there is equality, security of person and freedom of speech, press and association.

3. Religion must be separated from the state. Everyone should be free and equal.



4. All people are equal before the court, and if the Trial shall be at locations with the Kyrgyz population composition, it should be in the Kyrgyz (ie, in the Kazakh) language.

5. Taxation should take place according to the degree of wealth and property status – the rich pay more, the poor pay less.

6. The work legislation should be in favor of workers. Because there is few factories in Kyrgyzstan, that is there is few workers, the party Alash supports the program of Menshevik Social-Democrats on this issue.

7. Education of the people should be accessible to all. Education in all schools is free of charge. In primary schools the teaching should be carried out in the native language. Kazakhs must have their secondary and high educational institutions, including university.

8. Given the enormous pressure on the land question, often resulting in massive unrests and uprisings due to discriminatory government measures, the drafters of the program stated: «In developing the land law in the Constituent Assembly the focus should be made on allocation of land primarily to natives. Giving the land to the resettled peasants before distribution it to the natives should not be done». Land for sale is strictly prohibited. All the riches of the earth: large forests, rivers – are state-owned and managed by local boards.

9. In order to protect the people, an army should be organized on a basis other than now. Education and military service of the soldiers should be carried out locally. Separation of the troops is to be made on the «kindred» principle; Kyrgyz carry out the service as a mounted police.

The second All Kazakhs Congress was held on 5-13 of December 1917 in Orenburg. The Congress was directed by B.Kulmanov, K.Kenesarin, G.Karash, M.Dulatov, Bokeyhanov and Kh.Gabbasov had the speeches. The Congress considered the following questions:

- 1) attitude to the autonomy of Siberia, Turkestan and the South-East Union;
- 2) autonomy of Kyrgyz regions; National Fund, People's Court, food question, and others.

Having discussed the report of Kh. Gabbasov on autonomy and bearing in mind that at the end October the the Provisional Government fell and there was an increased danger of anarchy, and since the only way out of this predicament is organization of hard power, the Congress unanimously decided:

1. To establish the territorial and national autonomy of the regions Bukeyev Horde, Ural, Turgay, Akmola, Semirechinsk, Semipalatinsk,

Syrdarya, Ferghana Kyrgyz districts, Samarkand, Amudarya district, the Transcaspiian region, adjacent Kyrgyz townships of Altay province, representing a continuous territory with a dominant Kaysak-Kyrgyzs population of common origin, common culture, history and language.

2. To name the Autonomy of Kaysak-Kyrgyzs regions «Alash».

3. The territory of the autonomous regions «Alash» with all the wealth that is on the surface of the earth, the waters and their resources, as well as in the depths of the earth is the property of «Alash».

4. Constitution of the Autonomy «Alash» shall be approved by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

5. Minority rights are guaranteed to anyone who lives among Kaysak-Kyrgyzs. The representatives of all nations should be represented proportionally In all institutions of the Autonomy «Alash». Exter-territorial and cultural autonomy is granted to those who will be without territory within the Autonomy «Alash».

6. In order to save the area of «Alash» from total collapse, anarchy, the Provisional People's Council (Alash Orda) is organized, consisting of 25 members, of which 10 seats are available to Russian and other peoples living among Kaysak-Kyrgyzs. Semipalatinsk is temporarily elected as the seat of the Alash Orda. (Alash Orda should immediately take up the executive power over Kaysak-Kyrgyz population.)

7. Alash Orda undertakes to take vigorous action to create a people's militia.

8. Alash Orda should shortly convene a Constituent Assembly of the Autonomy «Alash» on the principles worked out by it in relation to the existing rules on the production of general elections in the Russian Constituent Assembly.

9. Alash Orda is authorized by the Congress:

a) to enter into loans;

b) to negotiate in blocs with other autonomic neighbors, the very right to sign the agreement is provided to the Constituent Assembly «Alash».

10. The People's Council shall submit the draft of the Constitution of the autonomy «Alash» by the Constituent Assembly «Alash».

Leaders of the movement were very consistent in their intentions. Step by step they went to the creation of autonomy. But in this period, practically in all Kazakhstan there was already polyarchy. Along with the remains of the Provisional Government there were Soviets coming to power here and there. Orenburg, Siberian, Semirechie Cossacks created their own paramilitary governments, peasants and soldiers were returning from the front – and

organized their own government bodies. Bolshevik violence begets reverse terror. In the spring of 1918 a bloody civil war began, the huge Eurasian land was divided into white and red. Being at the epicenter of the Civil war, the groups of Alash Orda took part in the fighting against the Bolsheviks.

Activities of the young Autonomy was held in difficult conditions. Nevertheless, the government bodies of Alash Orda began to emerge in many places of the Steppe region. Most capable of them were Semipalatinsk with its center in the city of Zhana-Semey, later transformed into the city Alash, the western government body was with the center in the village Zhambeyty and Turgay district. Local Alash Orda called themselves «uallayatami», they had their own courts and police authorities. During 1918 Alash Orda government publishes a number of regulations signed by A.Bokeyhanov, M.Tynyshpaev, Kh.Gabbasov governing the framework of the land use; government corresponded with bashkir autonomists, Siberian temporary Committee.

In the spring and summer of 1918 Alash Orda authorities in alliance with the Cossacks and the troops of Ataman A.I.Dutov begin to fight against the Bolsheviks. The Commissioner of Turgai S.Kadirbaev pointed out explicitly that he will actively oppose «the bandits of the Bolsheviks and their masters the Germans» in the near future. But the army of sergeant was not eager to support the government of Alash, their assistance was mainly limited to verbal declarations. The autonomists maintained the state bodies at their own expense: post and telegraph offices, the courts and inadequately armed militia. in the summer of 1918 Alash Orda formally obeyed the decree of the Ufa Directorate on termination of activity, but still continued to create parallel authorities.

Throughout the summer and autumn of 1919 the activity of the organization Alash Orda reduced. Having lost their supporters in the vast steppes, under the pressure of Bolshevik forces autonomist movement was forced to cease to exist. Nevertheless alash orda movement played a special role in the history of Kazakhstan: exactly its leaders put on the agenda the idea of the Kazakh sovereign state at the beginning of the XX century.

### **3. The October Revolution and the Establishment of the Soviet Power in Kazakhstan**

Given the sharp fall of the authority of the Provisional Government a national crisis in Russia reached its highest point in October, the country went inexorably to the socialist revolution. Start the evening of October

24, 1917 in Petrograd armed uprising of soldiers and sailors was completed with the victory, by the morning of October 25, they captured all the major sites of the capital: railway stations, telephone, telegraph, a power station, government agencies, and the state-owned bank. The Provisional Government was overthrown, and its ministers were arrested.

As a result of the October Revolution in Russia the power of the landowners and the bourgeoisie (capitalists) was destroyed, the dictatorship of the proletariat was established, the Soviet socialist state was formed.

The most important step on the path of the socialist revolution in Russia was the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917 overthrew the monarchy. After it dual power was established in Russian – the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the name of the Provisional Government and the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, represented by the Soviets of Workers ‘and Soldiers’ Deputies. The deep economic and political contradictions in the country put on the agenda the question of the socialist revolution. A specific plan of the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist one was stated in April Theses by Lenin, on the basis of which the VI Party Congress (b), held on 26 July – 8 August of 1917, adopted a policy of armed uprising to take the power by the proletariat in alliance with the poor peasantry. Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee was founded to prepare and conduct the uprising, the Revolutionary Military Center was responsible for the immediate party leadership.

On the evening of October 25 in Smolny the II All-Russian Congress of Soviets was opened, it accepted an appeal «to the workers, soldiers and peasants!», which proclaimed the transfer of all power in the center and locally – to the Soviets of Workers’, Soldiers’ and Peasants’ Deputies. The Congress approved the Decree on Peace and the Decree on Land, forming the first government of workers and peasants – the Council of People’s Commissars, headed by Lenin.

The decrees, adopted at the II Congress of Soviets of Workers ‘and Soldiers’ Deputies, declared the Russian withdrawal from the war, the transfer of land to the peasants and the widespread establishment of the Soviet power at various levels.

On October 26, 1917 the Appeal of the Soviet Government to all migrant Muslims of Russia and the East was promulgated. It had a special significance for the national borderlands, as its following provision sounded convincing: «From now on, your talents and customs, your national and cultural institutions are declared free and inviolable. Arrange your national

life freely and without hindrance. You have the right to do so. Know that your rights, like the rights of all the peoples of Russia, are protected by the full might of the revolution and its bodies – the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies».

Thus, the October Revolution opened a new era in the history of mankind, an era freed from the colonial yoke, the transition to an era of freedom and independence, democracy and social progress.

**Establishment and Consolidation of the Soviet Power in Kazakhstan.** The establishment of the Soviet power in various regions of Kazakhstan depended on the balance of class forces in a given area and whether it was located close to the major industrial centers of the Urals and Siberia, railway; on the cohesion of local workers, etc.

The process of establishing a new government in Kazakhstan began in late October 1917 and lasted by March 1918. The most favorable conditions for this were formed in the Syrdarya region. On October 28 in Tashkent – the administrative center of the area and all Turkestan – began an armed uprising, which led to the establishment of Soviet power on November 1<sup>st</sup>. Perovsky, Aulie-Ata, Shymkent Soviets took power into their own hands on October 30 and November 6. The work on the organization of the Red Guard detachments began. Then the Soviet government was established in all cities and towns, in villages and auls of Syrdarya region by peaceful means.

At the III Regional Congress of Soviets of Turkestan, held on 15-21 November 1917 in Tashkent, People's Commissars «SovNarCom» were elected – Government of the Turkestan Republic. Unfortunately, there was no even a single representative of the local Muslim population among the 14 members of the government.

In response to it, on November 16, 1917 a congress of Kokand clericals (Muslim) organizations of Turkestan took place, which formed the «Kokand Autonomy». The members of its Provisional Government included the leaders of the party «Alash» M.Shokay and M.Tynyshpaev, who stood at the cradle of the Kazakh statehood. However, this was a short-lived autonomy; on February 2, 1918 it was overthrown by the Soviet government.

On December 2, 1917 the Soviet power was established in Bukeyev steppe – in the Khan's headquarters (city of Urda) and on December 3 the local Councils of People's Commissars took the lead in the establishment of the new government in neighboring villages.

As noted above, on December 5-13, 1917 in Orenburg the All Kyrgyzs Congress took place, it announced the creation of the Kazakh Autonomy –

Alash Orda, organized the government headed by A.Bokeyhanov, adopted a decision to form armed detachments.

The Bolsheviks saw a «reactionary counter-revolutionary organization» in the Alash Orda, having contact with General Dutov, Ural, Siberian and Semirechensk White Cossacks. They organized a broad propaganda among the Kazakh intellectuals and workers to expose Alash Orda members. And it had a success. On December 16, 1917 a demonstration of ten thousand Kazakh workers in Akmola regarded the intention of Alash Orda as a provocation and they said the following to their telegram to Lenin: «Kyrgyz workers do not need the autonomy Alash Orda».

On March 19, 1918 the Revolutionary Committee closed the printing press of the party «Alash» in Verny, on April 1 property of the newspaper «Kazakh» – the central organ of the party and the printing press were confiscated by the decision of Torgay Regional Congress. Similar decisions were taken, by other Soviets.

In the struggle for the victory of the Soviet power in the Kazakh steppe, the Bolsheviks came to temporary agreements with the supporting petty-bourgeois groups and organizations – the Left SRs (Socialist-Revolutionaries), Mensheviks-Internationalists (left wing of Menshevik Party), the party «Ush Zhuz».

As already been mentioned, «Ush Zhuz» or «Kazakh Socialist Party» appeared in November 1917 in North Kazakhstan. It has its own organization in Omsk (200 persons), Petropavlovsk (87 persons), in Semipalatinsk, Kokshetau and Zaysan – a few people each.

Originating as the opposite to the party «Alash», from the first days of its existence it opposed Alash, exposed it and Alash Orda «government». The attitude of «Ush Zhuz» to the Soviets and the Soviet government was not immediately defined, having undergone a significant evolution, arguing for support of the Council in January 1918, its representatives K.Togusov, I.Kobekov, K.Iskhakov and others were included in the Omsk and Petropavlovsk Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' deputies.

Local Bolsheviks, featuring the left part of the international «Ush Zhuz» from the bourgeois-nationalist, helped it to take the side of the working class fighting for the establishment of the Soviet power in Kazakhstan. The hard work has yielded positive results.

On December 27, 1917 a mass meeting of the workers of Akmola adopted a resolution on the transfer of power to the Soviets. Somewhat later, the Soviet power triumphed in Aktobe. On January 8, 1918 the Chairman of the

Board of the Executive Committee of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies was elected a Bolshevik R.F. Zinchenko.

Event in the rest of the territory of Kazakhstan were unfolded differently, in particular, in Uralsk, Torgay, Semirechensk and Semipalatinsk regions. There, especially in the Cossack villages, the counter-revolution had numerous military personnel. In addition, many officers of the Tsarist army had fled there. On November 1st, in Semirechensk, the field-officer elite announced the establishment of its dictatorship in the name of «Army Government». A similar government was proclaimed in the Ural region, where the forces of counter-revolution led by Ataman Dutov predominated. Created in Orenburg on the night of November 15, 1917 VRK headed by Bolshevik Tsviling Samuil was arrested by the Whites. All power in Orenburg – the Torgay center – was in the hands of the counter-revolutionaries. Detachments of Baltic sailors, Petrograd Red Guards, the Volga region and Siberia region soldiers were sent against Dutov. Red Guard detachments from Tashkent, Perovsk, Kazalinsk, stations Turkestan and Aris were sent to free Orenburg. An international group formed by Alibi Zhangeldin fought against the Whites. All military operations were led by the Extraordinary Commissioner for the fight against Dutov's followers Peter A. Kobozev. On January 18, 1918 Orenburg was liberated.

The victory of the Soviet authorities in Orenburg was of great political significance. The direct railway Orenburg-Tashkent was restored connecting the central parts of the country with Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

The Regional Congress of Peasants' Deputies held on January 15-16, 1918 in Uralsk proclaimed the establishment of the Soviet power. However, because of the treachery of the Left «Socialist-Revolutionaries» who participated in the congress, and the inconsistency of action to isolate the counter-revolutionary forces, the actual power remained in the hands of the Cossack «Army Government». In March 1918, a regional congress of Soviets of Workers 'and Peasants' Deputies was held, which proclaimed the transfer of power into the hands of the executive committee of the Regional Council and the dissolution of the counter-revolutionary Cossack «Army Government» and the government of Alash Orda. However, the Council failed to carry out its decision.

In some areas of Western Kazakhstan transition of power in the hands of the Soviets was carried out in more favorable conditions, in particular in Bukeyev Horda, which then was included in the Astrakhan province. On December 2, 1917 at the Bolshevik Conference in Khan's headquarter (Urda) the Revolutionary Committee was created, and on December 3 – the local

Council of People's Commissars. They took the lead in the establishment of the Soviet power in the surrounding villages. In Mangistau peninsula, which was a part of the Trans-Caspian region, the new government was established in November 1917.

A desperate struggle for the establishment of Soviet power was on in the northern and north-eastern regions – in Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions that were part of the Steppe region, the center of which was Omsk.

On November 22, 1917 the Soviet power was established in Petropavlovsk, on December 27 – in Akmola and Kokshetau, in January 1918 - in Atbasar. Bolsheviks S.Seyfulin, N.M.Monin, F.N.Krivoguz entered the Provisional Revolutionary Committee in Akmola. Activities of the Soviets were led in Kokshetau by I.M.Demetsky and S.Sharipov, in Atbasar – A.Maykotov, P.Babaev and others.

In Semipalatinsk, Pavlodar, Ust-Kamenogorsk and Ridder the work on formation of Red Guard detachments started, which were the core of skilled workers and soldiers – veterans. On January 18, 1918 in Ust-Kamenogorsk, on January 19 in Pavlodar and on February 19 in Ridder the power was passed into the hands of the insurgent workers and soldiers. In Semipalatinsk, where large forces of counter-revolution concentrated, the Whites had a strong resistance. On the night of 15 to 16 February the Red Guards seized the railway station, post office, telegraph office, the State Bank, the marina, and other important institutions. On February 17 the Executive Committee of the Council of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies in an address to the citizens of the region reported that it «took upon itself all the power for managing the city and the region».

A strong fight for the establishment of the Soviet power took place in Semirechensk area. The officer-kulak top of Semirechensk Cossacks established the White Guards' dictatorship in its center – Verny, the «Semirechenskaya Peasant» newspaper was closed; disbanded revolutionary-minded military units were disbanded. The Bolsheviks had to go into hiding. After the victory of the revolution a task to reorganize the Soviets as organs of state power was on the agenda. By the end of 1917, on December 22, two important documents of the Soviet government were made public: Instruction «On the Rights and Obligations of the Soviets» and the appeal «to All the Soviets». They clearly defined the issue of the relationship between the central government in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and their close relationship with each other in a single centralized state system.



In the first days after the victory of the revolution in the province the power was in the hands of the revolutionary committees created from representatives of local Councils, front organizations, which had played an important role in the establishment of the order, the suppression of riots. They created the necessary conditions for the transfer of all the functions of the state power in the hands of the elected bodies in the face of the Soviets. The revolutionary committees in contact with the local councils worked hard to prepare and convene the district conventions and regional public authorities on the basis of association of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

The Congress of Soviets primarily paid attention to the demolition of the old state machine and the construction of a new, Soviet state apparatus. Due to the fact that the Soviet government won not at the same time in various regions of Kazakhstan, this process was also uneven. If the government bodies were normally functioning already in spring of 1918 in the south of Kazakhstan and Akmola, in many other areas of the province they were only created.

The first steps in the field of the construction of the Soviet state were associated with difficulties, the counter-revolution forces continued to conspire and raise riots. In March 1918, riots broke out in Uralsk, Petropavlovsk, and Kostanay, in April - in Verny, in May - in Semipalatinsk.

An important element in breaking the old state machine, and the organization of a new administrative apparatus was the elimination of the old and creation of new Soviet court. These measures were met with fierce resistance on the part of officials of the old judicial system. Lawyers refused to work in the Soviet court authorities.

During January-March 1918 in all regional and district centers the old state apparatus was broken and a system of executive bodies of Soviet power was created.

Adoption of the power of the workers and peasants in the regional, county centers went on simultaneously with the construction and strengthening of the aul and village councils. In the spring of 1918, senior officials of provincial and county-level Party and government bodies, conscious representatives of the young working class were sent to various locations.

The strengthening of the Soviet power could not be without laying the foundations of a socialist economy. A significant place in this case was given to workers' control over production and distribution, which served as a transitional measure to the nationalization of industry and was one of the conditions for the establishment of economic life. In this respect, a great

role was played by «nationalization of the banks» and «revision of steel safes in banks». In January 1918, the executive committee of Aktobe city council decided to nationalize the Bank of the Mutual Credit Society.

Nationalization of the banks ensured the success of nationalization of industry and transport. On March 1, 1918 by the decision of CPC (the Council of People's Commissars) of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Semirechensk railway road which had been under construction was nationalized, nationalization measures were carried out in respect to the joint-stock shipping companies on the Aral Sea. In the spring and summer of 1918, the Soviets of Kazakhstan nationalized the whole industry. RSFSR Government assisted in the establishment of work at the nationalized enterprises allocating 22 million rubles the Steppe region to finance fuel for them.

The land question was one of the urgent questions, which had a direct impact on the consolidation of the Soviet power in the Kazakh village, because it is affected inter-ethnic relations. In Kazakhstan, the number of estates was very low, but many millions of hectares of the best land were in the hands of the kulak colonizers of the Siberian, Semirechensk, the Urals and the Orenburg Cossack troops. Major Kazakh feudal bais also owned vast arable and grazing land.

With the respect auls the nationalization of the land solved the problem of not only feudal, but also anti-colonial, since under the terms of the Decree on Land, not only the removal of Kazakhs of the best arable land and pastures was stopped, but previously snatched land was returned back to them. **In total 3.5 million acres of land had been returned.**

Land departments and Committees were formed under the Executives Regional and District Soviets, which were the ancestors of the socialist system in agriculture.

Local councils have paid great attention to cultural development, bearing in mind that this is one of the necessary conditions to transform the life of the peoples of border regions of Russia. The main element in the creation of the Soviet culture was the development of national education, the first steps in rebuilding schools were taken, measures were taken to expand their networks, especially in Kazakh villages, to train teaching staff, for which school funds were created; there were planned measures to ensure that textbooks and school supplies were available for all. In Semipalatinsk, in the spring of 1918 three-month training courses for aul schools teachers was organized.

An important event in the radical restructuring of the school education system was the separation of church and state, schools were separated from

the Church, which was the beginning of the free development of the secular education. All state and public institutions were not allowed teaching religion. With the goal of eliminating illiteracy departments of public education were organized locally, free education in the native language was introduced.

#### 4. Kazakhstan during the Civil War of 1918-1920

Intransigent position of the Bolsheviks and their political opponents led to the deployment of large-scale military operations throughout the country in spring of 1918. The reason for the outbreak of the armed conflict was an attempt to disarm the local Councils of the Czechoslovak Corps, which consisted of former Czechs and Slovaks prisoners of war and which was forwarded from Siberia via Vladivostok to Europe. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of May a part of the troops, which were in Petropavlovsk, revolt, overthrew the Soviet power in the city. **In June 1918, the Alash Orda, together with the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the local Cossacks overthrew the Soviet power in Semipalatinsk.** The entire Akmola and Semipalatinsk region, the northern part Torgay area got into the hands of the anti-Bolshevik coalition during the month.

In early July, the troops of Dutov supported by two Kazakh regiments took Orenburg, forcing the Red Army to retreat to Aktobe. In late July, Semirechie Cossacks and Alash Orda dislodged the Bolsheviks from the North Semirechye. At the same time active negotiations between the members of the anti-Bolshevik coalition started. In July 1918 the Alash Orda started negotiations on its recognition and definition of its powers of the Constituent Assembly to the Committee of Samara and the Provisional Siberian Government.

However, the Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries and their allies – Cossacks and White officers, were unwilling to recognize the sovereignty of Kazakhstan and other national outskirts. Formation of the opposition forces at the Ufa meeting in September 1918, the All-Russian Provisional Government announced its policy of «indivisibility» of Russia and the abolition of Alash Orda. In November, the Provisional Government was overthrown, and power in Siberia was in the hands of Admiral Kolchak, who held even more intransigent positions. This led to a split in the anti-Bolshevik coalition. A significant part of Alash Horde once again began to establish contacts with Moscow, which promised although Soviet, but autonomy. SRs separated themselves away from Kolchak because of the

wish of the last to return land to previous owners, i.e., to landowners. All this has led to significant successes of the Red Army, who took in January 1919 of Orenburg and Uralsk.

In spring of 1919 Kolchak's army started offensive actions and captured Orsk, Ufa, and in April - Aktobe, again cutting off Turkestan from the Soviet Russia. However, this success was temporary. Peasant revolts broke out in the rear of the advancing White Army, caused by the anti-people policy of Kolchak. At the end of March 1919 resettlement villages of Kokshetau district rose which opposed the mobilization to the White Army. In April, an unrest broke out in the village Vsevyats of Petropavlovsk district, in late March – in the villages Dolbushka and Borovskoe of Kostanay county. The rebels managed to seize even the district center, but in early April, they were knocked out of Kostanay, and retreated to unite with the Aktobe part of the front of the Red Army. In April uprising began in the village Marinovsky, Atbasar district, it was suppressed only at the end of May. Several revolts broke out in Ust-Kamenogorsk district. Especially hard was the struggle of resettled peasants of the North Semirechye and the foothills of Tarbagatai. There, the rebels formed Cherkassy defense (in s. Cherkassy) and the «Mountain Eagle» detachments.

Spring-summer offensive actions of the White Army were the last success of the anti-Bolshevik forces. Already in April 1919 the Red Army launched a counteroffensive campaign in the South Urals, took Ufa in June, and on August 19 - Kostanay. In July, the Bolsheviks defeated the Cossacks under the Urals. In early September, Aktyubinsk was taken, and South Kolchak Army was surrounded. Despite the desperate offensive actions of Kolchak in the southern Urals, it was a turning point in the war.

In October, the Red Army launched an offense on all fronts. Kolchak's army was demoralized, the cases of desertion and mutinies in infantry units manned by forcibly mobilized peasants, got often. On October 30, 1919 after fierce fighting Kolchak left Petropavlovsk. The main forces began to retreat eastward to Omsk, and some of the troops headed by chieftain Dutov left to the south into the heart of the Kazakh steppes. In pursuit of the retreating Dutov's troops, the Reds captured Kokshetau on November 12th, Atbasar – on November 23<sup>d</sup>, Akmola – on November 26<sup>th</sup>. The remains of the broken Ataman Dutov's detachments retreated to Karkaralinsk. On December 12, 1919 the Whites, leaving Karkalinsk, began to retreat to the Sergiopol to join up with the troops of Ataman Annenkov.

Catastrophic for the Whites was the situation in the valley of the Urals. On November 20, they were knocked out of Lbischensk, and the next day

the Red Army and its troops defeated Iletsy troops, forcing the Whites to retreat to Guriev.

On January 5, 1920 the city was taken by storm, and the remnants of the White Army under the command of Tolstov began to retreat along the Caspian coast. A rough trip through the desert in the harsh winter led to the virtual disappearance of Tolstov's army. Pitiful remnants of it wintered at Fort Aleksandrov, where they surrendered in April 1920.

Recent heavy fighting between the White Army and the Red Army took place in the spring of 1920 in the northern Zhetysu, where the remnants of Dutov's and Annenkov's armies strengthened. In March, the Bolsheviks took a decisive offense. The Whites disintegrated, desertion and disobeying the command dominated in infantry units. Caught in a desperate situation Annenkov and Dutov ordered the disarmament of infantry units, many soldiers were killed by Cossacks. Doomed to defeat the Whites fiercely resisted. Cossack village of Uch-Aral went from hand to hand. The Whites were surrounded in Kapali, they made violent attempts to break through, but the forces were unequal. On March 27 the fort Vakhty fell, and the remnants of Dutov's army retreated to China. At the same time Annenkov was gone abroad. On March 29 Kapala's garrison capitulated as well as the other White Guards. The civil war in the territory of Kazakhstan ended.

Now I would like to dwell on the reasons that affected of the termination of the activities of Alash Orda government in the period under discussion. During the war between the Bolsheviks and their opponents Alash Orda lost control of most of the territory of Kazakhstan. Kolchak's refusal to provide the autonomy to Kazakhs, on the one hand, and the call of the Bolsheviks for self-determination of the peoples, on the other, resulted in a crisis of Alash Orda in 1918-19 and the death of Alash autonomy. After winning a military victory in the civil war, the Bolsheviks and their allies, were taking measures to consolidate their legal authority in Kazakhstan. Activities of Alash Orda showed the popularity of the ideas of the autonomy among the Kazakh population, so the Soviet government also supported the idea of autonomy, but filled it with a slightly different meaning than the Liberal Democrats Party Alash.

**Crisis of Alash Orda.** As it was already noted in the previous section of this lecture, supporting the anti-Bolshevik coalition in spring and summer of 1918, Alash Orda began to form their own armed forces to join the fight against the Red Army. An agreement was signed with the Ural Cossacks on assistance in arming and training of Alash regiment. The eastern part of the Alash Orda took a particularly active part in the civil war, which

troops were included in the army of Annenkov and other compounds of the Whites. However, political differences led to the departure of the Alash Orda leaders from the opposition coalition.

This was facilitated by the «great-power» attitude of the Whites to the Kazakh population, especially by the Cossacks. The population of the Kazakh provinces was forcibly mobilized on the chores, their cattle was requisitioned, cases of looting, rapes and murders were frequent, and were justified by the difficulties of wartime. Frustrated in his allies the leader of the Torgay branch of Alash Orda A. Baytursynov began negotiations with Moscow on the recognition of the Soviet power in March 1919. Alash troops operating in the area of Torgay, joined the Red Army, and the A. Baytursynov started negotiations with the leaders of Alash Orda in other regions of Kazakhstan, urging them to abandon support of the Whites.

In late March 1919 K. Tattibayev was sent to Zhymпиты, the headquarters of the West Branch of the Alash Orda, to conduct secret negotiations with Zh. Dosmukhammedov. The result of these negotiations was that Alash Orda took a position of neutrality, considerably weakening the position of the anti-Bolshevik forces during the spring offensive actions of Kolchak. In summer, the negotiations resumed, but the final transition to the side of the Soviet power was realized only at the beginning of winter.

A Meeting of the Heads of Alash Orda on December 10, 1919 in Kyzyl Kuge adopted a resolution on the transition to the side of the Soviets and the beginning of military operations against the Whites. On December 27 Alash troops under the red flags attacked the headquarters of the Iletsks troops near Kyzyl-Kuga and captured over 500 people, including the General Akutin, the corps commander. The West Department of Alash Orda was reorganized in Kyzyl-Kuginsky Revolutionary Committee, and its military forces were sent to Emba oil development fields to fight the retreating units of the General Tolstov. The leaders of the Eastern Division, headed by A. Bokeyhanov, announced their recognition of the Soviet government.

Although the amnesty announced in November 1919 to all political opponents who had recognized the Soviet regime until December 20, 1919, relations of the new allies were difficult. At the beginning of 1920 in Semipalatinsk A. Bokeykhanov and a number of other active members of the Alash Orda were arrested on charges of collaboration with the Whites. Only the intervention of Kazrevkom of Semipalatinsk and the Revolutionary Committee, who pointed out that members of Alash Orda participated in the preparation of the uprising against Kolchakov army at the end of the war, forced the military authorities to release them from detention. All active

members of the anti-Soviet movements were excluded from participation in political life, and the leaders of the West Branch of the Zhahansha and Khalel Dosmukhamedovs, Isa Koshkinbayuly, Karim Zhaleluly and Berkingali Atshybayuly were deported from Kazakhstan. Alash Orda was liquidated, and all power in the territory of Kazakhstan was passed into the hands of the territorial revolutionary committees (revolutionary committees).

The main causes of the crisis and the liquidation of Alash Horde were the rejection of the idea of autonomy by its anti-Bolshevik allies in the coalition on the one hand, and a promise to provide the broadest political rights to Kazakhs up to self-determination by the Soviet authorities. Under the conditions of the civil war, economic collapse and a lack of communication between the branches of Alash Orda its leaders had no choice but to join the Soviets.

## **5. Formation of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (KazASSR)**

After defeating the joint forces of the internal oppositions and foreign intervention, the conditions for the transition to peaceful economic construction were created in the country. The state was entering a new phase of development - the period of recovery of the national economy. The experience of the Soviet construction showed to Bolsheviks that it was necessary to reckon with the idea of national statehood of the peoples of the border regions. The Soviet government began a preparatory work for the formation of an autonomous Republic of Kazakhstan.

On July 10, 1919, V.I.Lenin signed a decree on «The Revolutionary Committee on the Control of Kyrgyz (Kazakh) Province». It said that Kazrevkom (Kazakh Revolutionary Committee) was established as the highest military government control of the province. The decree defined its goals and objectives: the struggle against counter-revolution and intervention, creation of conditions for the state, economic and cultural development in the region, and preparation for the Founding Congress of the Soviets in Kazakhstan. The jurisdiction of the Revolutionary Committee was Kazakh territory of Astrakhan province and the regions of Ural, Torgay, Akmola, Semipalatinsk area.

Kazrevkom was led by the first Soviet Commissar S.Pestkovsky, Polish by nationality. Revolutionary Committee included V.Lukashev, A.Zhangildin, A.Baytursynov, M.Tunganchin, S.Mendeshev, B.Karaldin,

B.Karatayev, T.Sedelnikov. Later Avdeyev, A.Aytiev, A.Alibayov, S.Argancheev, S.Seyfullin, Kh.Gabbasov, V.A.Radus-Zenkovich and others joint it.

Kazrevkom and its local bodies carried out the work on consolidation of the Kazakh land, the organization of the Soviets in the Kazakh steppe, attracting loyal representatives of the national intelligentsia to the Soviet construction. The newspaper «Ushkyn» («Spark») was launched; it was a newspaper subordinate to Kazrevkom. On March 9, 1920, it was decided to liquidate Alash Orda, which had been named the Government of Kyrgyzstan (Kazakhstan).

On August 26<sup>th</sup>, 1920 All-Russian Central Executive Committee (CEC) and the Council of People's Commissars (CPC) of the RSFSR issued a decree «On Formation of the Kyrgyz (Kazakh) Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic» as a part of the RSFSR, which was the first federal socialist stat, built on the basis of the Soviet autonomy. The decree on the formation of KazASSR identified the territory of Kazakhstan, stated that the government body of KazASSR were the local councils, the CEC and the Sovnarkom. A military commissariat was formed to control Kazakh military apparatus.

From October 4 to 12, 1920 a Constitutive Congress of the Soviets of the Kyrgyz (Kazakh) ASSR was held in Orenburg. This Day – the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 1920 is a birthday of the Kazakh Soviet national statehood. This event became one of the most significant in the history of the Kazakh people. The congress elected a supreme authority – the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Republic. Seytkali Mendeshev was elected the Chairman of the Central Election Commission of KazASSR, the Chairman of CPC of KazASSR was V.A.Radus-Zenkovich.

The congress adopted the «Workers' Rights Declaration of the KazASSR», constitutionally defined the main principles of formation of the Kazakh Soviet statehood. The declaration identified a set of measures aimed at the socialist transformation of the whole life of the Republic. It assigned broad political rights to the working people of Kazakhstan. The rights and duties of the citizens were established. The Declaration served as a constitution, described the rights of workers of the Republic and was in force up to 1937, when the first Constitution of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic was adopted.

However, upon completion of the national state-building in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the people who inhabited these regions were «separated» by the state borders. Two regions, Syrdarya and Semirechensk



were inhabited by mostly Kazakhs, however they remained a part of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

In connection with this, in October 1924 the Soviet leadership made the national-territorial delimitation of the Central Asian Republics. Turkestan ASSR was abolished and divided into Uzbek and Turkmen Republic. A little later the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan were formed. The Southern areas (Semirechensk and Syrdarya regions) were returned to Kazakhstan.

As a result of the disengagement the territory of Kazakhstan increased to 2.8 million sq km and became the second in size in the USSR. Kazakhstan's population had grown to 6.5 million people, the proportion of Kazakhs was 59.9%. Orenburg city and part of the Orenburg province were transferred to Russia, and the capital of the Republic was moved from Orenburg to Kyzylorda in 1925.

On April 15-19, 1925 the V Congress of the Soviets of the Kazakh SSR was held in the city of Kyzylorda, which was attended by the representatives from the whole Kazakhstan for the first time. The congress was determined the historically accurate name of the people – Kazakhs. Thus, that the Kyrgyz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (KASSR) was renamed in Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (KazASSR). As you know, since the accession of Kazakhstan to Russia in the first half of the XVIII century and up until 1925 Kazakhs were called Kyrgyz or Kyrgyz-kaysaks. In addition, the name of the new Republic capital was changed: Ak-Mosque was renamed to Kyzylorda. The capital was in Kyzylorda until 1929, and then the new capital was moved to the city of Alma-Ata (now Almaty). According to historical data, this step was taken by the authorities of the time under the influence of the X Congress of the RCP (b) on the national question. In Kazakhstan important political and social changes took place, aimed at the development of the Kazakh Soviet autonomy.

The proclamation of the Kazakh Soviet national-statehood had a great historical significance. Kazakh people took this act as the result of centuries-old struggle with colonization, the first step on the path of national revival.

Formation of the Kazakh SSR, the first socio-economic transformation of the Soviet regime intensified social and political life of the province. This is especially clearly manifested in the implementation of land and water reforms, held in the spring of 1921.

Decrees and other acts of the state to abolish Kuna and patriarchal and tribal vestiges – bride wealth etc., were very popular among the population. Women got more involved in the social life.

The Young Communist League and the trade unions occupied an important place in society, through which social and political life involved thousands of people from remote areas of the country. Creation of a broad network of educational and cultural institutions was a good precondition for future economic and social development of the country.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What changes occurred in Kazakhstan under the influence of the February Revolution?
2. Why did the October Revolution follow the February Revolution in Russia?
3. When did the first socio-political publications appear in Kazakhstan? What do they write about? What role did they play?
4. What changes did the October Revolution bring to Kazakhstan? What were the features of the Soviet power in Kazakhstan?
5. What is the historical significance of the formation of KazASSR?

## **Topic 6. Formation of the Soviet Totalitarian Kazakhstan (20-40<sup>th</sup> of the XX Century)**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

1. *Kazakhstan during the years of the New Economic Policy (NEP).*
2. *Industrialization in Kazakhstan.*
3. *«Small October» and collectivization in Kazakhstan.*
4. *Cultural development in Kazakhstan in 20-40th of the XX century.*
5. *Kazakhstan in the prewar period. Transformation of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic to the Federal Republic.*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Kazakhstan during the Years of the New Economic Policy (NEP)**

After the Civil War, the economy of the Kazakh territory was in a catastrophic situation. In 1918-1920 the military-administrative methods of economic management dominated; the whole life of the Republic was militarized.

The main instrument of the government's economic policy was the food allotment – requisitioning of surplus agricultural production for the needs of the army and the urban population (mainly workers); the so-called «Prodravyorstka» (requisition of food surplus) was one of the components of the policy of the War Communism, established during the World War II and was built on the principle of equal distribution.

In this difficult moment for the Republic, the central government announced an increase in the surplus confiscation in Siberia and Kazakhstan. The government made it mandatory for farmers to surrender extraordinary tax of 110 million pounds of wheat in August 1920-June 1921, of which 35 mln were supposed to be collected from the Northern Kazakhstan. However, not only the surplus was seized, but also the grain necessary for supply and even the seed fund. Bread allotment was superimposed on Kazakh pastoral regions as well, which were forced to sell cattle and buy grain for delivery to the state. Meat and other «extraordinary» charges were added to this allotment.

The result of this campaign was a predatory hunger that hit many parts of Kazakhstan in 1921-22. More than 2 million 300 thousand people were starving, about 1 million people died of starvation and disease. The western

and south-western regions of the country were particularly affected, where the yield was very low for several years.

All this led to spontaneous peasant uprisings against the economic policy of the Soviet power.

The government, being concerned with the scale of the peasant unrest in the country, went to a certain liberalization of the economy in March 1921. One of its key elements was a shift from surplus to a fixed tax in kind. Manufacturers were given the right to sell the surplus in the market, which led to some stabilization of agriculture. The crop area started to grow, reaching 3 million ha in 1925. Gross grain harvest significantly increased, the number of livestock almost doubled compared to 1922.

Replacement of Prodravzverstka with a fixed tax in kind, transition from the policy of the «War Communism» to the new economic policy was the main issues at the X Congress of the RCP ((b).

In this regard, it is clear that the question of the transition from Prodravzverska to a fix tax in kind was primarily a political issue that is «the essence of the question was the relations of the working class to the peasantry».

Another important thing in understanding this issue was the fact that the government realized that acquiring theoretical notions of socialism was essential for keeping the piece. It was believed that after the victory of the socialist revolution commodity-money relations would not be used, that a system of direct distribution and exchange would be operated. However, it had not worked yet.

NEP (New Economic Policy) is nothing but a newly introduced market relations, it abolished the leveling of people under the military communism and began to promote a rich owner as the key figure of the village. A poor peasant provided only for himself and appeared in the market more as a consumer, while a rich peasant worked for the market and acted as the seller.

New economic relations were active in the industry as well. Companies were divided into several groups: government which were leased (to cooperatives, private traders, foreign capitalists), and those subject to liquidation. In Kazakhstan there were also cases of denationalization of enterprises.

Market relations also develop in trade. Numerous private shops, canteens, bakeries, tea, and drinking establishments were opened in the early years of NEP.

The experience of NEP, recognizing the need for commodity-money relations restored the economy of Kazakhstan in 4-5 years. NEP was a

model of reconstruction of socio-economic relations with a combination of various features of socialism and capitalism.

## 2. Industrialization in Kazakhstan

The apparent crisis of the industry throughout the USSR in the first half of the 20-ies of the XX century led to the realization of the need to accelerate industrial development. However, in Moscow controversy about the ways and methods of its implementation sparked. The Chairman of the All-Union Council of the National Economy Felix Dzerzhinsky proposed to develop primarily light industry, to get quick income and provide the peasants with consumer goods. His deputy, Pyatakov stood for the accelerated development of the heavy industry. It was also supported by Trotsky, Stalin and Preobrazhensky. The funds required for the modernization and construction of new plants, had to be made by «pumping» from the private sector, i.e. from the peasantry through taxation, unequal exchange of goods and collectivization. In December 1925 at the XIV Congress of the CPSU (b) it was decided that the country would be heading to accelerated industrialization.

Without the creation of heavy industry it was impossible to build a socialist society, to provide its technical and economic independence. Accordingly, the development of the industry was planned with an uncertain future for agriculture and farmers.

No less important was the fact that to strengthen the country's defense was unthinkable without industrialization; it was demanded by the international situation. So, at the XIV Congress of the CPSU (b) it was stated that there was a period of peaceful construction, but the contradiction between socialism and capitalism were increasing.

In Kazakhstan industrialization faced a number of difficulties arising from the socio-economic backwardness. The essential problem was the lack of resources and time, the shortage of skilled workers, materials, and equipment.

In Kazakhstan industrialization was carried out mainly in heavy industry and the extractive industries. Savings fund was dramatically increased. In order to understand the extent of disparities in the industry, you can look at the following numbers: 93% of all investments were invested in sector A (production of means of production), while only 7% into the sector B (consumer goods).

In Kazakhstan the most important construction project was the Turkestan-Siberian Railway (Turksib). The decision on the construction of

Turksib was adopted on the 3d of December 1926. Commissioning of the railway contributed to the strengthening of the industrial development of the Republic. The construction of the largest non-ferrous metallurgy and chemical industry began, among many construction projects there were Shymkent lead plant, Ridder polymetallic plant, Balkhash copper smelter, mines of Karaganda, Aktobe chemical plant, etc. In the period from 1932 to 1937 in Kazakhstan more than 120 industrial enterprises were put into operation.

**Migration Policy in the Years of Industrialization.** The growth rate of industrial construction led to a labor shortage. To provide enough labor for construction projects and at the same time to save on training of the Kazakh workers, the local authorities practiced the so-called organized recruitment in the western regions of the country with high unemployment. In 1931-1940, 559 thousand people were brought to construction sites from Kazakhstan.

One of manpower replenishment sources were special settlers – dispossessed peasants from the central regions and Siberia. In 1931 in Karaganda about 70 thousand men were relocated, placed in twenty-five towns, which actually were the concentration camps.

It was an ugly manifestation of «socialist industrialization». The system of NKVD camps was created to provide large industrial enterprises with cheap labor. Thus, in 1931 Karaganda camp (KarLag) was created, which contained the repressed from all regions of the USSR. During 30-40<sup>th</sup> of the XX century there were a number of such camps built in Kazakhstan. The Republic was becoming a huge place of exile.

In general, the industrialization results are evaluated ambiguously. It was carried out at the expense of the living standards of the people, especially peasantry. For five years, in 1929-1934 there was a significant inflation, money supply increased by 180%, the retail prices of manufactured goods increased by 250-300%. Many items on a five-year plan, especially in the light industry were not met. However, there was a significant increase in industrial production and an increase in the share of industrial production in Kazakhstan's economy.

### **3. «Small October» and Collectivization in Kazakhstan**

The strengthening of the totalitarian system of Kazakhstan is connected with the name of F.I. Goloschekin elected as the Head of the regional party organization in the autumn of 1925. A professional revolutionary, one of the

organizers of the execution of the royal family, Goloshchekin immediately said right after his arrival to Kyzylorda about the absence of the Soviet power in Kazakh village and the need to «walk along aul with Small October». The main task was to proclaim the destruction of traditional communities through the elimination of social differentiation. The next step was going to be a massive shift of Kazakhs to settling down. Keenly being aware that these measures would cause protests by local communists, Goloshchekin began fight with the party leaders, who did not share his views. In 1926 S.Sadvakasov and S.Khodzhanov were accused in «national deviationism». S.Seyfullin, M.Murzagaliev, N. Nurmakov, S.Mendeshev and others were subjected to expulsions. Many of them were removed from the country. Zh.Sultanov, S.Sadvakasov Zh.Mynbaev were removed from their posts.

F.I. Goloschekin persistently argued that village still «...did not feel the breath of the class struggle», there was «...no Soviet power in Kazakh village», «...the village had no October, did not have committees of the poor and a dispossession», «...in the village we do not have any aul communist». Then, F.I. Goloschekin argued «what had happened with us until the fall of 1925, could be called the prehistory of Kazakhstan and its party organization».

The Second Secretary of the Regional Committee of the CPSU (b) O.I.Kuramysov strongly supported F.Goloschekin. He echoed him: «The October hurricane swept past the Kazakh village, hitting it a little». «Strictly speaking, – he continued – in this period, there was no party organization, united and monolithic in Kazakhstan».

A characteristic and tragic feature of the social and political life of Kazakhstan in mid 20th was that since that time the ideological apparatus of Stalinism began wide-ranging measures aimed at the eradication of the historical memory and the physical destruction of those who carried this memory – prominent representatives of the national intelligentsia.

With the rise of the totalitarian regime political persecution of members of the party «Alash» gradually intensified, as well as of the senior officials of the Republic, taking their own position on the issue and methods of socio-economic change in the region and expressing doubts about the policy of the Center, grossly violating the sovereign rights of the Republic in the decisions of economic, political and personnel issues which did not consider national characteristics and interests of the indigenous population.

Thus the ideological basis for the possible suppression of the opposition was created in the country, which eventually led to misery and tragedy of

the Kazakh people during the forced collectivization and mass repression of 1937-1938.

Pumping of hysteria about nationalists and nationalist deviators, as well of harassment of local staff significantly increased under N.I.Ezhov, who was sent from Mari Regional Committee to take an office as he Secretary of the Semipalatinsk Provincial Committee of the CPSU (b) in 1923, and then was appointed the Head of the Organizational and Instruction Department of the Regional Committee of the Party.

At the same time resistance of major decision-makers was broken who did not agree with Goloschekin's model of «change» in Kazakhstan. As noted above, in 1927-1929 many prominent and public figures of Kazakhstan were removed from Kazakhstan under different pretexts statesmen: T.Ryskulov, N.Nurmakov, S.Khodzhanov. M.Murzagaliev. The Chairman of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee Zh.Mynbaev, S.Sadvakasov – the Commissar of Education, the People's Commissar of Agriculture Zh.Sultanbekov and others were removed from their positions.

Most of Kazakh workers were accused in a group fight, despite the fact that the Central Control Commission of the CPSU (b) which was specially engaged in the case of one of the main «Grouper» – S.Sadvakasov, did not find the presence of such groups in Kazakhstan. However, following the example of the struggle with the opposition at the Centre, disagreements and friction between the individual Kazakh senior officials were given for group struggle, and their opposition to defend the interests of the Republic was classified as a «national deviationism». N.I.Ezhov wrote in the letters to Stalin, V.M.Molotov and L.M.Kaganovich «I have reported to that all national staff, all Kazakh communists are infected with the national deviationism and a grouping, that there is no healthy party forces among them». This was the way the future People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR «sharpened» his career in 1937 before the transfer to Moscow, mass repressions were carried out via his efforts.

**Strengthening of the Repressive Processes.** By the end of 20<sup>s</sup>, general suspicion of each and everyone reached its peak. Increase of the struggle with Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition and «right opportunists» in the national Republics manifested itself in the form of repressions against members of the national liberation movement of the pre-revolutionary period. So, in the end of 1928, 44 people from among the so-called «bourgeois nationalists» were arrested on false charges – former leaders of «Alash Orda», including A.Baytursynov, M.Dulatov. M.Zhumabayev, Zh and Kh.Gabbassovs and others.



Soon Zh.Aymaulytov, A.Baydildin, G.Birimzhanov, and D.Adilev were shot, others were sentenced to various terms. M.Dulatov died in the camp, A.Baytursynov, M.Zhumabayev and others, after having served punishment in 1937, were re-repressed for participating in the activities of «Alash Orda» and executed in 1937-1938.

Another group of national intelligence (about 40 people) including M.Tynyshpaev, Kh.Dosmukhamedov, Zh.Dosmukhamedov, Zh.Akpaev and the others were arrested in September and October of 1930. Soon 15 of them (M.Tynyshpaev, Zh.Akpaev, Kh.Dosmukhamedov, Zh.Dosmukhamedov, K.Kemengerov etc.) were sent to the Central Blackearth Region of Russia. In 1937-1938 almost all of them were shot.

So, in spite of the amnesty to participants of the movement «Alash» in the first years of the Soviet power, and despite the fact that later none of them was engaged in anti-Soviet activity, they were the victims of Stalinist repression. Before their arrest, they all had faithfully worked in various fields of the national economy, making an enormous contribution to the development of Kazakhstan.

To completely suppress the resistance of the intelligentsia, the regime accused its representatives in opposition and applied confiscation measures to them. Here are the main points of the charges brought against the members of «Alash-Orda»:

1. Participation in the creation of an underground counter-revolutionary organization in 1921-1922 aiming to overthrow the Soviet regime.
2. Establishment of communication with Basmachi in Ferghana.
3. Preparing for an armed uprising against the Soviet regime with a view to overthrow it.

Carrying out anti-Soviet agitation», and others.

In the late 20<sup>s</sup> – the beginning of the 30s, as the crisis in socio-economic development of the Soviet Union worsened, the search for the perpetrators – enemies, subversive anti-Soviet elements and underground organizations, was widespread. By analogy with the Centre (the trials of the members of the «Industrial Party», «the Peasant Party» and so on) the search for enemies began taking the national version in Kazakhstan. Random accidents in mines and factories, the loss of cattle on the collective farms and state farms, fires and other natural disasters attributed to the machinations of the class enemies and, accordingly – fabricated criminal cases of «enemies of the people» and the subversive anti-Soviet organizations.

Repressive acts continued in the following years. In 1937-1938 all leaders of the Party and some Soviet workers of the Republic became their victims.

One of the points of the charges against most of them was the tragedy of the period of the forced collectivization.

As evidence the materials of the cases of the so-called «national-fascists», repressed in 1937-1938, N.I.Ezhov and his associates did not bother much when fabricating the cases. They used the long-standing cases of the so-called members of the various factions. Among them there were those who at one time defended the interests of the Republic, openly expressed protest over the mass death of Kazakh population in the 1931-1933. In 1937-1938 prominent statesmen and public figures of Kazakhstan were falsely accused and repressed: T.Ryskulov, N.Nurmakov, U.Isaev, S.Khodzhanov, U.Kulumbetov, O.Zhandosov, A.Dosov, A.Asylbekov, S.Sadvakasov, L.Mirzoyan, A.Safarbak, Zh.Sultanbekov, T.Zhurgenov, N.Syrgabekov, Z.Toregozhin, S.Seyfullin, I.Zhansugurov, B.Maylin and many others.

Thus, in the late 20-30<sup>th</sup> the totalitarian regime was established in all areas – social and political life. In Kazakhstan its manifestations took especially ugly forms, accompanied by the tragic events of the period of the forced collectivization and the political repressions of 1937-1938, socio-economic changes in the region, Kazakhstan receiving a status of a union Republic, progress in the field of cultural development, education, and science was under the strict ideological pressure of a totalitarian regime. All this predetermined the further development of Kazakhstan in the USSR.

**Now let us turn again to the period of F.I.Goloshchekin in Kazakhstan.** In fact, eliminating the opposition in Kazakhstan, Goloshchekin began implementation of his idea of «Small October». In 1926-1927 redistribution of arable and pasture land was implemented. About 1360 thousand of acres of hayfields and 1250 thousand of the best arable land were taken away from wealthy households, and transferred to the poor and middle peasants. However, the expected effect of the action was not reached. Not having livestock the farms could not use the given to them hayfields and pastures, and in most cases the land was returned to their former owners.

The next step was confiscation of assets of the large bais (rich farmers) – cattle breeders, they were evicted together with their families outside the living areas. It was planned to confiscate the property and livestock of about 700 households. According to the documents, the cattle were taken away from 696 farms, but in reality this figure was much higher. Thus, only in Akmola district it was planned to confiscate the assets from 46 farms, however more than 200 farms were subjected to eviction, in Petropavlovsk instead of 34 farms 102 was exiled, etc. In total, about 145 thousand cattle heads were transferred to the poor during the campaign. It should be noted

that not only large kulaks were subjected to confiscation, but also the middle peasants suspected in disloyalty to the authorities. Also the tax burden was enhanced in relation to the well-off households who were forced to pay a large the agricultural tax. Thus, in 1927-28 4% of the households paid 33% of the total amount of taxes. In addition, there was a system of «self-taxation» according to which the amount could exceed the initial from two to three times.

It should be noted that the policy of pressure on the rich peasants was typical not only for Kazakhstan, but also for the entire Soviet Union. The Soviet government considered accelerated industrialization as the main aim, the funds for which should be obtained from the agricultural sector of the economy. Traditional economy, based on private ownership of land and livestock, could not to provide the necessary funds in the short term. Therefore, in the late 20s the course towards collectivization embarked – creation of a system of collective farms (kolkhoz), a full exclusion of peasants from the means of production and distribution of the results of production.

Kazakhstan had a special role. Rich natural resources provided for the establishment of large industrial base, however, the workforce had to be moved here from the outside of the central regions of Russia and Ukraine. Kazakhs, as nomads and pastoralists, did not fit into a future system of «socialist Kazakhstan». That is why Stalin's agreement with Goloshchekin chose the methods of collectivization, which could not but caused a complete collapse of the Kazakh economy and the virtual extinction of an entire people. A large-scale genocide embarked.

It is important to note that the collectivization of the peasants was viewed as a gradual process based on the principles of voluntariness. But by the end of the 20s a realistic situation began to change radically. In essence, collectivization began to be implemented by emergency measures by a specific time. Thus, Kazakhstan was defined as an area where collectivization was to be completed by the spring of 1932 (except in nomadic areas). It is important to understand the causes of accelerated collectivization. The main one was the priority of the industrial development of the country, the methodology of implementation of which was pumping funds from the agricultural sector to the industry.

Super industrialization required enormous funds. The main tool was the product of peasants, which gave hard currency to be invested into the industry. However, during NEP economy reallocation of funds in favor of the industry would be impossible. When you try to obtain agricultural

products not on the market (as dictated NEP) but for understated purchase prices, the state faced a crisis of grain procurement in 1927-1928. The crisis was so serious that the collection was short of about 128 million tons of grain, which coursed a threat of failure of industrialization plan.

The result was the curtailment of the NEP and the acceleration of collectivization. It coursed the dynamism in the construction of the collective farms in Kazakhstan. In 1928 2% was collectivized, in 1930 – 50.5%, and by October 1931 – 65%. Looking at the numbers it can be assumed, that there was a so-called «collective farm explosion», but such a rapid increase in the number of collective farms was not due to the desire of the peasants, but due to the methods of overt pressure. The most common methods of compulsion were such techniques as deprivation of the right to vote, arrests, deportation and others. This was the way for the collectivization to turn into compulsory. The emergency campaign especially reinforced the unfolded the struggle for the elimination of the kulaks and bais. In the 20<sup>th</sup> the idea of expropriation of large farms was actualized. In 1927 the «Decree on Confiscation of Large Farms of Bays-Half Feudals» was adopted. The property of the well-off households were confiscated and given to the poor and middle peasants. In accordance with the decree about 700 households underwent forfeiture. The activities of F.I.Goloschekin should be viewed from this point of view. His name is also linked to the so-called idea of «Small October».

In Kazakhstan collectivization was accompanied by sedentarization (settling of nomads). Stalin's leadership considered Kazakhstan as potentially grain Republic. The aim was for an urgent transformation of pastoralists to farmers and to release pastures for new farming land areas.

Despite the warnings of economists the idea of settling nomads was implement in an accelerated pace: in 1930 – 87 136 farms were formed, in 1931 – 77 508, in 1932 and – 77 674, in 1933 – 242 208.

**Consequences of Collectivization in Kazakhstan.** A pure tragic nature of the campaigns was shown in those repressive measures that were developed in the process of liquidation of the kulaks and bais and the forced unification of the collective farms and settling of nomads. Even those bits of information that are available today testify about the mass tragedy.

By 1930, more than three thousand farms were liquidated as bays'. Only in 1931, 6 765 people were sent to the kulak exile from Kazakhstan. After the adoption of the law «On Protection of Property of the State Enterprises and Collective Farms, Strengthening of Public Property» 33 345 people were convicted in Kazakhstan. In matters relating to property collection, 79 people were shot in 1931.

During the years of mass collectivization there was a sharp reduction in the number of livestock, which can be seen by the following parameters:

	1922	1932
Cattle	9 million 509 thousand heads	965 thousand heads
Small cattle	18 million 566 thousand heads	1 million 386 thousand heads
Horses	3 million 516 thousand heads	376 thousand heads

But the worst consequence of the criminal activity was the hunger of 1931-1933. (A collection of documents «Hunger in the Kazakh Steppe»). The scale of the tragedy was so great that the famine of 1931-1933 went down in history as the years of the «Great Famine» the greatest tragedy of the Kazakh people. According to demographers, the population of Kazakhstan decreased by about 2 million people in this period accounting for 49% of the Kazakh ethnosp.

Great damage to the native populations was made by carting of the population outside the country (616 thousand people, including 205 thousand to China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Iran and other countries).

The socialist model of collectivization of agriculture caused the fierce resistance of the peasants. It took various forms, including armed uprisings. If in 1929 the peasants' opposition were predominantly of the armed nature, later starting with the February 1930 the unrest intensified and became wide and pervasive.

Total during 1929-1931 in Kazakhstan there were more than 370 revolts, in which about 80 thousand people were involved. Despite the large geographical area, uprising and unrest of the peasantry of 1929-1931 could not change the course of events and policies of the authorities in auls and villages.

Thus, the collectivization of agriculture in Kazakhstan was carried out by coercion, without taking into account specific local conditions.

#### **4. Cultural Development in Kazakhstan in 20-30th of the XX Century**

**Overcoming Mass Illiteracy.** At the beginning of the XX century the bulk of the adult population of the province did not know how to read and write (means in the Cyrillic alphabet). Therefore, immediately after

the revolution schools and training courses for adults began to open. In November 1917 Aulie-Ata City Council of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies considering the possibility of organizing a literacy school decided to allocate the necessary funds. Early 1918, the school opened for the eradication of illiteracy in Almaty, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk and other places where there were appropriate material conditions.

In 1920, the emergency committees on eradication of literacy were created by the department of education, which were involved in the preparation of teaching staff, textbooks publishing, counting of illiterates. For example, the Orenburg-Torgay special commission to combat illiteracy by the end of 1921 opened 1 219 schools with an enrollment of 37 876 students. Kostanay provincial emergency committee opened 347 schools of literacy at that time, with an enrollment of 7,000 students, in Ural there were 328 schools. Akmola provincial emergency committee organized educational courses for teachers in Petropavlovsk – for up to 120 people, in Akmolinsk and Atbasar – for 150 people. By the end of 1921 there were 72 thousand illiterate and uneducated people trained in the country. Later the local branch of the All-Union Society «Down with Illiteracy» joint this work. «One-Day», «Three-Day», «Month» training, lectures, and discussions were run with their participation.

Youth took the most active part in overcoming the heavy legacy of the past. On its initiative, in 1928 there was a cultural campaign, which later became an effective form of struggle against illiteracy. Special headquarters were set up to guide the cultural campaign. If local councils there were organized groups contributing to the fight against illiteracy, they carried out inspections of public schools, carried out conferences of illiterates and semi-literates.

The eradication of illiteracy was held in difficult conditions: there were not enough teachers, textbooks, manuals, stationery. The matter was complicated due to ill-considered alphabetic reforms. In 1928 the Kazakh alphabet was translated from the Arabic alphabet to the Latin, after twelve years – from Latin to modern Cyrillic alphabet. Thus, the same illiterate person was taught elementary literacy three times. Not everyone was able to master such a load. The result was «a little bit literate and illiterate» social community, because it was free to read and write in Arabic script, but not mastered Latin or Cyrillic.

In the second half of the 30th areas, collective and state farms of universal literacy were formed. So, in 1936 in Krasnogorsk and Chubartausky areas of Almaty region there was no even a single illiterate person. In 1937, the

overall literacy in Kazakhstan amounted to 65%. On the whole, in the Republic in 1933-1937 years it was more than 1 million illiterate and semi-literate people trained. In 1939, the literacy rate in Kazakhstan reached 83.6%. Complete eradication of alphabetical illiteracy was prevented by the Great Patriotic War.

**Development of School Education.** After the revolution in Kazakhstan there was a qualitatively new system of public education, the main principles of which were defined by the Regulation of the Central Executive Committee on 16 October 1918 «On the Unified Labor School» and the decision of the People's Commissariat of the RSFSR of October 31, 1918 «On the National Minority Schools». The masses themselves showed a huge enthusiasm in mastering knowledge. With great interest they have participated in the construction of schools, boarding schools, providing students with teaching supplies, organizing social and home life of teachers' intelligentsia.

Mobility of Kazakh people required a creative approach to the organization of the school system. There were schools with dormitories, the number of primary schools increased significantly. By the beginning of the first Five-Year Plan 3747 primary schools functioned in the country in 1953 against the 1914-15 academic years. They were attended by more than 90% of schoolchildren of the region.

However, the material conditions of most schools remained harsh. Many Kazakh children did not attend school. By the end of the recovery period only one out of six schools of the Republic conducted training in the Kazakh language, among 185 thousand students were only 52.5 thousand Kazakh children. Coverage of children of the indigenous ethnic group in primary education was 18%.

The main obstacle to the expansion of the school was the lack of trained teachers: out of 7 thousand teachers working in the Republic in the 1926-27 school year, only 37% had secondary education. In villages and towns teachers which themselves barely knew how to read and write were engaged in educating.

A new stage of school education began in 1930, when the initial compulsory education was introduced. The youth of Kazakhstan established patronage over compulsory education, organized the repair of school buildings, was actively involved in ensuring children's shoes, clothes, hot breakfast, organized Saturdays and Sundays. Publication of textbooks and methodical literature was increased. In 1930, 12 books for primary schools with a total circulation of 555 thousand copies were published, in 1932 – 22 textbook with a total circulation of 948 thousand copies.

By the end of the second five-year plan the universal primary education was mainly completed. In 1935, 93% of school-age children were engulfed in training against 42% in 1929 and 81% in 1933. In 1937, the rate of enrollment in primary education reached 96%.

However, the development of the middle and lower secondary education lagged behind. Before the war, the share of seven-year and secondary schools did not exceed 1/3, the formation of the Kazakh secondary school was delayed. Only in 1935/36 school year, the first eleven children of Kazakhs graduated the Kazakh high school.

The totalitarian regime ideologized the school life. Textbooks, Komsomol and Pioneer organizations, teachers – all had to put the dogma of Stalinism in the minds and behavior of the young generation. School functions were distorted. In the second half of the 30th, for example, all work on the strengthening and development of the Kazakh schools were subordinated to the task of eliminating the gap «between the needs of colleges and universities in the Kazakh contingents and the graduation of Kazakhs from high school». In such a setting, from 21 to 23% of students of incomplete and secondary schools were left for autumn re-examination every year.

In general, the 30<sup>th</sup> were marked by notable successes and organization of school education. Thousands and thousands of Kazakh children graduated from elementary, seven-year and secondary schools. The educational potential of the population increased.

**Higher and Secondary Special Educational Institutions.** Pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan possessed a meager number of vocational schools – seven colleges and schools had an enrollment of 352 people. They were not even 1% of the total number of students in Russia. If in Russia there were three students of the secondary specialized educational institutions for every 10 thousand people, in Latvia and Lithuania there were 5 and 6, in Ukraine – 4, in Kazakhstan – only 0.5. Highly qualified personnel were trained outside the province.

The first changes after the revolution revealed an acute shortage of qualified specialists. To solve the problem specific measures were taken locally. In March 1918 in the town of Verny Semirechensk Agricultural School for 22 pupils was founded by the Decree of Semirechensk Regional Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

In 1919 and 1920 in Orenburg, Ufa and Semipalatinsk public education institutions were opened: the 1st exclusive College of the higher type with three-year course of study and an agricultural school with four-year course of study.



However, soon it became clear that young people did not have sufficient preparation for training in vocational schools. In this context, workers' faculties were organized. **The First rabfak (working faculties) of Kazakhstan was opened in 1921 in Orenburg.**

The lack of the required number of professors and teaching staff, economic disaster, the slow rise of schooling delayed the organization of higher education institutions before the end of the 20<sup>th</sup>.

Only in the 1927-28 school year, in Almaty the first institution of higher education was opened – the Kazakh Pedagogical Institute named after Abay (now Kazakh National Pedagogical University). It was opened on the basis of the Institute of Education relocated from Tashkent. Important events in the public life of the Republic were also opening of the Veterinary Institute in Almaty in 1929, the Agricultural Institute in 1930, and the Medical Institute in 1931. Since 1932 he started working in Uralsk Pedagogical Institute, created based on the relocated Orenburg Institute of Education.

In connection with the development of various sectors of the economy in Kazakhstan there was a need for engineering specialists. Kazakh Mining and Metallurgical Institute were opened in 1934 in Almaty (now Kazakh National Technical University after K.I.Satpayev). That same year, the flagship of the universities of Kazakhstan was opened in Almaty – Kazakh State University named after SM Kirov (now Al-Farabi Kazakh National University). In 1941, the number of institutions of higher education in Kazakhstan reached twenty, with an enrollment of 10.4 thousand students.

The network of higher school of the Republic expanded during the second and the third five-year plans. In Aktobe, Karaganda, Kostanay, Petropavlovsk, Shymkent opened teachers' colleges with two-year training period. A large number of young people enrolled in the workers' schools. In 1936, 16 workers' schools had an enrollment of 5 thousand men.

On the eve of the Great Patriotic War it was already 20 universities and 118 secondary specialized educational institutions in Kazakhstan with an enrollment of more than 40 thousand students. For five years there were 24.4 thousand professionals, including 1.7 thousand – for industry and construction, 1.2 thousand for transport and communications, 4.9 thousand for agriculture, almost 9 thousand for education and the arts, 4.7 thousand for health graduated.

However, despite the rather high rates of development, universities and technical schools in Kazakhstan did not meet the needs of the economy in specialists, as many of them were in the formative stage, some of them were

simply very small. Both among the students and faculty staff the number of indigenous people was growing slow. In 1936, out of 42 teachers from KSU there were only 8 Kazakhs. In 1940, among the students of the Almaty of Veterinary and Zootechnical Institute the share of Kazakhs accounted for only 12%. Problems of High School were compounded by political repression that claimed the life of prominent scientists and educators A.Baytursynov, S.Asfendiyarov, X.Dosmukhamedov, T.Zhurgenov, U.Zhandosov and others.

**Science and Scientific Institutions.** An important milestone in the development of science in the country was the establishment of the base of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Almaty in March 1932, which was transformed into the Science Committee of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Kalmyk ASSR in the fall of 1934. The Committee was managing the entire research work. In 1936 the Central Archive Department and the treasury of national culture was organized.

Geological science was especially rapidly developing, whereby the richest mineral reserves had been discovered. The potential of the Karaganda coal basin, the Ural-Emba oil-bearing region, deposits of phosphorus (Tau), potassium salts and other non-metallic minerals continued to be explored. Intensive study of surface and underground water resources was conducted. Kazakhstan was on one of the first places in the USSR in coal production, non-ferrous metals, other minerals. The Soviet scientists K.I.Satpayev, A.A.Gapeev, N.G.Kassin, M.P. Rusakov, I.M.Gubkin and others contributed to it.

Another important area of scientific research in the 30th was biology. Created in 1929 in Kyzylorda Kazakh Institute of Soil with the botanical department was moved to Almaty in 1934 and the Kazakh Institute of Agriculture (KIA) was organized on its base. Apart from them, the following institutions functioned: Institute of Livestock (founded in 1933), of Farming after Williams (1935); of Veterinary and Agricultural Economics, as well as an extensive network of regional and zonal agricultural experimental stations.

The result of a significant progress of science was the conversion of Kazakhstan base of the USSR Academy into the Kazakh branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1938. In early 1941 the geology sector was transformed into the Institute of Geological Sciences – the first academic research institutions.

The work of Biomedical and of agricultural research institutions was intensified. In 1940 the Kazakh branch of the All-Union Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences was created (Academy of Agricultural Sciences).

In the second half of the 30's and early 40's the social sciences got a significant development. In 1940 the Leningrad scientist I.P. Vyatkin published «Essays on the History of the Kazakh SSR», where he presented the history of the Republic till the 70th of the XIX century.

**Literature and Arts.** Rise of artistic creativity of the people was manifested in the success of the young Soviet literature, at the origins of which A.Baytursynov, M.Zhumabayev, S.Seyfullin and their associates stood.

Kazakh Soviet literature clearly showed the changes in auls, in the mind, thoughts and feelings of the working people. The literature absorbed the wealth of folk art from the rich folklore.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> along with the pioneers of the Kazakh Soviet literature A.Baytursynov, M.Zhumabayev, B.Maylin, I.Zhansugurov the representatives of the younger generation wrote: M.Auezov, S.Mukanov, G.Musrepov, G.Mustafin and others.

**Musical and Theatrical Art.** In 1919, in the town of Verny the gathering of akyns Semirechensk area was held. In 1925, the famous scientist – ethnographer and musician A.Zataevich published his work «1000 Songs of the Kazakh People» – the fruit of many years of work on the collection and systematization of Kazakh music. In 1931 he published «500 Kazakh Songs and Kyuis». In order to promote folk music and sinning the concerts of Kazakh artists began to be held in major cities. In 1925 in Paris A.Kashaubayev performed with a delegation of Soviet artists, prompting rave reviews of the French press. Most famous were akyns and musicians Zh.Zhabaev, K.Azerbaev, I.Bayzakov, T.Amrenov, N.Bayganin, O.Shipin.

Since the beginning of the 30's, the musical drama began to develop rapidly in Kazakhstan. In 1933, on the basis of the Regulation of Kazkraykoma VKP (b) the Kazakh theater and music studios in Moscow, Leningrad and Alma-Ata were organized. On January 13, 1934 Kazakh State musical theater was opened on the basis of the music studio at the Kazakh drama theater. Its first productions were «Aiman-Sholpan» by M.Auezov, and «Sugar» by B.Maylin. Major events were E. Brusilovsky opera «Kyz Zhibek», «Er Targyn» and «Zhalbyr». The actors of Musical Theatre K.Bayseitova, K.Zhandarbekov became famous signers, Sh. Zhienkulova was very known.

Traditional genres of drama developed. On January 13, 1926 the first professional Kazakh Theater was organized in Kyzylorda, where M.Auezov, Zh.Shanin, S.Kozhamkulov K.Kuanysbaev, K.Zhandarbekov, Z.Atabaeva and other talented playwrights, directors and actors worked.

## 5. Kazakhstan in the Prewar Period.

### The Transformation of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in to the Federal Republic

In 1933 F.I.Goloschekin was recalled to Moscow after completing the basic provisions of his policy of «Small October», and in his place L.Mirzoyan was appointed, who tried to revive the livestock as an independent sector of the economy. In the spring of 1933 grain was allocated to the starving districts, he began to undertake measures for the return of Kazakhs migrated to their homeland, their settlement and establishment of normal life. At the same time there was a preparation for the legal strengthening of the totalitarian system that had developed in Kazakhstan and throughout the Soviet Union.

The elimination of multiculturalism in the economy and the virtual nationalization of all spheres of life allowed Stalin to declare a complete victory of socialism in the USSR. This provision was confirmed in the Constitution of the USSR, adopted in 1936. According to it a universal suffrage was introduced, and a number of autonomous Republics, including Kazakhstan, received the status of a union Republic. On March 26, 1937 the Republican constitution was adopted on the X Extraordinary Congress of the Soviets of Kazakhstan. Despite all of the rights declared in this document, a genuine independence or even self development was not received by Kazakhstan. All more or less important industrial enterprises were subordinated to the Union, Kazakhstan's sovereignty did not apply to large areas allocated for camps. All of the Republic controls were only a camouflage for the omnipotence of the Communist Party and its leadership. Nevertheless, even formal, but still the sovereignty of Kazakhstan was recognized, as well as legislative consolidation of its territory, which played a huge role in the history of our state.

**Economic Development.** In the last third of the 30s the trend that emerged in the previous period continued to dominate in Kazakhstan's economy. The so-called «industrialization» gained pace in the industry. Balkhash smelter began the first production in 1938, in 1940 construction of the Aktobe ferroalloys plant began. Shymkent, Aschysaysky and Leninogorsky plants output increased. Electricity production increased. In 1937 the first large-scale thermal power plant – the Balkhash thermal power plant, came into operation. At the same time Ulbinskaya HPP was commissioned, the construction of Ust-Kamenogorsk TPP and Karaganda

HPP began. By 1940, the industry amounted to 60% in the economy of Kazakhstan.

In the late 30's, the transport network continued to develop. The railways Kartaly-Akmolinsk and Guryev-Kandagach were commissioned, facilitating the export of raw materials from the western and central regions of the country.

Gradually agriculture began to emerge from the crisis in the Republic. By 1940, the sown area reached 5.8 million hectares. And livestock of all kinds of animals almost 3.5 million heads. New sectors of the economy appeared, including rice growing, developing of beet and cotton. However, undermined by collectivization the agriculture could not rise on its own, and a gradual increase in production occurred only at the expense of the state subsidies and measures to strengthen the collective farms and tighten the labor discipline. Residents of collective farms were forbidden to leave the place of residence, size of household plots, personal herd were limited. The main means of production, all the equipment, and most qualified personnel were concentrated in the state machine and tractor stations. Economic initiative was completely suppressed; it made agriculture a part of the command-administrative system.

In the late 30-ies the territory of Kazakhstan was turned into a huge camp of exiled people here as a result of mass political repressions. Many industrial enterprises received labor only out of the convicts and their forced labor. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners passed through the camp in Kazakhstan. ALGIR was created – «Akmola Camp of Traitors' Wives», which contained the family members of persons convicted of «anti-Soviet activity».

The process of resettlement of entire peoples begins in the Republic in the late 30-ies. It began with the repression against the Korean people, who inhabited the regions of the Far East. In August 1937, «in order to prevent penetration of the Japanese espionage» 180 thousand people were deported from their homes and resettled in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In the course of this campaign the people were deprived of their homeland and condemned to hardship and deprivation. Experience, gained by the NKVD in 1937, and was used later. So, on the eve of the war in Kazakhstan there were 102 thousand deported from the western regions of Ukraine and Belarus. Settlement of the persecuted was trusted to the Division of Camps, Work Sites and Jails of NKVD of the Kazakh SSR. the inhabitants of those camps were forbidden to leave the new place of residence, their scanty civil

rights were even more limited. The process of forced relocation took the especially large scale later, during the war.

In terms of ignoring economic laws and in the attempt to introduce command and administration economy, low productivity and low efficiency of the economy was natural, but the government tried to rectify the situation by tougher labor laws. By the Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on June 26, 1940 eight-hour day and seven-day working week was established in the country, the list of industries with a shorter working day was reduced, the list of holidays was shortened. Employees were forbidden to voluntary redundancy, engineering - technical personnel and skilled workers could be transferred to other enterprises and to other regions without their consent.

Since 1940 violation of labor legislation entail criminal liability. Thus, the «absenteeism», ie absence from work without valid reason for more than 20 minutes, was punished with correctional labor for up to six months, and unauthorized departure from work – by imprisonment of up to four months.

Labor conscription was introduced for teenagers. Enrollment to the school of factory training and craft and railway schools was conducted in the same order as mobilization, and unauthorized withdrawal from school entailed criminal liability. Graduates should have to work for at least four years under the Main Directorate of labor reserves at CPC.

Thus, the labor legislation of the second half of the 30's – early 40-ies was aimed at making the employee powerless cog in the economic machine of the barracks socialism.

Has been expanded scope of the criminal justice response to the teenagers, all the elements of crimes responsibility is 14 years, and for a variety of crimes – from 12 years.

The rules of criminal procedure were practically ignored when considering the «counterrevolutionary» cases, by a special telegram the CPSU (b) allowed the law enforcement agencies to use physical coercion to persons suspected of committing crimes against the state. In other words, the mass violations of the law were authorized by the higher Party organs.

By the end of the 30s thanks to the open repression the totalitarian Soviet system was stabilized. There were obedient intellectuals, a whole army of managers and officials loyal to the regime, the main control method was the terror, and collegial leadership principles became a screen behind which the new imperial system was hidden in which Kazakhstan once again played the role of dependent suburbs.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What was the purpose of the New Economic Policy in Kazakhstan?
2. What was the socio-economic impact of mass political repressions in Kazakhstan?
3. What were the main results of the cultural construction in Kazakhstan in 20-40-ies of the XX century?
4. What is the purpose of pursuing a policy of «Small October», held by F.I.Goloschekin in Kazakhstan?
5. What did the Union Constitution give to Kazakhstan in 1936?

## **Topic 7. Kazakhstan during the World War II. Feats and Loss of Kazakhstan in the Fight against Fascist Aggression**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

- 1. Start of the Second World War and its character.*
- 2. Kazakhstan's contribution to the front needs.*
- 3. Feats of Kazakhstan in the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945).*
- 4. Participation of Kazakhstan in the guerrilla movement. Results and lessons of the war.*
- 5. The economy of Kazakhstan during the war.*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Start of the Second World War and its Character**

The Second World War is one of the major historical events. It lasted 6 years, covering almost all of the continents and the oceans. 61 countries were involved in the war, including all of the great powers. Its scope exceeded far the scope of the First World War, which lasted for more than 4 years and involved 36 states.

Like the First World War, the Second World War came as a result of the uneven economic and political development of imperialism, as a result of a sharp aggravation of contradictions between the capitalist countries and the formation of two warring coalitions of the imperialist powers. The fascist and militaristic states, led by Germany, Italy and Japan, were dissatisfied with the Versailles-Washington system (**Versailles-Washington System** of the world order was created by the states-victors after the first World War. Among these countries, first of all, there were UK, France, USA and Japan), and strove for a new re-division of the world, the seizure of colonies, sources of raw materials and markets, which then were mostly under the control of Britain, France, the United States and associated countries. Germany hoped to subjugate its neighbors, to defeat the Soviet Union, to create a new colonial empire in Africa and the Middle East. Italy would like to turn the Mediterranean into «Italian lake», to subjugate the Balkan Peninsula and the Middle East, part of East and North Africa. Japan, which had taken possession of Korea at the beginning of the XX century, intended to grab China and part of the Soviet Union, as well as Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and other «country of the southern seas». The largest fascist militaristic states – Germany and Japan – sought the world



domination. The purpose of Japan was «to combine the eight corners of the world under one roof». The aim of Germany was «a) dominance in Europe, b) world domination for centuries».

Even before the Second World War, Italy invaded Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Albania, Germany – Austria and Czechoslovakia. Japan in 1931 invaded Manchuria (Northeastern China), and in 1937, the beginning of military operations in China and captured a large area, including the major Chinese cities of Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing. In 1938, the Japanese invaded the Soviet territory in the area of Lake Khasan, in 1939 – the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic near the river Khalkhin-Gol. The Soviet and Mongolian troops repulsed the attack of the invaders.

The attack of Nazi Germany on Poland on September 1, 1939 was the beginning of the Second World War. The allies of Poland – Great Britain and France, declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. Then, the war acquired the world character. UK Prime Minister was followed by its largest colony of India and all the British dominions of Canada, Union of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. Fascist Italy, which had no time to complete the preparations for war, took the position of yet «non-belligerent ally» of Germany. The United States announced its neutrality.

On September 28, the German troops captured Warsaw, and in the beginning of October the Polish army crushed the last pockets of resistance. Poland defeated. After this, the Soviet Government took a number of measures to strengthen the safety and protection of the population of the Western Ukraine and the Western Belarus, which were a part of Poland at that time. For example, in Poland, it was established the demarcation line between the German and Soviet armies. On September 28, 1939 in Moscow the German-Soviet treaty «Of friendship and the Border» was signed. However, despite this, on December 18, 1940, Hitler signed the «Barbarossa Plan», in which three groups of German armies were to deploy offensive action in three directions: Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev to quickly encircle and destroy the Soviet troops in the western part of the USSR. The ultimate goal of the operation was to reach the line Volga-Archangelsk. Ural industry, located to the east of this line, intended «to be paralyzed by aircraft».

Former allies of Poland – Britain and France, did not provided any help to it limiting their actions by a declaration of war against Germany. Taking advantage of the inaction of Britain and France for 9 months, Germany carried out its aggression against the Western Europe. So, in April-May 1940, Nazi troops occupied Denmark and Norway. Having won Belgium,

the Netherlands and Luxemburg in May of the same year, the Germans invaded France through their territory. France was forced to surrender on June 22, 1940. On June 10, 1940 Italy entered the war on the side of Germany. In April 1941, Germany invaded Greece and Yugoslavia.

On December 7, 1941, Japan declared war against the United States, attacked the US military base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, and smashed the main forces of the US naval fleet in the Pacific. In 1941-1942, Japan won Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Burma, threatened Australia.

On 11 December 1941 Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

On September 27, 1940 in Berlin, a tripartite military agreement between Germany, Japan and Italy (Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis) was signed, by the end of the same year Hungary, Romania and Finland joined the treaty.

On June 22, 1941 the troops of Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union. The Nazis regarded the war against the Soviet Union as a decisive step towards the creation of a «German territorial-ethnic monolith» from the Atlantic to Siberia, «purified» from «flaws» of Slavic and Turkic-Mongol origin, it was the prerequisite to the world conquest. Before the defeat of England and the United States and settling «monolith», the Germans planned to form Ostland, Ukraine, Muscovy, Caucasus Reichskommissariats with a kind of self-government. At the end of 1941 – beginning of 1942, when the collapse of plans for a «lightning war» became apparent and it was necessary to look for ways to reduce «cohesive forces» of the Soviet Republics, there were plans to form the bourgeois-nationalist states Idel-Ural and Grossturkestan, as well as Karaganda, Novosibirsk and Kuznetsk «industrial areas».

The Great Patriotic War is the main part of the Second World War. Fascist Germany, treacherously violated the 10 years non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, and suddenly attacked the European part of the Soviet Union, using its 190 divisions, numbering 5.5 a million soldiers and officers. The Nazis were armed with 3700 tanks, 500 aircraft, 47,260 guns and mortars. Italy, Hungary, Romania and Finland fought on the side of Germany against the Soviet Union.

The Nazis began at the same time a massive offensive against the Soviet Union in the area from the Barents Sea in the north till the Black Sea in the south. 171 divisions, numbering 2.9 million soldiers were used as a part of the USSR Armed Forces against the Germans. More than half of military equipment of the USSR were passing the test, which should only have been completed by the end of 1941 and beginning of 1942.

As already mentioned above, according to the Nazis and as per the «Barbarossa» plan it was envisaged to carry out a surprise attack on the Soviet Union, to defeat its armed forces as a result of a short-term campaign and to complete the war by the fall of 1941. The Nazi leadership planned the dismemberment of the USSR for the sake of «ease of control». The territory of Kazakhstan was included in «Grossturkestan». But the Soviet people courageous resistance from the first day broke the plans of a «lightning war».

## **2. Kazakhstan's Contribution to the Front Needs**

Kazakhstan participated in the Great Patriotic War as a part of a single country. According to 1939 census, Kazakhstan's population was 6.2 million. 1,196,164 Kazakhstani joined the war as part of the fighting army. Leaders of the USSR, using the experience of tsarism in 1916, created a labor army and special construction units, into which 603,836 persons were mobilized from the Kazakh SSR. Thus, the percentage of mobilization here was very high: every fourth inhabitant of the country was sent to the front and the defense industry.

The initial period of the war was very difficult, the role of Kazakhstan significantly increased in these conditions. The war demanded increase of output of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, coal and oil, rare metals. Kazakhstan accepted the evacuated enterprises.

Agriculture also was reconstructed on a war footing, and, despite the fact that two-thirds of rural workers had been called to the front, and in many farms of up to 80% of employees were women, farmers showed miracles of labor heroism. Rural workers of Kazakhstan gave the front not only bread, meat, raw materials, but managed to retain and increase the acreage and livestock, they also saved evacuated livestock from the front line, numbering almost 370,000 heads. It increased supplies to the front of meat, milk, wool, and skins.

The population of Kazakhstan collected funds for the construction of tanks, aircraft, as well as entire columns and squadrons. Total voluntary contributions of Kazakhstan to war needs amounted 4.7 billion rubles. In addition, veterans sent warm clothes, about 2.5 million warm clothes was received from the population, 1600 train cars of presents were delivered to the front.

Creative and research teams were evacuated to Kazakhstan. Moscow and Leningrad film studio, more than 20 research institutions and such

world famous scientists, academicians as I.P.Vernadsky, V.A.Obruchev, A.M.Pankratova, A.A.Skochinsky and others arrived to Alma-Ata.

Literature served as spiritual weapons. Such masters of poetry and prose as Zh.Zhabaev, M.Auezov, S.Mukanov, D.Snegin, as well as young writers Zh.Moldagaliev, S.Maulenov, S.Seitov, Zh.Sain etc. wrote about heroes of front and the rear. About 90 writers and poets of Kazakhstan fought on the fronts of the war.

Formation of military units began on the territory of Kazakhstan from the first days of the war. 316th Infantry Division was formed as one of the first in Kazakhstan, the core of the personnel of which were the workers of Almaty, Zhambyl and South Kazakhstan regions. Major General I.V.Panfilov was appointed its Commander, a member of the civil war, who fought in the ranks of the legendary 25<sup>th</sup> Chapayev Division.

The front demanded not only a first-class military equipment, ammunition and food, but also clothing and gear. Therefore, enterprises of the light industry did their maximum to work for the needs of the front. In the second half of 1941 Kazakhstan sewers sew about 116 thousand overcoats, 329 thousand tunics, 322.5 thousand summer trousers, 160.6 thousand padded jackets; shoe industry produced 170 thousand felt boots etc.

The role and importance of rail transport immeasurably increased; there were about one million people, a large amount of equipment for industrial companies transported in 1941-1942. The rail transport not only fed the front with everything necessary, but delivered strategic raw materials to the defense plants.

The movement of trains was transferred to a special military schedule. Construction of railways did not stop during the war. 134.3 km of road was laid by the farmers of Zhambyl region to the fields of phosphorus deposits in the Karatau Mountains, the roads Agadyr-Akshatau, Sastobe-Keltemashat, Lepsy-Andreyevka were commissioned.

Workers labored in fields and farms, not knowing weariness. In 1941, the Republic delivered to the State 100.7 million tons of grain, mainly from the collective farms. It was of great importance in an environment where the enemy had occupied the richest grain-growing areas. Planned targets for the delivery of raw cotton, sugar beet, tobacco were exceeded, the state received more than 114.6 thousand tons of meat (live weight), 283.7 ths. tons of milk, 14.6 thousand tons of wool, more than 2.8 mln pieces of different skins. Kazakhstan took the leading place among the rear areas in the production of animal products and raw materials for industry. The labor glory of

Sh.Bersiev, I.Zhakaev, Kim Mun San, S.Ongarbaeva, foremen tractor brigades P.A.Angelina, N.Y.Kudlay, harvester drivers R.I.Nezhibovskiy, V.P.Krivich and others thundered across the country.

«In severe time the Soviet Union and the Red Army did not experience a serious shortage of food – This is the great achievement of the Siberian and Kazakh farmers» – wrote «PRAVDA» on 12 May 1942.

The help to front was intensified especially in 1942 and 1943. This was possible due to the maximum concentration of labor resources in the most important industrial facilities, accelerated commissioning of dozens of new large-scale enterprises producing military products. Accommodation and commissioning of more than a hundred evacuated enterprises of the defense industry raised military-industrial potential of Kazakhstan. In early January 1943, construction of the first-born of ferrous metallurgy of the Republic-Aktobe ferroalloys plant was completed, a chemical plant was launched and started production of borax, boric and phosphoric acid, soda and other chemical elements needed for the military industry and agriculture.

Construction of mining and chemical complex «Karatau» was carried out under the special control of the State Defense Committee (GKO). In May 1943 construction of Kazakh Metallurgical Plant near Karaganda began, this plant was created on the basis of Atasusky group of fields. Three thousand people were mobilized by the Government of the Republic in November to speed up its construction. In the same year in Karaganda 6 mines were commissioned, coal production increased by 35.6% compared to 1942. 200 best workers were awarded medals for their contribution into the economy.

548 best workers worked in the oil fields of the Republic, performing 2-3 daily norms. Almaty Heavy Machinery Plant increased its production capacity, the volume of its production increased by 2.2 times in one year. Shymkent Press Machines and Kokshetau plant mechanical plant significantly increased their production.

At the enterprises of Rudny Altay and Central Kazakhstan new facilities for the extraction and enrichment of lead and tungsten ores were introduced, which allowed Kazakhstan to become the main base of their mining. Production of manganese, chromate ores increased. All this was extremely important for the production of high-quality steel, advanced release of samples of new military equipment.

The sharp increase of the industrial potential of the Republic required a lot of electricity. In 1943 Petropavlovsk thermal power station was commissioned, construction of the cascade of small hydropower plants on the rivers Small and Big Almaty began.

Kazakhstan became one of the country's powerful arsenals in the final stage of the war. Front, stretching several thousand kilometers from north to south, demanded more and more of military equipment, ammunition and equipment, food and clothing. Capacities for the production of the most important strategic materials and raw materials for the needs of defense industry enterprises increased.

In 1944, the first stage of Tekeli lead-zinc plant was put into operation; Ust-Kamenogorsk zinc plant began its production. New branches of heavy industry were formed: ferrous metallurgy, oil refining industry.

Karaganda supplied coal to industrial centers in Siberia, the Urals, the Volga region and other regions of the country. In 1945 19 new mines and 3 coal mines with a total capacity of about 6 million tons per year were built and put into operation.

New oil fields increased their output: Koshkar, Komsomolsk, Tentek Sor, Zholdybai. 430 new wells were commissioned on the Emba during the war. Over the last three years of the war Kazakhstan gave 2477.2 thousand tons of high quality oil to the country.

Capacity of food and light industry widened, 36 food companies were built and put into operation. Sewing and shoe factory and the farm co-operatives mastered and supplied the front with more than 50 kinds of clothing, shoes and various military equipment. Products manufactured by Kazakhstani companies meet the needs of hundreds of divisions.

The labor feats of farmers and pastoralists were great. In 1942, 84.3 million tons of grain was harvested, and grain yields averaged to 0.79 t/ha. Many progressive farmers obtained higher yields. A distinguished crop grower of Uilsky district of Aktobe region Sh. Bersiev brought new high-yielding drought-resistant millet variety, the most adapted to local soil conditions. In 1942 he gathered 17.5 tons per hectare, and in 1943 – 20.2 per ha. This yield was not known in world practice, he made four world records.

High rice yields were obtained by masters of their craft I.Zhakhaev and Kim Mann San from the farm «Avangard» of Shiliysky district, Kyzylorda region. Record harvest of sugar beet was grown in kolkhoz «Red Star» of Zhambyl district, Zhambyl region by S.Ongarbaev, D.Zhantokhov and others.

**Retreating Nazis looted, burned and destroyed 1,710 towns and villages, more than 70 thousand farms, 25 million soviet citizens remained without shelter.** A quick recovery of the rear near to the front was of a huge military-economic importance.

Collective and state farms and MTS of Kazakhstan provided invaluable assistance to the liberated areas. On March 26, 1942 Kazakhstan adopted the first delegation from the liberated areas of Moscow region, 1273 sheep, 142 cows, 184 pigs, 35 horses, hundreds of tons of seeds and others were allocated for the region. Liberated from the Nazis areas received from Kazakhstan 3879 tractor, 593 foreman tractor brigades, 106 engineers, 221 combiner, 69 directors of MTS, 115 agronomists from 1 June 1942 to 1 June 1943, although they were very much needed back home in Kazakhstan.

Only in 1943 4 thousand tractors and many other agricultural machinery was sent to the liberated areas of the North Caucasus and Ukraine, 70 foremen of tractor brigades, combiners 300, 145 agronomists, more than 100 engineers left there.

Kazakhstan took over the patronage of the Oryol region. By the end of 1943, 11.6 thousand heads of cattle, about 74 thousand sheep and goats, 552 working oxen, 722 horses, more than 18 thousand pigs was sent there. Kazakhstanian citizens allocated over 3.3 mln. rubles from their modest income to help to this region, including 2 mln. rubles especially for the restoration of children's institutions. Kazakhstan contributed equipment for two kindergartens and nurseries, maternity homes, two hospitals, three smaller health centers, 11 rural libraries, and so on.

The workers of the Republic took care of the wounded and the families of veterans. The history of war does not know such broad in scope and results nationwide movement, such unanimity, which showed the people of Kazakhstan, taking patronage over the hospitals, the wounded soldiers. **As of December 1941 there were 72 evacuation hospitals for 321000 beds were already functioning.** Daily assistance was provided to the wounded by female public workers, women's councils, created by the military enlistment offices.

Those who had lost health during the war and became disabled also received care. A hospital of reconstructive surgery was opened for them in Almaty, a mud-treatment resort in Zhanakorgan resort «Aul» in the Semipalatinsk region. They were prepared for the new labor professions: job training centers were established at the hospital, during the war 15 thousand people with disabilities received various specialties. The state took care of the families of soldiers, only the first 11 months of the war 240.9 thousand families of soldiers were assigned benefits by the country, and January 1, 1943 378 thousand military families receiving state benefits.

Much attention was paid to orphans, their domestic arrangement and training, a network of children's institutions expanded. On May 1, 1945 179

children's homes operated, which brought up 27, 6 thousand children left without parents, 93,1 thousand children were employed among which there was more than 6,400 teenagers.

### **3. Feats of Kazakhstan in the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945)**

At the very beginning of the war hard work for the acquisition of new units and formations, and their training continued night and day, shooting ranges and landfills were built quickly around the cities. The famous Panfilov 316th Infantry Division was one of the first divisions formed in Kazakhstan, the core of personnel of which were the workers of the Almaty, Zhambyl and South Kazakhstan regions, partially – Kyrgyzstan. In the Kazakh SSR 14 divisions, six brigades were formed t the first phase of the war.

New military units manned by the workers (up to 40%), farmers (50%), and intelligentsia (10%) About one in six soldiers and commanding personnel were members of the Komsomol. Military units were multinational. For example, the 310-th Infantry Division (formed in July 1941 in the city of Akmolinsk) was composed of Kazakhs (40 %), Russian (30 %), Ukrainians (25%) and other ethnic groups - Uzbeks, Tatars, Kyrgyz and etc. (5 %).

Unparalleled courage was shown by the defenders of the Brest Fortress in the first battles with the Nazis, which included 400 Kazakhstanis: Political Instructor V.Lobanov, ordinary A.Musurmanov, K.Amankulov, G.Zhumatov, Sh.Shaltyrov and many others.

By the autumn of 1941 the German fascist troops, having numerical superiority in military equipment, occupied the Baltic States, Belarus, Moldova and part of Ukraine, Crimea and besieged Leningrad. The danger hanging over the country increased. The German headquarters completed the preparation for the operation «Typhoon» on taking Moscow before winter.

The powerful offense of German army group «Center» began on September 30th, the attack was bypassing Moscow from the north and south at the same time promoting the major forces in the west. These great battles involved more than 25 enemy divisions, including 23 armored and motorized divisions. On November 15 the «general» attack on Moscow began.

The enemy stoked its main attack in the north-western outskirts of the capital in the defense zone of the 312<sup>th</sup> Division, holding the front line since the 25<sup>th</sup> of October. The 316-th Division was reorganized into the 8<sup>th</sup> Guards



and was awarded the Order of the Red Flag for heroism in the Battle under Moscow. At the request of the personnel the division received the name of its commander I.V.Panfilov.

At the junction Dubosekovo 28 Panfilovs took an unequal battle. Deadly battle lasted four hours, the Nazis threw into battle more than 30 tanks. The political leader of the division V.G.Klochkov said the winged words: «Russia is great, but there is no place to retreat, Moscow is behind». In an unequal battle almost all of them perished, but the enemy tanks did not pass. The feat of the Panfilov's division became a shining example of mass heroism of the Soviet soldiers, of the defenders of the Motherland learned what the courage is by their example. The feat of the Panfilovs, among who there were Russians, Kazakhs, and Kyrgyzs, revealed the indestructible fraternal friendship of the peoples, all the 28 brave soldiers were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

In the battles for Moscow battalion commander lieutenant Baurzhan Momyshuly demonstrated his military prowess. Shortly after the battle on the Volokolamsk highway, he became the commander of the regiment, and in 1943 – the commander of the 8<sup>th</sup> Guards Division in the rank of colonel at the age of 34. Courage and heroism was showed by a group of submachine-Panfilovs' commanded by Malik Gabdullina in battles for Moscow, that knocked out some enemy tanks, it came out of the encircling. M.Gabdullin was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union. The brave warrior Tolegen Tokhtarov broke into the headquarters of the German detachment in village Borodino and destroyed five German officers. He was posthumously awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

Aviation Captain Nikolai Gastello considered the first who directed his burning plane at the enemy. Researchers have proved that the first such feat was made by the crew of Captain Maslov. Our compatriot Baktyoraz Beysekbaev was part of it. In 1998 he was awarded the title of «Halyk Kakharmany». There were 156 Kazakhstanis on the cruiser «Kirov» who took part in the battles. In the battles for Leningrad the Party organizer Baimagambetov Sultan died a heroic death, covering the enemy bunker with his breast (feat of Alexander Matrosov). He was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

On July 17, 1942 the Battle for Stalingrad began, which lasted 200 days and nights and ended with the biggest victory of the Soviet armed forces. At the main line the soldiers and officers of the 29<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, formed in Akmolá were fighting, it was a part of the 64<sup>th</sup> Army of General V.I.Chuykov.

The other two Kazakh Division – the 27<sup>th</sup> Guards and the 292<sup>th</sup> Infantry, took part in the battles of the north-west of Stalingrad. The warriors of the 28<sup>th</sup> Army actively promoted the defense of the stronghold on the Volga fighting in the Kalmyk steppes. Elista-Astrakhan road, on which German and Romanian forces tried to break through to the lower reaches of the Great Russian River to capture the oil of Baku, was blocked by battalion of the 152<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Brigade, formed in Uralsk. Having lost in battle with the brigade and its neighbors more than 2 thousand Soldiers and 18 tanks, the enemy gave up its attempts to advance on Astrakhan.

Villages of the factories «Red October» and «Barricades», as well as the central areas of the city, were staunchly defended by the 193<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, about 12 percent of the personnel of which were Kazakhs. The personnel of the 124<sup>th</sup> Separate Infantry Brigade, defending the north-western approaches to Stalingrad and its northern outskirts, consisted by about a third of Kazakhstanis. At the beginning of the battle on the Volga the 152<sup>nd</sup> separate motorized infantry battalion formed in Kazakhstan was part of the 64<sup>th</sup> Army. Its soldiers and commanders helped to about 2 thousand soldiers and officers to cross to the right bank of the river. They helped to carry 15,000 cars, the same number of carts, more than one hundred tractors and about 70 gun. During the same time they took 5 thousand wounded soldiers and officers to the left bank.

On November 19, 1942, after careful preparation the Soviet troops launched a decisive counter-attack between the Volga and the Don, breaking the enemy's defenses, ousting it in all directions.

Many Kazakhs fought in the units and formations of the Southwestern and Don fronts, which forced their way into the rear of the army of General Paulus from the north. A submachine shooter I.Sh.Suyumbaev – a former farmer from Mangystau region, left alone on the armor of the downed enemy tanks «KV», was not taken aback, and continuing the fight destroyed several dozen of the Nazis.

A young Communist, the son of a miner of Karaganda, a pilot N.Abdirov destroyed 16 tanks, 28 trucks and 18 carts and dozens of bunkers and up to fifty occupants during 16 sorties. He was posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. A mortar K.Spataev, a former brigadier of «Koktobe» kolkhoz of Shayanovskogo district of South Kazakhstan region, killed two platoons of soldiers, and when left alone and when a German tank was driving straight to him, he ran under the tracks of the tank with a mine in the hand and blew it, blocking the way in the transition to the

infantry offensive. He was also posthumously awarded the title of the Hero of the Soviet Union.

On December 28, 1942, Kazakh soldiers of the 387th Rifle Division, by passing the Don on the ice and surviving bridges, pursued the retreating enemy, and on January 2, 1943 joined the strike of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Guards Corps, took possession of Tormosin having an important strategic military value. During the fighting from 10 to 31 January the soldiers of the 21<sup>st</sup> and 38<sup>th</sup> Infantry Divisions destroyed about 17 thousand soldiers and officers and the same number were taken prisoners. For courage and valor in battle, mastery, discipline and organization they were converted, respectively – in the 72-th and 73-th Guards Division.

Soviet soldiers fought their way up to 700 km and went out to the cities of Belgorod and Orel line. The victory of the Soviet Army at Stalingrad was of the world-historic significance, marking a radical change in the course of the Great Patriotic War and throughout the Second World War.

In the summer of 1943 a battle unfolded on the Kursk Bulge. The Soviet people not only managed to equalize the ratio of the strength at the front at the cost of great hardship and misery, but also surpass the enemy in numbers of personnel in 1,2 times, the tanks – in 1,6 and aircraft – in 2,8 times. By this time the Soviet troops were growing superiority over the enemy in combat skills.

The Battle of Kursk was attended by over a hundred infantry divisions, tank corps and brigades, including several units and formations of Kazakhstan. On the defensive line of the 72<sup>nd</sup> Guards Rifle Division southeast of Belgorod the opponent threw two infantry and one armored division into the offensive action. During the 6 days of hot fighting, the enemy, losing about 7 thousand officers and soldiers, 46 tanks, 30 guns, managed to push our parts only for 20 km at the center and on the right flag of the division.

In those days fierce fighting broke out in the area of Kazakhstan's 8th Infantry Division, but all the efforts of the Nazis to break through the positions were in vain, they penetrated our defenses only by 6-12 km.

Reflecting the first powerful tank strikes, the Soviet Army launched counteroffensive actions that began on July 12 by the troops of the Western and Bryansk fronts, Orel and Belgorod were released on the 5<sup>th</sup> of August. Moscow saluted the heroes of Victory. After that it became a tradition to salute in honor of the liberators of large cities.

The 100<sup>th</sup> Kazakh National Infantry Brigade as part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Shock Army of the Kalinin Front participated in Nevel operation. In these battles

a former student of the Almaty Medical Institute Manshuk Mametova, a machine gunner, was distinguished. She was the first eastern woman who became a Hero of the Soviet Union. She had served in the Red Army since 1942, first as a clerk staff of a brigade, then as a nurse. At the front, she finished the courses of gunners and was appointed the first number in the of machine gun brigade. On October 15, 1943 in heavy fighting for the liberation of Nevel in the defense of the dominant height, remaining the only one laive of the machine-gun brigade, being seriously wounded by shrapnel in the head, she destroyed 70 enemy soldiers and died a heroic death. She was buried in Nevel. With the release of the Latvian town of Nevel the sniper from the same brigade Ibrahim Suleymenov from Zhambyl destroyed 239 Nazis. For his feat, he was awarded the Order of Lenin. In Nevel there is a street named after him.

On the fronts of World War II the second Kazakh girl Aliya Moldagulova fought bravely. In May 1943, the Central girls' school sniper training was set up in Moscow. Aliya Moldagulova was selected in the first enrollment, and the girls-cadets took the military oath. In July 1943, Alia, along with several of her classmates, was directed as a sniper in the 54<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade (the 22<sup>nd</sup> Army of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Baltic Front). The following incident was recorded by Aliya during the military service. Five German soldiers noticed a few snipers girls walking toward them on the neutral zone, they set up an ambush. However, Aliya shoot the one, Zina and Nadya killed the other two snipers, the two remaining enemy soldiers were escorted by the girls to the command post.

The official account of Aliya was 78 enemy soldiers and officers. She was mortally wounded and died in the battle on January 14, 1944 north of the city Novosokolniki; being wounded in the arm by shrapnel mines, engaged in close combat with German soldiers, she was again wounded by a German officer, who was also killed, but the second wound was fatal. She was posthumously awarded the title of a Hero of the Soviet Union.

From September 17 to October 10, 1943 the 101<sup>st</sup> Kazakh National Rifle Brigade, which operated as part of the 4th Shock Army, broke the enemy defenses in the area of Demidov and freed 158 villages of Smolensk and Vitebsk regions, destroyed about 3 thousand occupiers and capturing rich booty – military hardware and equipment. As part of the Western Front, it carried out the Smolensk offense, acted as the Kazakhstan 30<sup>th</sup> Guards and the 88<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division.

The most important part of the general offense of the Soviet Army, after the ensuing of the victory at Kursk, was the crossing of the Dnieper all

over the front of almost 750 km. 123 Kazakhstani soldiers were awarded the Hero of the Soviet Union for deeds in the battles for the liberation of Ukrainian lands in crossing the river. Among these were T.Ibragimov, K.Irisbekov, S.Shakirov, an artillery Ya.M.Kiselev, a mortar P.D.Litvinov, a trooper T.Kenzhebaev and others.

#### **4. Participation of Kazakhstan in the Guerrilla Movement. Results and Lessons of the war**

From the first days of the war the battles were not only at the front, but in the rear of the enemy. By the end of 1943, more than a million of Soviet people fought a guerrilla war in the enemy-occupied territory. Guerrilla movement was led by a created central headquarters. Partisans destroyed military equipment, military objects of the enemy, and organized train wrecks, undermined railway bridges, disabling the communication lines of the headquarters and the German troops.

One characteristic of a truly national struggle in the enemy rear was a multinational composition of the people's avengers. The guerrilla groups, the compounds of Ukraine the representatives of 62 nationalities fought. For example, in a partisan group of M.I. Shukaev there were 79 Kazakhs, and in the group of the twice Hero of the Soviet Union S.A. Kovpak - over 70 Kazakhstanis, including 56 Kazakhs. 1500 Kazakhs fought in the partisan formations and detachments in Ukraine, more than 220 – in the Leningrad region, more than 270 Kazakhstanis were in 15 detachments and brigades Smolensk. There were 1.5 thousand Kazakhstanis in the 65 teams operating in different regions of Belorussia.

The commander of one of the units of a large partisan group after Chapaev K. Kaysenov personally destroyed 30 enemy soldiers and officers. In the group of the Ukrainian guerrillas there was a famous Kazakh poet Zh.Sain, who battled as a political commissar of the partisan detachment. In one battle Zh.Sain was seriously injured. About two months the guerrillas were carrying him on a stretcher, and then left in a safe house of an old miner Mikhail Maslov in the farm Pshenichny, Kremnian district, Voroshilovgrad region. Simple Russian people saved Zhumagali Saina from death, surrounded him with care and affection. A noble deed of the Donetsk miner deeply moved the poet and left an indelible mark on his memory. Subsequently Zhumagali Sain dedicated his poem to these people. Upon returning from the front after being wounded Sain wrote the great cycle of poems about the heroic deeds of his military friends. His collection of

poems, «Marching Song» were issued by the Kazakh state publisher in 1944. In 1948 he published his book «Aigak», then «Favorites», the poem «Altay», «Morning coolness».

Kazakhstanis fought against the Nazis as the members of the resistance movement in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other countries. Among the organizers of the partisan movement in Poland there was a widely known name of the Kazakh-partisan from Shumsky district of Zhambyl region – S.O.Tuleshev. Z.Husainov, S.Yusupov fought bravely as part of the international battalion in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, who were awarded the Order of the Yugoslav «For Bravery».

On in the ranks of the Resistance fighters of only three countries – France, Italy, Belgium there were 180 Kazakhstanis steadfastly and courageously fighting for the liberation of these countries.

500 Kazakhstanis, among them 100 Kazakhs, were awarded the title of a Hero of the Soviet Union and Halyk Kakharmany for their exploits in the Great Patriotic War. Twice this title was awarded to the pilots T.Ya.Begeldinov, L.I.Beda, I.F. Pavlov and a fighter pilot S.D.Lugansky. 110 Kazakhstanis were awarded the Order of Glory of the third degrees. More than 500 thousand sons and daughters of Kazakhstan did not return from the war.

The Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 was the greatest challenge for the peoples of the Soviet Union. The war killed 27 million men. 1196164 Kazakhstan citizens joined the war in the ranks of the fighting army, more 670 thousand people were mobilized to work in the industry, i.e. every fourth resident of the Republic was mobilized to the front or to the defense industry. The Great Patriotic War will remain forever in the memory of generations as a symbol of the people's tragedy and heroism of the Soviet people at the same time.

Years of war made significant changes in the spiritual and moral atmosphere of society. All nations have turned to their national origins. The history of wars of national liberation, folk art, chanting the defense of the Fatherland, the struggle against colonialism came to the fore. During the rigorous fight with fascism such an appeal to the ancestors, the heroes of the wars of liberation, regardless of the time proceeded in line with the official ideological course.

## **5. Economy of Kazakhstan during the War**

The occupation of the western regions of the USSR by the Nazis led to the situation when the importance of Siberia and Kazakhstan in the

economy of the country dramatically increased. In the first months of the war the authorities managed to evacuate industrial enterprises, which could fall into the hands of the enemy. 142 enterprises were transported and placed on the territory of Kazakhstan, 532 506 people were evacuated from the western regions of the country. The construction of new industrial facilities continued and even accelerated. For the first half year of the war 25 mines, mines and 11 coal preparation plants for ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, 19 new coal mines, 3 mines, 4 new oil field and refinery in Guryev were built in Kazakhstan.

The construction of railroads continued in 1942-1943. The construction of Makat-Orsk line and Akmola-Magnitogorsk were completed. During the war Kazakhstan made 30% of the country's total smelting of copper, 60% of manganese ore, 50% of the production of copper ore, 65% of metallic bismuth, 70% of the production of complex ores, 85% of lead production. The country started a movement to raise money for the construction of tanks and aircraft. In the fall of 1941 it started collecting funds for the construction of the tanks named after Komsomol. As a result, in 1942 the army received 45 new tanks from Kazakhstan Komsomol. In 1942-1943 another 10 armored columns, several squadrons of aircraft, torpedo boats and aircrafts were built on public funds. During the war the people of Kazakhstan donated 480.3 million rubles on the construction of military equipment.

Agriculture of Kazakhstan gave to the country 30.8 million tons of grain, 14.4 million pounds of potatoes and vegetables, 15.8 million pounds of meat, 319.4 tons of milk, 1.76 tons of wool during the years of war, which is more than for the five pre-war years.

These undoubted successes of the Republic's economy were given at great difficulty. Most able-bodied men were mobilized into the army. The proportion of women in the industry accounted for more than 50%, and in the light and food industries – 80- 90%. The proportion of adolescents and young people of pre-conscription age reached 35-40% of all workers in the industry of Kazakhstan. A labor service for the citizens was established, the working day was increased to 11 hours at 6-day working week, regular and additional holidays were canceled. The workers and employees of military enterprises were punished as desertion for a period of five to eight years in prison for unauthorized departure from work. A corrective labor from six months to a year was set for the avoidance of labor service.

Management of the economy was militarized, the institution of commissioners was introduced, and distribution of products in the form of a card system was forced.

A significant part of the workforce was special settlers in Kazakhstan. At the beginning of the war a Labor Armies were formed, the total number people of which were more than 700 thousand people, 200 thousand of them were Kazakhs. In the fall of 1941 361 thousand Volga Germans were deported to Kazakhstan on absurd charges of aiding the Nazis. In 1943-44 the forced relocation of 507 thousand Balkars, Karachai, Chechens and Ingush, 110 thousand Meskhetian Turks, 180 thousand Crimean Tatars were deported to Kazakhstan. Tens of thousands of the deported died in the first months after the deportation from hunger and disease; the survivors began to work in the labor army. They were forbidden to leave the new place of residence; a violation of this provision was punishable by hard labor up to 20 years. At the cost of enormous stress and hardship, Kazakhstan's economy helped to ensure the victory of the Soviet Union in the World War II.

### **Control questions:**

1. What was the nature of the Great Patriotic War for the Soviet people?
2. How many divisions were formed in Kazakhstan during the war?
3. What are the biggest battles of the Great Patriotic War where Kazakhstan showed massive heroism?
4. What do you know about the twice Hero of the Soviet Union – the Great Patriotic War participants?
5. Why do many deported people consider Kazakhstan as their homeland?



## **Topic 8. Kazakhstan in the Post-War Years. Difficulties of Transition to Peace-Building (1946-1950)**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

- 1. Socio-economic and socio-political situation in the country. Strengthening of the party control over the social life.*
- 2. Kazakhstan's economy in the post-war years.*
- 3. Culture of Kazakhstan in the 40's – early 50-ies of the XX century.*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Socio-economic and socio-political situation in the country. Strengthening of the party control of the social life**

It should be noted that although there was no military action on the territory of Kazakhstan, the consequences of the war were heavy. It reduced the production of many kinds of products, especially of the consumer goods. The problem of labor resources exacerbated. The material and technical base of agriculture was undermined. The country's post-war development program was approved in the fourth five-year plan of economic development for 1946-1950. Capital investments in the economy of Kazakhstan in the five-year period were provided for in the amount of 8.8 billion rubles.

In the course of the five-year plan the Republic made a significant progress in the development of the industry. It is necessary to pay attention to the construction of new enterprises, reconstruction of old ones. Only in 1950 there were commissioned more than 130 new businesses.

Despite the difficult situation agriculture exceeded the prewar level by the end of the period.

Returning to civilian life required a restructuring of the entire economy to a peaceful direction; it has been configured for the production of military products. In addition, during the war there had been some liberalization of local markets, profitability of farming increased, ideological dictates of Marxism had been weakened in favor of nationalism and patriotism. However, after the victory over Germany, the authorities returned to pre-war forms of the economy and political life.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the war led to an increase in its great power elite, imperial sentiment. The main role of the Russian people in the victory became strongly emphasized, its role in the history of other nations, including Kazakhs, as a nation-educator and protector was reviewed. In this

regard, there was the thesis of «bourgeois nationalism» among the national intelligentsia.

Speaking about the socio-political situation it should be noted that repression continued in the country, it is difficult to imagine the hard life of special and disfranchised settlers, the situation in Karlag where soldiers and officers who had been in captivity were sent to.

A tight control over the intelligentsia was resumed. It is evidenced by the adoption of such resolutions of the CPSU (b), as the «On the Magazines «Star» magazine «Leningrad», «On the Repertoire of Theaters», «On the Opera by V.Muradeli «Great Friendship», «On the Movie «Great Life»».

The Communist Party of Kazakhstan, in turn, also adopted a resolution on January 21, 1947 «Rough Policy Mistakes in the Work of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR», according to which almost all the works of oral and written literature, published in the postwar years were declared reactionary. Major poets Omar Karashev, Sultanmakhmut Toraygirov were declared bourgeois nationalists.

A case of a historian E. Bekmakhhanov was fabricated. He was accused of bourgeois nationalism for his book «Kazakhstan in the 20-40-s of the XIX Century», where he gave an objective assessment to the national liberation movement led by Kenesary Kasymuly. The object of severe criticism by the authorities was the «History of Kazakhstan» published in 1943. Imposing of ideological standards, suppression of national identity, chauvinism dominance in culture and science began. The concept of the special messianic role of Russia in the history of non-Russian peoples, the beneficial nature of Russian colonialism was inculcated in the public consciousness; the history of Kazakhs was separated from the history of other Turkic and Muslim peoples artificially tied to the history of Russia.

The national liberation movement of the Kazakh people in the period of tsarist Russia as a whole was interpreted as a reactionary, and a part of the liberation uprisings of Kazakhs began to be declared as class, anti-feudal to the detriment of the truth. Those representatives of the national intelligentsia, who did not want to accept the new ideological cruelly paid for it. In the late 40-ies M.Auezov, K.Satpayev, E.Ismailov, Kh.Zhumaliev, A.Zhubanov and many others were persecuted. In 1951, the national epic, including such treasures of folk culture, as «Koblandy» «Er Sayin», «Shora Batyr», «Er Edige» underwent the criticism of the center. They were declared as feudal glorifying khans and «exploiters». Only Stalin's death in 1953 stopped the new wave of repression.

The second half of 40s – early 50-ies was the culmination for the camp system. Only the steppe camp, located in the Ishim steppe, numbered 200 thousand prisoners from 1949. Karaganda and Zhezkazgan camps were large. The former soldiers and officers made up the most of the contingent, trapped in camps for staying in Nazi captivity, as well as the members of anti-Soviet uprisings in the Baltic States, Ukraine, Belarus and the Caucasus. In 1948, a «special regime camps» were set up for those convicted of «counter-revolutionary» and «anti-Soviet» activities. It was in these camps where uprising erupted in the late 40's – early 50-ies. In 1952, a rebellion was raised in Kengir prisoners' camp near Zhezkazgan. In the same year, an uprising broke out in Ekibastuz. Both unrests were brutally suppressed by the forces of the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of the State Security and the regular army.

Beside the prisoners in camps, there were a huge number of special settlers, virtually powerless representatives of repressed peoples in Kazakhstan. By the end of 1952 their number reached nearly 990 thousand people, of which more than 488 thousand were Germans, about 340 thousand were the representatives of the peoples of the North Caucasus.

## **2. Kazakhstan Economy in the Post-War Years**

In the postwar period, Kazakhstan economy experienced great difficulties. A major challenge was to provide industrial workforce after the return of evacuees in the western regions of the USSR. Staff turnover markedly increased, labor discipline reduced, labor productivity fell sharply. In 1946, there was even some decline in production, which forced the authorities to return to the command-administrative methods of economic management that had given its results, mainly in the industry.

At the same time in the course of the fourth five-year plan there were significant advances in the development of the industry. In 1946 the Ust-Kamenogorsk lead-zinc plant was put into operation, the construction of the coal mine in Ekibastuz was completed, new capacity at Aktobe and Balkhash mills were introduced, oil production at new oil fields was started. The transport network developed in 1950, the construction of the railway Mointy-Shu was completed. In the spring of 1949 the automatic telephone station in Alma Ata began to operate, all district centers had telephones. At the same time electrification of the rural areas began.

The first stage of the Karatau Mining and Chemical Combine, Zhambyl superphosphate plant were put into operation.

However, the situation in agriculture was more severe than in industry. In order to assist Republics affected by the occupation, Kazakhstan sent free of 17.5 thousand heads of cattle, 22 thousand horses, 350 thousand sheep; around 500 thousand Cattle were sold at discounted prices. At the same time in the villages were carried out measures to tighten the regime of the collective farm. In 1946-49 the land assigned to the farmers during the weakening of state control over the village was confiscated from the peasants and assigned to the collective farm. In 1948 personal cattle was taken away from the farmers. The amount of mandatory annual deliveries increased, purchasing prices remained well below the level of 1940, which covered only 15% of the cost of grain produced. The currency reform in 1947, having a confiscatory character, hit mainly the rural population. Money supply decreased by a third, but the money exchange system ruined peasants and savings banks depositors. Although in 1947 the rationing system was abolished, a new hunger was approaching the country.

In 1950, a new agricultural reform was adopted, the purpose of which was to strengthen collective farms, enlarging them. As a result, the number of collective farms in Kazakhstan decreased from 6773 in 1945 to 2047 in 1952. This led to disappearance of some settlements, reduction of the personal allotments of the peasants, cutting payments in kind and did not lead to a radical improvement of the situation in agriculture. So, as a result of the agrarian policy of the authorities in the USSR in the late 40's – early 50-ies food shortage re-start. The social situation was difficult. The level of wages and salaries increased in 1950 compared to 1940 by 1.5 times, while retail prices increased by 3 times, which led to a decrease in purchasing power. The farmers received payment for their work which was four times less than the urban citizens and did not had the right of free movement within the country.

### **3. Culture of Kazakhstan in the 40s - early 50-ies**

**Education and Science.** Intensive work on literacy, held in 20-30<sup>th</sup> years, began to yield results.

According to the 1939 census 76.3% the population of Kazakhstan was literate. In 1940, there were 5289 primary, 1770 seven-year, and 698 secondary schools, where about 1,138,187 students were enrolled. The teaching staff were preparing in KazSU, 13 educational institutions and 23 teachers training colleges. During the war, the Republic accepted 149 child care centers and 19 thousand children evacuated from the western regions of

the USSR, the number of children orphanages increased. Vocational system and secondary special education developed quickly. In 1940, 35 professional schools, annual training schools in the factory for more than 26 thousand man were organized during the war in Kazakhstan. In the late 30<sup>s</sup> there were 120 secondary specialized educational institutions in the country, which trained more than 5 thousand professionals.

The development of higher education continued. In 1936, regulations were adopted which streamlined the procedure for admission to universities, a single educational and methodological guidance was introduced. In 1938, the first post-graduate course in Kazakhstan was opened at KazSU. During the war, the number of higher educational institutions of the Republic increased. In 1943, the Almaty Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages was opened, in 1943 – Shymkent Technological Institute of Building Materials, in 1944 – Conservatory and the Women's Pedagogical Institute in Almaty. In the postwar period there were Karaganda Medical (1950), Semipalatinsk Veterinary (1951), Karaganda Mining Institute (1953) opened. Research and teaching staff of these universities were completed both by the evacuees and repressed scientists and educators.

In the postwar period, the accelerated growth of science and scientific institutions began in Kazakhstan. On May 1, 1946 the grand opening of the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan took place. Its first president was the eminent scientist K.I.Satpayev. Its membership included 14 academicians and 16 corresponding members. The famous Russian scientists I.Bardin, S.Vavilov, I.Meschaninov, V.Obruchev were elected honorary members of the Academy.

The network of research institutes developed, the branches of such science as astronomy, astrophysics, nuclear physics appeared. Many studies were devoted to building military might of the USSR. Under the direct supervision of the MGB chief Beria a testing ground for nuclear weapons was built near Semipalatinsk, the first test was conducted in 1949. These bombings were carried out in areas with predominantly Kazakh population, who became hostages of the criminal policy of the authorities. From 1949 to 1964 113 bombings in the atmosphere was carried out at the site, leading to radioactive contamination of the territory of the Central and Eastern Kazakhstan; doctors were forbidden to put correct diagnosis to people who died from diseases resulting from radiation exposure. Medical examinations in the region were banned; data of the military medics were deeply classified.

**Literature.** In the 40's – early 50-ies creative folk akyns took a large place in the spiritual culture of the Kazakh people: Zhambyl Zhabayev (1846-1945), Nurpeis Baiganin (1890-1954), etc. Written literature was developing. Such recognized masters as M.Auezov, G.Musrepov, S.Mukanov, G.Mustafin, D.Abilev, Sarsenbaev, S.Sharipov, A.Abishev played an important role in the development of the national conciseness. Despite the increase of genre diversity, the choice was significantly limited. Weakened by the repression of the 20-30s the Kazakh literature was now sinning the charm only to the socialist system, the new life of the country, the friendship of peoples, new social relations.

During the war, theme of patriotism and internationalism became dominant in the literature. The huge popularity received such works as «Leningrad, my Children» by Zhambyl, «Leningrad» by A.Tazhibayev, verses by Zh.Shanin, K.Amanzholov, A.Sarsenbaev. Many writers and poets participated in the fighting with arms; A.Zhumagaliyev, B.Bulkishev, V.Chugunov died a heroic death.

After the war the strengthening of the ideological control over the work of writers began. Nevertheless, the end of the 40's – early 50-ies became the heyday of the Kazakh Soviet literature. In 1947, a second volume of the novel «Abay» by M.Auezov was written, in 1948 the novel «Syrdarya» by S.Mukanov, «Millionaire» by G.Mustafin were published, the novel «Soldier of Kazakhstan» by G.Musrepov was finished in 1949. In 1949 the novel «Abay» was awarded the USSR State Prize and brought to M.Auezov a worldwide fame. In the early 50-ies a number of new works, including the novels by G.Mustafin «Karaganda», G.Musrepov «Awakening Land», the works of D.Abilev, A.Tazhibayev, T.Zharokov, M.Alimbaev and many others were published.

**Music, Theater, Cinema, and Painting.** Even in 1936 the Kazakh musical art was introduced to the entire Soviet public. Moscow hosted the first decade of Kazakh art. K.Baiseitova was awarded the title of the People's Artist of the USSR. During the war the art of opera continued to develop. In 1942, the opera by E.Brusilovsky «Guards, alfa!» was staged. In 1944 – the opera «Abay» by A.Zhubanov and L.Khamidi saw the light. In the postwar years, the following operas were staged: «Amangeldy» by M.E.Brusilovsky and Tulebaev, «Tolegen Tokhtarov» by A.Zhubanov and L.Hamidi, «Birjan and Sarah» by M.Tulebaev. In 1949, the authors of the operas and the leading artists were awarded the State Prize of the USSR.

The first Kazakh ballet «Koktem» appeared in 1940. During the war, the ballet of the Kazakh Musical Theatre was headed by G.Berezova, there

were the artists of leading theaters on stage. In June 1942, in Alma-Ata, the debut of Ulanova took place.

A number of new theatres appeared in the country. In 1937 a Korean music and drama theater was opened in Kyzyl-Orda, and in 1944 the Theatre for Children and Youth (TYP). In 1937, the Kazakh Drama Theatre became an academic, and a number of actors received the title of the People's and Honoured Artists of the Republic. The regional theaters continued to grow, collective and state farms semiprofessional theaters started to appear. The fame received such actors as Sh.Aymanov, S.Kozhamkulov, O.Umurzakov, K.Karmysov, Kh.Bokeeva, I.Nogaybaev, N.Zhanturin and many others began their artistic activities.

In the prewar period Kazakh cinema emerged. Alma-Ata studio of newsreel was organized at the end of 1938, the first audio documentary «Zhambyl Ata» was made, in the same year the first feature film of Kazakh

filmmakers – «Amangeldy» was filmed at the Lenfilm. In 1941 a number of films studios from Moscow and Leningrad were evacuated to Alma-Ata, and on their basis a united film studio was established in the capital of Kazakhstan which filmed a number of movies – «Heavenly Slug», «Two Soldiers», «Ilya Muromets», etc. In 1945 there was the first independent work of Alma-Ata film studio – «Songs of Abay». After the war the production of featured films was reduced, just two feature films «Golden Horn» (1948) and «Zhambyl» (1952) were filmed.

Formation and development of the Kazakh fine art is associated with the name A.Kasteyev (1904-1973). His work began in the late 20s, he made a large number of water-colors, combined in a series of «Old and New Way». The works of such Kazakh artists as Ismailov, brothers Khodzhikov, B.Sarsenbaev, by U.Tansikbaev became known in the prewar period. During the war, the artists of Ukraine, Belarus, Leningrad and Moscow worked in Kazakhstan, they made a great contribution to the development of the national art.

Thus, despite the rigid ideological control, the culture of Kazakhstan in the 40's – early 50-ies received a new boost. To a large extent this contributed to the growth of patriotism and national identity that is associated with the victory in the Great Patriotic War.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What was the impact of the evacuation of the industrial enterprises on the economy of Kazakhstan during the war?

2. What were the main objectives set in the post-war five-year plan and how they affected the economy of Kazakhstan?
3. What was the socio-political situation in the country after the war?
4. What representatives of science and culture of the Republic were persecuted after the war?
5. What are the prominent figures of culture and art of Kazakhstan of the second half of the last century?



## **Topic 9. Socio-Political and Economic Development of Kazakhstan in 50-70s of the XX Century. Contradictions and Difficulties**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

- 1. Overcoming the consequences of the «Cult of Personality» and measures on liberalization of the system. Shallow reforms of Khrushchev, their impact on Kazakhstan.*
- 2. Manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism in the management of the economy and the spiritual sphere. Development of virgin and fallow lands in Kazakhstan.*
- 3. Contradictions and difficulties of the period of economic and spiritual «stagnation».*
- 4. Changes in the spiritual life of the Republic in the Post War period (50-70-ies of the XX century).*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Overcoming the Consequences of the «Cult of Personality» and Measures on Liberalization of the System. Shallow Reforms of Khrushchev, their Impact on Kazakhstan**

In March 1953 I.V. Stalin died – the unchallenged ruler of the country since the late 20s. His place was taken by a group of the close allies of the leader, they began the struggle for power – G.M.Malenkov, Molotov, Beria and Khrushchev. G.M.Malenkov became the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who in 1955 would be replaced by N.A.Bulganin – the ex Minister of Defense. Starting September 1953 the party power would be fully transferred into the hands of Khrushchev, who would have been elected the first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. And since 1958, Khrushchev would become the head of the government, shifting N.A.Bulganin from this position, and thus concentrating the highest political and executive power of the country in the hands.

But whatever it was, at the end of March 1953 the new government was taking measures to liberalize the system. There was an amnesty for all prisoners whose term did not exceed five years, for minors and those convicted of economic, administrative, and military offenses. In few days a resolution on violation of the law by the state security bodies as adopted in the course of the investigation of major political affairs at the end of the

40s – early 50-ies. In July 1953 L.I.Beria – one of the main organizers of the repression of 30<sup>th</sup> – 50<sup>th</sup>, was arrested.

The GULAG was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Justice, the political police became an independent organization – State Security Committee (KGB). In 1955 an amnesty to convicted for «aiding the fascists» during World War II, was announced, special settlers were released from under the administrative supervision. At the same time, freedom of movement remained; the political charges against the Germans and the Crimean Tatars were not removed. Most of the political prisoners were amnestied only after 1956, after the famous report of Khrushchev at the XX Congress of the CPSU, which was first announced on the consequences of the personality cult and, mass political repressions in the period of Stalin leadership.

However, the liberalization of the political system was only partially. All failures of social policy and crime system were announced as the result of distortions of the Leninist principles, which removed the responsibility from the party and the leadership of the country as a whole. Despite the rejection of the repressive methods, an administrative principle of the governing was preserved and continued to develop. Kazakhstan continued to remain under the direct control of Moscow, which appointed and dismissed the heads of the Republic at its discretion. Thus, in February 1954 at the VII Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, according to the Kremlin's decision, the first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Zh.Shayakhmetov was replaced by P.K.Ponomarenko, who worked previously in senior positions in Moscow. At the same time Leonid Brezhnev became the second secretary of the CC of CP of Kazakhstan, who led the Republic in 1955-1956.

1957-58 became the peak years of de-Stalinization process. In February 1957 Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Karachai, and Kalmyks were rehabilitated, they were allowed to return home. Rehabilitation of victims of political repression began, but it was selective and was not completed. In 1958 a new Penal Code was adopted, abolishing the concept of «enemy of the people», it was forbidden to resort to threats and violence during the investigation, the presumption of innocence was legalized.

Thus, a feature of the 50s was the gradual shifting away from a system of mass political repressions. The 30-year-old era of continuous change, in which system based on the omnipotence of the party apparatus and repressive bodies dominated, came to the end.

Efforts to «clean» the internal affairs and the state security bodies were taken. The entire management of security services both in the center and in the Republics and regions was replaced. Their positions were given to officers of the political system of the army, party workers and leaders of the Young Communist League. Results of the Congress of July 20, 1953 were approved by the Congress of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

In fact repressive tyranny was effectively suppressed in the Republic, law and order was restored. Fabricating of cases was stopped, Kazakh scientists and cultural workers, illegally convicted in the late 40's – early 50-ies were rehabilitated. Partially convicted on political charges in the 30s were rehabilitated.

However, the measures taken to restore the democratic norms of the Party and state life, in general, did not affect the political foundations of the Soviet society, as a result of the command-administrative system maintained its existence.

A decisive step in the history of Kazakhstan, as well as the whole country was made at the XX Party Congress, held in February 1956. On February 25 at a closed session of the Congress Khrushchev delivered a report «On the Personality Cult and its Consequences». The basis of the report was the results of investigations by the Commission. Attempts were made to analyze the causes and nature of the manifestations of the personality cult. Khrushchev's report cited the horrific details of the mass repression in 30-40s and made analysis of the methods by which Stalin had concentrated all power in his hands.

It should also be noted that Khrushchev, who found the courage to expose the cult of Stalin personality, did not raise the issue of his personal involvement in the repression, as well as the responsibility of the leader's companions, at that time, occupying key positions the country's leadership. The report itself was not published; it was read only at the Party meetings, and without discussion. Criticism of the cult of personality was limited to the period of starting from the second half of the 30s. And everything that happened in the country before 1934 was justified, including the fight against the oppositions in 20s in the name of industrialization and collectivization. This confirms the commitment of the communist choice.

Thus, it was emphasized that the cult of personality had not changed the nature of socialism, and the latter was perceived by the leaders of the country in accordance with Stalin administrative-command system.

Yet after the XX Congress the political atmosphere in the country changed. It started the beginning of the general rehabilitation of millions of people and entire nations. The repressed, their relatives, who had been wearing a label an «enemy of the people», their family members were rehabilitated, the civil rights were restored. The expelled during the deportation of the population returned to their homes (except for Koreans, Crimean Tatars, Germans).

Khrushchev's actions found a wide response in Kazakhstan, especially in the late 50s – the beginning of the 60s, when the rise in social activity was planned. The Republic created social organizations, voluntary people's guards, street committees, councils of veterans and others.

However, the departure from the collective methods of leadership, subjectivism, and voluntarism gradually began to dominate in the activity of Khrushchev.

In 1957, Khrushchev was promoted the slogan «Catch up and overtake America!» aimed at the rapid growth of agricultural production. However, a number of ill-conceived reforms, the predominance of administrative methods of economic management led to a serious crisis, the new rise of food problems and the explosion of people's discontent in the late 50's – early 60-ies.

In August 1959, the socio-economic crisis led to riots in Temirtau – one of the growing industrial centers of Kazakhstan. of Iron and Steel plant of the city which was under construction s was declared Komsomol construction site, where more than 200 thousand man worked. Every day life was disordered, extremely inadequate provision of food and drinking water and explicit abuse by the administration led to spontaneous actions of the workers, which were converted to a three-day excitement, suppressed only with the help of troops.

Despite the difficult social and economic situation, in 1959, a seven-year plan was adopted on the initiative of Khrushchev. According to this plan, the Soviet Union was supposed to come out on top in the world in terms of production by 1965. It was announced that the construction of socialism in the country had been completed, and the long-awaited Communism would come at the beginning of the 80s.

The national policies underwent a sharp turn. In order to create a new community – the «Soviet people», the authorities began to encourage the process of russification, which was accompanied with the closing of national schools, reduction in scope of national languages and chauvinistic propaganda. The task of merging all the ethnic groups of the USSR and

the liquidation of the national Republics by the beginning of 80's years was put forward. Change of the Republics' boundaries began without taking into account the interests of the Republics. Thus, in 1962 Uzbekistan got three cotton-growing regions of Southern Kazakhstan.

From the 17 to 31 of October 1961, in the background of unprecedented activity the XXII Congress of the CPSU was held, in decisions of which voluntarism of authorities and inconsistent attempts party restructuring were manifested.

As adopted by the III Party Congress program planned the building of communism in the Soviet Union by 1980, and the new Charter of the CPSU did not affect the foundations and principles of the party's existence. Summing up the first question, it should be noted that the reforms of 1956-1964 did not destroy command-administrative system. Domestic and foreign policy tasks were solved with the help of the former political and economic mechanism. The national question, the right of sovereign Republics, dictateohip of the center remained unresolved. The criticism was limited to questions of political leadership techniques, while the attempts to critique the system as a whole were suppressed. The tragic pages of history were concealed, in particular, collectivization in Kazakhstan, the victims of the 30-ies and the elimination of the national intelligentsia. Inconsistent policies of Khrushchev, voluntarism and subjectivism in matters of development of society caused dissatisfaction at the party elite and among the people.

In 1962, Khrushchev proposed a party reform, which changed the structure of the party. It was dividing it into two entities – industrial and agricultural. The role of the party was reduced only managing the economy, which angered the party leadership and regional functionaries. The coup was prepared in secrecy, and at the October Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1964 Khrushchev was removed from power. Leonid Brezhnev became the First Secretary of the Central Committee; Kosygin was elected as the head of the government.

At the same Central Committee Congress in their reports of the members of the Presidium of the CPSU M.A.Suslov, D.S.Polyansky cited the evidence that N.S.Khrushchev blatantly trampled on the principles of collective leadership (which it 8 years ago, accusing Stalin) and in fact he ruled individually, showing «subjectivism and voluntarism».

The report of D.S.Polanski said: «Now nobody but him speaks at the meetings of the Presidium. If anyone tries to tell his opinion, he would immediately be interrupted. Yes, and it became useless to speak, still the first secretary will make his own way. Such «methods» as an angry shout,

the command, rough obscene insults, obscene language, have become a permanent norm of his behavior ... addressing those who dare to object or speak contrary to him, he became increasingly resort to threats. And these threats cannot be ignored, knowing a lot of power and unbridled, autocratic character of this man. He ceased to follow even elementary decency and standards of behavior and uses bad language so disgusting that, as they say, not only the ears would wilt – the cast iron bollards would blush. «Fool, slacker, lazy, stench, dirty fly, wet hen, shit» are only a «print» of the insults he uses. And the most best-selling, which he uses more often cannot be written on paper nor could they be repeated. And all these pours indiscriminately even in the presence of women».

The report stated that Khrushchev «acts like a demagogue: verbally opposed the cult of personality, for the strict observance of the Leninist principles and norms, but actually doing the opposite by using the methods of the personality cult of Stalin ... There were only 6 portraits of Stalin published in Pravda in 1952, while the portrait of Comrade Khrushchev was published in the same newspaper 147 only in 1964. Here you have an example of a true fighter against the cult!»

The authors of the report wrote about the incredible conceit of Khrushchev, who was «seriously convinced that he is higher, more intelligent, and far-sighted of all. He does not understand that he is just one of the leaders, and that he became one on the party's will, that the party was created not by him and not for him, that he is a servant of the party».

Dictating his will to the Bureau of the Central Committee, Khrushchev sought to implement a variety of management reorganizations. The report read: «The decade after 1953 was marked by continuous reforms of various reorganizations. As a result, the whole structure of the economic management, as well as party and government bodies were, figuratively speaking, plowed up and down, in breadth and in depth. Each of these reorganizations is called a revolutionary, a radical one. They were justified by a theoretical basis, they were declared truly Leninist, and they were attributed miraculous results».

However, as mentioned in the report, «Analysis shows the opposite: the new control system because of its crudity and imperfections did not lived up to expectations ... It gave birth to an unprecedented overlap in leadership, confusion, bureaucracy and just muddle».

The reorganization of the regional and provincial party and government bodies on the production principle was particularly subjected to sharp criticism in the report. The report stated: «There was an incredible

intertwining, mixing of functions, rights and obligations of the party, state and economic bodies, the parallelism in their work ... there was such a confusion which our Soviet state did not know for the time of its existence».

Because of Khrushchev, as stated in the report, «our country has repeatedly gets caught up in one and then in another situation where the danger of war was very close. Think of the Suez crisis. Then we were on the verge of a great war! And what is the basis of fight? After all, we have not had even a mutual aid agreement with Egypt; there was no request for assistance. And how could we join the battle? Our country at that time was not yet recovered properly from the war with Hitler – people did not want to war, they did not wait for her».

Khrushchev's behavior during the Suez crisis and the Berlin crisis in 1961 was named as «political adventurism, blackmail, irresponsible juggling the fate of the country, the fate of the Party, our great cause» in the report.

Particularly sharp criticism was subjected Khrushchev's policy during the events of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. The report emphasized that the actions of Khrushchev «caused a deep crisis, brought the world to the brink of nuclear war ... Having no other choice, we had to accept all the terms and conditions dictated by the United States, up to the infamous American inspection of our ships. Rockets, and most of the troops were removed from Cuba on the US request. This story has damaged the international prestige of our country, our Party, armed forces and at the same time helped to raise the prestige of the United States».

«Over the past seven years, – concluded the authors of the report – The Soviet Union was to the grounds and on the brink of war three times without any serious reasons».

Unfortunately, the conclusions and proposals in D.S.Polyansky report were concealed from the general public, even though they reflected the contradictions of the Party and of the Soviet society, which appeared in the following years. At the same time there is no doubt that the report contributed to exposing the depravity of Khrushchev and contributed to the prevention of slipping of the Soviet country into the abyss, giving it another 27 years of life.

**Period of «Developed Socialism».** The coming to power of Leonid Brezhnev coursed a departure from the policy of de-Stalinization and resuming of conservative politics and ideological intolerance. Gradually mentioning of the cult of personality, the XX Congress and Khrushchev's report disappeared, the process of rehabilitation of victims of repression had been discontinued, and crimes of Stalinism were declared simply as

bending and temporary departure from the Leninist principles. Political conservatism was expressed in the stability of the party authorities, increasing bureaucracy, rejection of radical reforms and as a result – stagnation of the entire Soviet political system.

These features of the political system were legalized in the new Constitution of the USSR, adopted in 1977, and noted the construction of the «developed socialism» in the country. In 1978, the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR was adopted on the basis of the Constitution of the USSR. The legal status of Kazakhstan in accordance with the new Constitution was ambivalent. On the one hand, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed a sovereign state with the respective rights and powers, on the other – the USSR Constitution enshrines «the unity of the sovereignty of the USSR and the Republic», which reduced the latter to nothing. The formula «one federal, multinational State» contained in the Constitution of the USSR of 1977, turned the federation into a unitary state with national autonomies.

In general, the new Constitution was based on the same principles and provisions as the old. The system and powers of governing bodies remained practically unchanged; the changes were only in the terms of office of the Supreme Court and the local councils.

According to the 1977 Soviet Constitution and the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR of 1978 the rights and freedoms of citizens were significantly expanded, the principles of the constitutional regulation were expanded, for the first time the principle of legality, as one of the basic principles of activity of the state, its agencies and officials was secured. However, the new constitution, as well as the old, became a formal legal act, had little effect on social relations and the daily practice of public administration. Thus, the evolution of the constitutional law in this period was to strengthen the centralization of authority and the narrowing of the Republics on the one hand, and securing the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens on the other. However, the most important feature of the Constitutions of 1937 and 1978 became their formal character, the absence of a mechanism of the human rights and freedoms, constitutional oversight bodies that turned the Basic Law from the regulatory act designed to regulate the most important spheres of social relations into a propaganda document.

However, even a formal consolidation of the sovereignty of Kazakh SSR was the legal basis for the establishment of a new state during the disintegration of the Soviet Union – the independent Republic of Kazakhstan.



## **2. Manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism in the management of the economy and the spiritual sphere. Development of virgin and fallow lands in Kazakhstan**

Economic growth in the 1956-1965 was ensured through increased investment, labor enthusiasm, speeding up of scientific and technological progress, economic reforms.

After completing the first post-Stalin reforms, Khrushchev put forward the idea to catch up and overtake the US in industrial and agricultural production.

During this period, hundreds of new enterprises were introduced in Kazakhstan, among them: Sokolov-Sarbaisky GOK (Mining & Enriching Plant), Ust-Kamenogorsk Condenser Plant, Shymkent Electric Machinery Plant, Irtysh Chemical-Metallurgical Plant, and others.

Gross industrial output in Kazakhstan increased in 1956-1960 by 74%. For 10 years there was a growth in production of consumer goods. The inhabitants of the Republic had televisions, washing machines, refrigerators, stereos, furniture. But the volume of manufactured consumer goods did not meet the demand.

Directive economy almost did not react to the increasing demand. Some goods were not made in the country. This situation was due to the priority development of the heavy industry. Investments in the production of means of production (group A) exceeded the production of consumer goods (group B).

In such circumstances, to bridge the gap between the United States and the Soviet Union was practically impossible. The Soviet leadership could not concentrate all resources on welfare (as in his time Stalin was concentrating on heavy industry). The country had many new problems as the arms race, the space race and agriculture.

Industry develop not at the expense of intensification, but through the construction of new plants, ie, extensively. Economic growth was insured by rigid methods of command economy.

Khrushchev tried to solve the rising economic problems with a variety of reforms. The most radical reform was in 1957. The industry began to be controlled by local authorities (economic councils) rather than sectoral authorities (Ministry).

Kazakhstan National Economic Council and 8 regional councils were formed in Kazakhstan. Instead of expanding the economic independence of enterprises the path of economic management decentralization was chosen.

As a result, the situation of somewhat small and medium-sized enterprises improved, management of production was simplified, but at the same time a unified technical policy was complicated, quality indicators fell. Reforms failed, and since 1964 they were curtailed. The territorial principle of management of the economy was again replaced by the industrial.

In 50-ies construction of a number of large industrial enterprises was launched in Kazakhstan, including Karaganda Metallurgical Plant and Sokolov-Sarbai mining and processing plant. Total almost 700 new enterprises entered into operation in the 50<sup>th</sup> years, including such large as the Ust-Kamenogorsk lead-zinc plant, a number of hydroelectric power stations on the Irtysh, railway network was rapidly developing, which amounted to 11.47 thousand km in 1960. In 1958 the Kazakh railway was created, uniting the line, passing through the territory of the Republic.

In the early 60-ies the question of re-equipment of enterprises was raised and of introduction of new technologies, electrification, mechanization and automation of production. This led to some increase in labor productivity, the growth of knowledge-intensive industries.

**1965 Reforms.** Explicit insolvency of Khrushchev's reforms led to new changes in the organization of economic management. In 1965, the branch ministries and departments were organized again. At the same time the economy gained some independence. Economic independence (self-financing) was introduced providing labor incentives. To do this, new indices were introduced at the enterprises – the cost of goods sold, the total payroll, organized incentive funds, bonuses for exceeding targets. In Kazakhstan in 1966 11 large enterprises were transferred to self-sufficiency. By the end of 1967 193 enterprises worked on new principles of management in the Republic. By 1970, more than 80% of all industrial enterprises were transferred to self-sufficiency. Significantly increased profitability and productivity, light industry, transport, energy, new industries – chemical industry and mechanical engineering were rapidly developing. In the early 70s there was a joint North-Kazakhstan energy system, 48 new enterprises were put into operation in the food industry.

However, since the early 70's reforms were phased out. The authorities began to return to conservative economic model. The main efforts were directed at the development of the defense, heavy industry, energy. Due to the increase in sales of raw materials abroad a large-scale purchase of foreign equipment began. Thus, from 1972 to 1976, imports of machinery increased by 4 times. At the same time the process of centralization of economic management, standardization and gaining of control over a huge

number of standards and regulations began. There are two prices for every product - wholesale and regulatory, resulting in a recalculation of all internal calculations that lasted all through 1982. As a result, inflation processes began to gain momentum.

Another reason for the rise of the crisis was the demographic situation in the USSR. Since 1975, the share of working age population began declining in the whole country, which did not allow increasing industrial production by attracting new mass labor. Kazakhstan remained mostly the source of raw materials, agencies and the ministry ruled the country, up to 60% of the necessary goods were imported from outside the country.

**Development of Virgin Lands.** In the early 50-ies after a poor harvest in 1953 the country felt the shortage of food; the situation was so serious that it required an immediate solution.

In addition to the financial assistance the village was supposed to receive certain independence. Measures were taken to encourage private farming. Spending on social development of the village and the auls increased. Procurement prices of the main products were raised. the material and technical base significantly improved, state and collective farms received 169,000 tractors, 98,000 harvesters, 73,000 trucks and other equipment. The result of the measures was the economic increase for the first time since the days of the NEP, the gross output of agriculture grew by two times. However, the administrative-command system of the party-state control, their incompetent intervention, negated the positive changes.

Theoretically the issues could be realized in two ways.

Option 1: through a personal interest (as in the years of the NEP), ie by changing the system of industrial relations, the transition to market mechanisms.

Option 2: through the so-called extensive model (introduction into circulation of giant arrays for grain crops, mainly in the east of the country). It is clear that the system chose the usual extensive model, so as not to deviate from the ideological principles.

The project was discussed in September 1953 at the Congress of the Central Committee of the CP with the representatives from Kazakhstan and then to experts. That is how the idea of Khrushchev's virgin soil was emerged, where the main role was given to Kazakhstan. It should be noted that the virgin land project did not find support in the party leadership.

In 1954, at the February-March Congress of the CPSU Central Committee the task was set to expand grain crops by 13 million ha at the

expense of virgin land. But in subsequent years, decisions were made to further increase the acreage to 20-25 mln ha.

The most ambitious were the land plowing in the north of Kazakhstan. To achieve the goals the Central Committee of CPSU made personnel changes, citing the need to «strengthen» the party apparatus of the Republic's leadership.

In Moscow a decision on displacement and appointment of heads of the Republic was adopted without taking into account the views of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. In 1954 P.K. Ponomarenko was elected the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, as have already been mentioned, instead of the removed from the post Zh. Shayakhmetova. Total from 1954 to 1964 in Kazakhstan the leadership was replaced 6 times. Brezhnev governed the Republic in 1955-1956, I.D.Yakovlev – in 1956-1957, N.I.Belyaev – in the period 1957-1960, D.A.Kunaev – in 1960-1962, M.Yusupov – in 1962-1964 and again D.A.Kunaev from 1964.

Khrushchev himself visited Kazakhstan 6 times and at his initiative northern areas were converted in virgin territory, city Akmola was renamed Tselinograd. Vast human and material resources were directed to the development of virgin lands. According to the party's call, tens of thousands of agricultural workers arrived. Thus, only in 1954-56 more than 640,000 people arrived to Kazakhstan. It should be noted that along with a stream of enthusiasts quite a few random people visited the virgin lands in the early years to seek quick earnings. Faced with the first difficulty, they left the virgin land, as a result there was a high labor turnover. Tselinniks (virgin land workers) had significant material benefits. This is a one-time cash benefits to 1,000 rubles per head of the family and 200 rubles for each family member, a free transportation of the family and the property, a loan for the construction of a home of up to 10,000 rubles for a period of 10 years, up to 2000 rubles for the purchase of livestock, tax exemption for up to 5 years on income from agriculture.

The scale of the virgin lands operational and tight deadlines demanded a large number of equipment, materials and transport. The influx of people caused the need to provide shelter, food and other social conditions, what leadership could not always deal well. The whole country worked to implement government objectives, agricultural equipment, building materials, household items, food were sent to the virgin land from different parts of the country.

Already by August 1954 6.5 million hectares were plowed in Kazakhstan. By the beginning of 1955 the area of the cultivated land increased by 8.5

million hectares. 90 new state farms were created. Since the autumn of 1954 the creation of another 250 farms began. Just during a few years of the virgin lands (1954-1960 g.) 25.5 million hectares were under cultivation. To ensure the workforce for the new lands mobilization of volunteers from the western regions of the country was carried out. They were provided with significant benefits – free travel with the property, cash benefits of up to 1 thousand rubles, the loan of up to 20 thousand rubles for the construction of the house.... for 10 years, up to 2 thousand rubles for the purchase of livestock, exemption from agricultural tax from 2 to 5 years. Total it was allocated more than 20 billion rubles for the development of virgin lands in 1954-59.

The first years of the virgin lands, except for the drought in 1954, were quite favorable. In 1956, the country had attracted a record harvest of 125 million tons of grain, of which 50% were obtained in the virgin lands. However, disruption of the ecological balance and wind erosion in the late '50s began to turn into a serious problem. By 1960 in North Kazakhstan due to the irrational development of the virgin land more than 9 million hectares of land were withdrawn from economic circulation. Effectiveness of the virgin soil fell in 1954-58 years annually, the average yield was 0.73 t/ha, in the 1961-65 – 0.61 t / ha.

Plowing of huge areas of virgin lands led to a sharp reduction of hay and pasture land in Kazakhstan and the beginning of a long crisis of the traditional branches of agriculture of the Republic – livestock. In 1955, it was necessary to adopt a special resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU and to oblige 47 steppe regions and 225 state farms to breed meat cattle.

During the development of the virgin lands demographic situation worsened in the Republic. Kazakh population declined significantly. According to census of 1959 representatives of the indigenous nationality constitute 2 million 787 thousand men in Kazakhstan, ie 29% of the total population. Locally national schools were closed, the majority of Kazakh children from the villages began to study in the integrated boarding schools with Russian as the major language of instruction. Only with independence in the Republic began to get rid of the process of mass Russification.

Start of the 70-ies was marked by attempts to intensify agriculture through comprehensive mechanization, application of chemicals and land reclamation. It was planned to put production of livestock on an industrial basis. In 1977, the private sector began to receive support in agriculture, by easing restrictions on the number of livestock, the infield area increased. In

the early 80s the ongoing stagnation in agriculture forced the authorities to adopt even more radical reforms. Agro-industrial complexes were formed with the inclusion of agriculture, research and industry, brigade competition was introduced, but these measures did not produce the desired result. Those trends, which had been laid in agriculture even in the 50s, continued to melt away. Gross harvest of grain and livestock grew slowly, agriculture keenly felt the lack of labor force, by the end of the 70s once again there was a problem of providing the population with meat and dairy products. Each year, the Soviet Union was forced to buy about 40 million tons of grain abroad.

In general, the development of the virgin lands transformed Kazakhstan into one of the largest grain producers in the world and at the same time laid the causes of long-term crisis of agriculture in the country in the coming years.

### **3. Contradictions and Difficulties of the Period of Economic and Spiritual «Stagnation»**

Period of the 70<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 80s is characterized as a period of stagnation and bureaucracy, it should be noted that the real levers of power were increasingly concentrated in the hands of the party-state apparatus. Adherence to the patterns and stereotypes led to the ossification and the formalization of democratic institutions. The process of nationalization spread to the trade unions, the Young Communist League and non-governmental organizations, that is, there is a merging of public organizations with the party-state apparatus, which nullified their amateur beginning.

Revealing this issue, you must pay attention to the solution of the national issue. The Constitution of 1978 there was an attempt to take into account the peculiarities of the country. In fact, the Kazakh SSR Constitution only declarative duplicated provisions of the USSR Constitution. However, the negative tendencies in the sphere of national relations grew.

An indicator is the fact that during the 70s the 80s there was no decision on the improvement of the study of the native language in schools in the country. The decision of the Congress in the spring of 1979 on the establishment of the German autonomous region in Kazakhstan was ignoring the interests of the Kazakh people – which in turn angered the youth of Tselinograd (Akmola), which in the morning June 16, 1979 came

to the demonstration with flags reading «Kazakhstan Indivisible «and» No German Autonomy».

The situation when there was the gap between words and deeds was characteristic for this period; decisions and their implementations led to apathy and indifference.

In political life ideological militant intolerance and dogmatism was established. The real power in all spheres of society shifted to the party apparatus, which substitute a Soviet and economic agencies.

The solution of the national issue was declared in official documents. The exaggeration of achievements in addressing the national question stemmed from the concept of «developed socialism».

The change of the political situation in the Soviet Union significantly reduced the opportunities of economic reforms, and then completely led to their dismantlement. The situation was aggravated by departmental disunity, bureaucratic delays. Pay attention to the fact that the share of Kazakhstan in introduced Soviet scientific and technological innovations accounted for only 3% in the beginning of the 80s. A characteristic feature of the industry was the orientation of a one-sided raw orientation. About 60% of non-food consumed items were imported. There was no proper development of engineering. The share of its products in the industry was 17% versus 27% in the whole country.

With regard to agriculture, there can be traced the alienation of the peasantry from the results of labor. Adopted in 1982 Food Programme did not give results. As before, the program was developed within the framework of an outdated management system and did not affect the interests of the peasantry. As a result of unequal economic exchange between the city and country departmental dictatorship intensified after the uncompensated seizure of funds from the agriculture. During 1965-1985 prices for the agricultural sector were raised by 2-5 times, while the prices paid for agricultural products increased only by 2 times.

It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that due to the lack of vehicles, silos, storage, processing facilities, bad roads loss of agricultural products accounted for more than 20-40%.

To summarize, it can be said that the economy of the Republic had all the deformations that were characteristic of the national economy as a whole. First of all, it was the rooting of the command-administrative methods of management, the dominance of state ownership, which had led to the alienation of workers in relation to the means of production. The remuneration system was not linked to its results. Fundamentals of economic

life were determined by the directives of authorities, who were deprived of independence and enterprise initiatives. All this was compounded by the dictatorship of the Centre in the Republic that led to the crisis in the economy.

The crisis situation in the economy also covered the social sphere. In 1985, the ruble was equal to 54 kopecks in comparison with ruble in the 60s. This, in turn, led to higher prices for many goods and products. It should be noted that in the period under review, measures were taken to improve the housing situation in the country.

But compared with the developed capitalist countries, there was a significant lag in a number of indicators - wages, the level of public services, housing, food quality, public health and so on.

It should be noted that the health of people, their way of life were affected by the environment. The complex ecological situation in the Aral Sea area, unreasonable water consumption of Amudarya and Syrdarya rivers led to the disappearance of the Aral Sea. The incidences of infectious diseases and child mortality in the Aral Sea region increased.

Equally alarming situation was in the area of the Semipalatinsk test site. Cities and workers' settlements with non-ferrous metallurgy and chemical industries, were also in difficult environmental conditions.

Improving the living standards of the people was reached by the rapid growth of money incomes of the population and effective demand compared with the growth of the mass of commodities and services, which led to a total deficit.

The country as a whole was in a deep crisis, which required global change.

#### **4. Changes in the Spiritual Life of the Republic in the Post War Period (50-70-ies of the XX Century)**

The successes of cultural development in the post-war years could have been more significant, if there would be less incompetent interference by officials of the bureaucratic party and the state apparatus. Adversely affect on the development of the culture of those years was unjustly harsh assessment of the work of individual members of the scientific and artistic intelligentsia under the guise of fighting «cosmopolitanism». In Kazakhstan it was accompanied by the accusation in the embellishment of the past. So, in the center and locally the ideological work was carried out with «excesses».



Subjective approach, discriminative blames led, for example, to a biased assessment of creativity of prominent figures of science, culture, and literature. On December 26, 1950 «Pravda» published an article «For the Marxist-Leninist View on the History of Kazakhstan» where there was a serious error in historical science, in particular, in assessing the movement of Kenesary Kasymuly. For the failure to correct errors, ignoring the critical public speeches, the President of the Academy of Sciences K.I. Satpayev was relieved of his post. In April 1952 D.A.Kunaev was elected its president.

In the fifties, from the Academy of Sciences the following prominent figures were excluded: M.P.Rusakov, a prominent scientist who made a great contribution to the development of geological science of Kazakhstan, A.Zhubanov, K.Zhumaliev. They were arrested and sentenced to a long-term imprisonment. E. Bekmakhanov, B.Suleymenov, scientists-philologists E. Ismailov and C. Mukhametzhanov, recently convicted of «nationalistic errors in studying the literary school of Abay».

Strict policy of repression was accompanied by a broad campaign of indiscriminate defamation, slander, accusations of nationalism.

The situation was so intolerable that M. Auezov, A. Zhubanov and others left the Republic. It has changed for the better after Stalin's death, when P.K. Ponomarenko became the first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. He publicly denounced the punitive measures against the Kazakh intelligentsia.

**Education and Science.** In the 50 years there have been major advances in the improvement of the education system, many secondary and vocational schools were built. From 1946 to 1959 344.5 thousand skilled workers were prepared, and their total number in comparison with 1941 increased by more than 8 times, the number of Kazakhs increased for the same number.

Development of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions in the 50s helped to improve the planning of this process by determining the needs of the future specialists. A plan of the direction of the Kazakh youth in universities outside the country was set, the number of seats in graduate school for teachers in central universities was defined. From 1951 to 1955 8 higher and 22 specialized secondary schools were opened, they produced more than 63 thousand graduates with higher and 132 thousand with secondary special education respectively. Universities prepare professionals in 70 specialties, and 139 specialized secondary schools had an enrollment of over 86 thousand men. Although the teaching staff was significantly strengthened, in many universities, especially in the newly opened areas, there were still not enough teachers with academic degrees and titles.

Academy of Sciences played an important role in the development of science and scientific institutions. Opening of the national academy testified that the science in the country had entered a qualitatively new stage of its development, this meant that numerous qualified staff of scientists grew, the network of academic institutions strengthened and expanded.

By the end of 1950, 50 research institutions, including 19 institutions, 13 sectors, two museums, an observatory, three botanical garden and 8 scientific bases operated in the Academy system. At the Academy there were more than 500 graduate students.

Kazakhstan scientists have done a lot for the development of various branches of science, particularly in the field of astrophysics, astrobotany. The metallogenic maps helped to identify new and overestimate the reserves of already known deposits. Hydrogeologists completed mapping the forecast of underground artesian basins. Energy, geologists, and scientists from other branches of science suggested options on the water transfer from the Irtysh to Karaganda industrial hub.

Scientific institutions in the field of agriculture, in close collaboration with the innovators of agricultural production and practitioners, brought a lot of new high-yielding varieties of different crops and new breeds of sheep in particular – Kazakh fine-fleeced. However, agricultural science was behind the production needs.

**Literature and Art.** After the war, there was a rise of literature and art. In 1947 Mukhtar Auezov finished the second volume of «Abay», in 1955 he completed his monumental historical epic «Abay's Way» – the peak of creativity of not only of the author, but also of the entire multi-genre of Kazakh literature.

In May 1949 a decade of Kazakh literature in Moscow took place, which was the showcase of the achievements of Kazakh masters of the word. At the end of the 50s the names of the writers, unjustly condemned during the years of Stalinism – S.Seyfullin, B.Maylin I.Zhansugurov were brought back into the history of the Kazakh national culture.

In the second half of the 50s there was the rise of all genres of contemporary art, creative teams of various theaters grew and strengthened professionally. The maturity and authenticity of the Kazakh musical culture was evidenced by significant progress in the establishment of such major art genres as opera, symphony, cantata. Opera by M. Tulebaev «Birjan and Sarah» both in its ideological level and the originality of the music stood on a par with the best creations of world music, in 1949 it was translated into Russian.

Fine art experienced the creative impulse. There were our own sculptors in the Republic, firmly established various forms of monumental and chamber sculpture. Architectural achievements were the Government House, the building of the National Academy of Sciences, the Central Republican Stadium, the Palace of Culture in Ust-Kamenogorsk, and others.

Achievements of Kazakh culture and art were particularly manifested at the Kazakh Cultural Decade in Moscow (1958). If just one theater had performed at the first decade (1936), many of its artists were young, talented, but not professionally trained in musical and theatrical terms, this time various arts were represented at a higher level.

Every year more and more funds were allocated for the development of cultural and educational institutions. Especially rapidly this work was carried out in the created new industrial centers and areas of virgin lands: 300 new clubs, 400 libraries were commissioned, there were 80 fixed and 60 mobile cinemas, and other operated cultural institutions. Clubs started to be more interesting and effective institutions.

The development of amateur has resulted in such forms as mobile cultural brigades which performed in the factories shops, at field camps, farms.

The favorable socio-economic conditions, technological progress led to an unprecedented scope in the film and television production in the Republic.

Mass media had the increasing influence on the masses. If in the first postwar year there were 267 newspapers with a circulation of 797 thousand copies in the Republic, in 1958 the number reached 412 (147 in the Kazakh language) editions of 1678 thousand copies (in the Kazakh language - 579 ths). Book publishing improved, printing base got strengthened, which by the end of the 50s included a printing plant, 2 national, 14 regional, 12 urban and 184 regional printing shops.

As the level of the development of the productive forces of the country grew, an opportunity to strengthen the material-technical base of culture also increased. Some material prosperity, increase of the workers' free time led to the growth of every kind of spiritual needs, only during 1965-1975 the proportion of the spending of people in this area increased by 2.5 times.

The 60-70 years were marked by an unprecedented scale of construction of cultural facilities, especially in rural areas and in young cities that have arisen in the new industrial areas. Thus, in the 1961-1977 more than 1,200 schools with 117 ths pupils were put into operation, more than 1.5 thousand clubs and houses of culture, hundreds of pre-school institutions were built. Mainly typical objects were built, however they corresponded to the new

requirements that had been put forward to improve the life of the school and cultural institutions. The capital institutions; polytechnic, energy, national economies were relocated to the well-equipped building; construction of the first phase of the university complex was completed.

Huge amounts of money were invested in the development of the publishing industry. In the 70s, the new publishing house «Kynar», «Zhalyn», «Oner», «the Kazakh Soviet Encyclopedia» were formed. Every year, about 2 thousand titles with the circulation of almost 30 million copies, 415 newspapers a circulation of 5 million copies, dozens of magazines were published in Kazakh, Russian, Uigur, German, Korean.

Important changes took place in rural areas. More than 6 thousand clubs and palaces of culture started to operate. Television, radio, cinema, mass media entered the life of the rural areas. By the end of the 70s television penetrated into all areas of country, 15 TV centers and the same number of studios, 111 transmitters were operated broadcasting television programs.

In the 70 years cultural and educational institutions were rapidly developing: there were more than 19 thousand different types of libraries, which books were used by more than 9 million readers, i.e., more than 70 percent of the total population. Number clubs reached 8250, including in rural areas – 7331. In the year 10, 2 thousand cinemas served to 290 million viewers. Despite the undoubted achievements in the quantitative growth, the level of cultural services to the population was still low.

Some progress in the implementation of universal secondary education continued. In the 70 years a school diploma was received by 1.2 million students. However, to reach this number of people with the secondary education, universally correspondence and evening schools were opened universally, the number of which had reached 831. Graduating these schools the students received incomplete secondary education (of almost 400 thousand people), while the secondary education was received by about 275 thousand people. But often the quality of the knowledge left much to be desired, because the statements on the number of matriculation prevailed over the knowledge given.

Significant quantitative and qualitative changes were taking place in the higher and secondary special educational institutions, which annually produced about 30 thousand professionals of highest and almost 50 thousand of the secondary qualifications. Kazakhstan 4 times exceeded tsarist Russia by the number of students.

The 70s were a period of more rapid development of the secondary special education: there was a lot of new colleges, their number reached 220

by the beginning of the 80s. In universities and colleges nearly 5 million students were enrolled, there were 160 people students per 10 thousand population (average for the USSR this index was 122).

However, there was not enough scientific and technical equipment for the education, computerization was almost absent, the quality of graduates of universities, and colleges did not correspond to the level of world scientific and technological progress. And again the volume dominated over the quality: the graduates were raised without regard to the production and the cultural needs. But it should be noted that thanks to the huge success of the Cultural Revolution once backward Kazakhstan become one of the largest scientific centers by the end of the 60s, there were more than 200 academic institutions where 27 thousand scientists worked. among them there were about 420 doctors and more than 6 thousand candidates.

In recognition of the scientific achievements, international and national symposiums, scientific-theoretical conferences, seminars and other forums on various issues were held in the capital of the Republic. A number of leading scientists such as D.V.Sokolsky, U.M.Akhmedsafin received the title of the Hero of Socialist Labor for outstanding achievements which had earned the gratitude of the people and the scientific community.

In the last two decades Kazakh Soviet literature has been enriched not only by the great works, but also by new genres, such as, fi, adventure, scientific, biographical and others. The Trilogy «Blood and Sweat» by A.Nurieisov was translated into several European languages, it was awarded the State Prize of the USSR. A winner of the International Prize of J.Nehru A.Alimzhanov created a series of historical novels and stories.

International literary connections were expanding, works by more than 400 writers and poets of 56 countries were translated into the Kazakh and Uighur languages, there were more frequent meetings of the Kazakh writers with their foreign counterparts, as well as their personal contacts developed, there was a tradition to travel to foreign countries and visits of the foreign writers to our Republic.

In 60-70s professional art of Kazakhstan significantly flourished. In recognition of creative achievements in the development of musical culture the soloists of the Academic Opera and Ballet Theatre after Abay, the People's Artists E.Serkebaev and B.Tulegenova were awarded the State Prize of the USSR. A group of young artists and performers enjoyed popularity not only in the country but also far beyond its borders: «Young Ballet of Almaty», a pop band «Gulder», «Dosmukasan». The art of young vocalists Rosa Rymbaeva, Alibek Dnishev, a conductor Timur Mynbaev and others were widely recognized.

**Further Development of Kazakh Cinematography.** Some interesting and bright feature films were released: «The End of Ataman», «Song of Manshuk», «Kyz Zhibek», «Trans-Siberian Express», etc. The film «Blood and Sweat», the movie «Pursuit of the Steppe», «Silver Horn of Alatau» and others were shown on the USSR national screens.

Art experienced the wave of the new creativity. Painters, sculptors worked not only in Almaty, but also in many major cities – Karaganda, Tselinograd, Shymkent, Pavlodar and others.

17 exhibition halls, the number of art workshops, mobile exhibitions operated in the country. In the capital, there was the Republican National Art Museum established, which rightly bears the name of the first Kazakh painter A. Kastejev.

Kazakhstan cities become more beautiful, Aktau located in the Mangistau peninsula was projected by Leningrad architects. The architects of the Republic were awarded high honors, who built such architectural objects as the sports complex «Medeu», a high-rise hotel «Kazakhstan», House of Friendship in Almaty. Beautiful architectural ensembles, squares and other facilities appeared in many cities. In preparation for the 30th anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War the Park of 28 Panfilov Guards was opened in Almaty, it is a majestic memorial of Glory to the soldiers fallen for the freedom and independence of a single country, an eternal flame was lit.

Many engineers, geologists, physicians, and other professionals of Kazakhstan worked in Kuwait, India, Vietnam, Cuba and other developing countries, providing them with invaluable assistance in the preparation of national professionals.

### **Control Questions:**

1. When was Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR open and who was its first president?
2. Who were the scientists subjected to repression in the postwar years and were sentenced to 25 years in prison?
3. When was the development of virgin and fallow lands in Kazakhstan?
4. How many people came to Kazakhstan during the development of virgin lands?
5. Name the author of the novel «Blood and Sweat» and the People's artists of the Republic, who were awarded the State Prize of the USSR in the 60-70-ies.

## **Topic 10. Kazakhstan in the Period of Perestroika (1985's – Early 90's of the XX Century)**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

- 1. Social and political life in Kazakhstan in the period of «perestroika».*
- 2. December events of 1986 in Alma-Ata, political protest of young people against the totalitarian regime.*
- 3. Formation of a multiparty system in Kazakhstan.*
- 4. Crisis of 1980-1990 in USSR and its causes.*
- 5. Start of the sovereignty process in Kazakhstan. Adoption of the Declaration «On the State Sovereignty of the Kazakh SSR».*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Social and Political life in Kazakhstan in the Period of «Perestroika»**

In the mid 80s the general crisis of the Soviet system led to the realization by the authorities of the need for fundamental reforms, primarily in the economic sphere. The coming to power of M.S.Gorbachev in 1985 was marked by the proclamation of a new course in the domestic policy under three main slogans «Glasnost» (transparency), «Acceleration» and «Perestroika».

At the April Congress of the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1985, the course of the restructuring of the socio-political life of the country was adopted based on Mikhail Gorbachev's report. At the same time the acceleration of democratic reforms and the implementation of transparency in all spheres of state and society as a whole were set.

History of Kazakhstan in the period of perestroika is a time when there was a transformation of the Soviet society, turn from totalitarianism to democracy, beginning of the transition from the administrative-command methods to a more open and democratic forms of governance in the public sphere.

History of Kazakhstan in the era of perestroika can be divided into three stages.

Stage 1 – April 1985 – December 1986. It is characterized by the growth of the population self-awareness, concept of acceleration, beginning of the introduction of elements of transparency and openness in the country, a significant reduction of tension in relations with the West.

Stage 2 – December 1986 – June 1989. In this period, public consciousness gradually began to restore after the shock of the December events and the opinion that some cosmetic measures would not be able to get the country out of the crisis strengthened in the minds of the population, it was clear that it is necessary to take a course to market relations in the economic sphere and in the full-fledged democratization in public life.

Stage 3 – June 1989 – December 1991. In this period there was the deepening of social and economic crisis, which coincided with the reevaluation of Kazakhstan's state status. There is an expansion of economic and political rights of the Republic. Kazakhstan is one of the initiators of the renewed Union or Confederation.

The people regarded the announced by the Soviet leadership course for the restructuring and acceleration as real steps forwards democratization of public life, as a call for the country's leadership to transparency and openness. People began to take a different socio-economic and political reality.

During this period, command-administrative and party-democratic system of government still remained.

By the mid – 1980s, Kazakhstan, along with other 14 former Republics of the USSR, having the status of a union Republic (Kazakh SSR), held one of the first places on the value in the pecking order of the Soviet Union. The magnitude of the territory of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic ranked the second after the RSFSR among the Republics of the Soviet Union. The area of the territory of the Republic amounted to 2717 thousand sq. km, that is 1/8 of the territory of the USSR.

As per the Republican Constitution of 1978 Kazakh SSR was a sovereign socialist state of workers, peasants and intellectuals, which proclaimed a new historical community – the Soviet people. In the 1980s, among the Union Republics, Kazakhstan ranked the fourth in populous after the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Uzbek SSR. In 1986 in the Republic there were 16 million people, accounting for 5.7% of the population of the USSR. Historically, Kazakhstan was a multiethnic Republic, where more than 100 ethnic groups by the end of the XX century.

The USSR Constitution of 1977 proclaimed political rights of the soviet Republics, but in fact all Republics submitted to the Union center. And, as a rule, the decisions taken by the USSR leadership in Moscow had a decisive influence on the processes in Kazakhstan. The political leader of Kazakhstan (the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Republican Communist Party) in the 70-ies of the XX century, became a member of the



Politburo, that is, the top political collegial body of the country, although he was actually appointed to his position (first secretary) by a narrow circle of CPSU leadership.

The highest organ of the state power was the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the de facto power in the country belonged to the KPCC. The Federal system of government was the template for the Republics, including the Kazakh SSR

The development of the economic complex of the USSR took place in the framework of administrative and planning system, the management was carried out by the centralized management bodies vertically «center-Republic». Being on regional, the Kazakh economy developed as part of a single economic complex of the USSR and was predominantly of raw-material orientation.

Building of the economic capacity was carried out at the expense of involving of raw materials and energy resources in economic circulation. Gradually, the production potential of Kazakhstan became obsolescent physically and mentally, and substantial subsidies were required for its modernization, which the center directed to the mining sector to the detriment of knowledge-intensive industries. In the first half of the 1980s, there was a falling efficiency of the economy: the gross domestic product of the Republic decreased from 162% in 1966-1970 to 104% in 1981-1985, and the productivity of the social labor, respectively, from 154% to 99%.

The political life of Soviet society clearly manifested the signs of the crisis of the Soviet communist system. The scope of the legislative and representative government was formalized, the role of administrative and party bureaucracy sharply increased, a serious crisis hit the Communist Party itself. High party elite was torn by hidden from the public intrigues and control groups. As the researchers of the period note, as a result of this hidden struggle two currents were formed in the end: the conservative, led by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, avoiding any kind of serious social reforms, and pro-Western, preaching reform with elements of the Western democracy, headed by Alexander Yakovlevich Yakovlev and Eduard Shevardnadze. Membership in the Communist Party also became used for personal gain, as it not only opened the door to big politics, but also gave a number of privileges and benefits.

By the mid – 1980s the Soviet Union under the influence of a number of global geopolitical and internal processes, information and technology, socio-political and economic nature faced the tough need for drastic change. The state could no longer exist in its previous, unaltered condition. Even in

1982-1983 under Yuri Andropov, the Soviet society was waiting for change, knowing that we could no longer live like that.

The one-party system headed by the General Secretary of the CPSU, the lack of debate, the limited rights of the Republics, one-sided centralization determined the total character of the government, sooner or later it would lead the Soviet society to a crisis. In Kazakhstan the development of the political processes, in the first place, were influenced by the events that took place in the center, that is, in Moscow - the capital of the USSR. The key event of the mid-1980s was the nomination of Mikhail Gorbachev for the post of Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee, the man of the new political orientation.

In March 1985, M.S. Gorbachev, taking the main party post, became the de facto head of the Soviet Union. Moshe Levin, one of the major scholars of the Soviet history, writes that Konstantin Chernenko supported Mikhail Gorbachev when he was still be in his tenure as Secretary-General of the CPSU Central Committee by insisting on his chairmanship at the meetings at the Secretariat, which, in turn, determined his status as «number two man». Gorbachev almost became the second figure of the regime. One of the first political leaders of the country, who offered M.S. Gorbachev to take the post of Secretary-General, was Andrei Gromyko, the member of the Politburo. Gromyko provided unanimous support to M.S. Gorbachev, not only in the Politburo, but also the support of the Secretaries of the Central Committee". Mikhail Gorbachev's rise to power meant the victory of one of the existing political elites and, at the same time, the victory of the new over the old. The brewing crisis of the country brought to the country leadership different and democratic youth and their views.

In 1985 the course on acceleration of socio-economic development of the country embarked, and in 1986 it turned into the restructuring of all social life on the basis of the implementation of the democratic principles, the declaration of transparency and recognition of «human factor». However, the lack of awareness, of the population, especially during the Chernobyl accident in April 1986, had a negative impact on the socio-political situation in the USSR, it was the beginning of discrediting the policy of perestroika and its leader. Trying to strengthen his position, Gorbachev and his entourage initiated democratic elections in the party bodies, and the Soviets, which was generally perceived positively in the society. But despite the personnel changes, the Soviet leadership was not able to fully control the course of events. In 1986-1988 the behind the scenes, and then the open struggle returned for the direction of political reforms and methods of their

implementation. The discussions that occurred during the alternative, multi-elections, brought up the social, national and regional issues accumulated over the years.

## **2. December Events of 1986 in Alma-Ata, Political Protest of Young People Against the Totalitarian Regime**

The period from 1985 to 1986 was an intermediate stage, when the party leaders of the Republic, headed by D.A. Kunaev, took wait to see the attitude towards the new union leadership and the commitment to reform.

Th leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet Union were not going to radically reform the political or economic relations, seeking to limit ourselves to «upgrade» of socialism. At the same time, changes in leadership style, greater openness of the ruling elite, repeated calls of the Secretary-General of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev to the democratization of the system, the electing approach, generated enormous enthusiasm among the people, tired of the endless reign of party oligarchy. However, the events of 1986 showed that all the declared changes touched the style and management techniques a little, they were still based on tyranny and repression.

By the end of 1985 – beginning of 1986 in Kazakhstan and Moscow criticism of the leadership of the Republicand personally against the first Secretary of the CPC Central Committee D.A.Kunaev began to sound, who at that time was about 75 years old. Everyone understood the need for the change of the ruling elite, more to it, in Moscow they were talking about the same. However, it was expected that this would happen in a democratic way, therefore the further developments were rightly regarded by the people as a violation of the power itself and the proclaimed principles.

The structure of the political power in the Kazakh SSR was a kind of a copy of the union management system. For several decades, the Republic was led by Dinmukhamed Kunaev (1955 – the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, in 1960-62 and 1964-1986 – the First secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan), who was one generation to Leonid Brezhnev (D.A.Kunaev was born in 1912, Leonid Brezhnev in 1906). D.A.Kunaev entered the top management of the USSR, as a member of the Politburo, the great authority not only in Kazakhstan, but also in Moscow. However, D.A.Kunaev's opportunities were limited, as in the country the vertical command-administrative system operated through which the center controlled the economy, the personnel policy of the Union Republics.

In the prevailing of the older generation in the governing bodies with a lot, but out-of-date experience in public administration, in the center and in the Republics there was a shortage of young, promising politicians, capable of generating vibrant, creative ideas. The arrival of Nursultan Nazarbayev in the first half of the 1980s in politics, his appointment to the presidency of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic in 1984 at the age of 44 years, virtually marked the beginning of a new stage in the field of public administration. But when the issue of new leadership of the Kazakh SSR arose, the center made a wrong decision.

On December 15, a member of the CPSU Central Committee, Head of the Department of Organizational- and Party work of the Central Committee Georgy Razumovsky and the First Secretary of the Ulyanovsk Regional Party Gennady Kolbin arrived to Alma-Ata. On December 16 at the Plenum of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Kazakhstan it was announced about the decision of the Politburo to recommend Kolbin G.V. for the post of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. The Party elite of Kazakhstan voted «pro» without any discussions, and thus in violation of the party rules and statutes, the head of the Republic was elected a person not associated with Kazakhstan, and not knowing the local conditions, and not even registered in any of the local party organizations and not having a Kazakh residence permit. This was seen as an insult to the Kazakh people and triggered a spontaneous protest.

Legislative decision on the appointment G.V.Kolbin, which was seen not only as a regular disregard of the national peculiarities of the Republic, but also as a lack of respect for the people of Kazakhstan, was met with open discontent, that had led the Kazakh people to protests in Alma-Ata. Beside this, the election of G.V. Kolbin the First Secretary of the CPC Central Committee exposed the contradiction between the traditional command-administrative methods on the part of the center and proclaimed in April 1985 democratic principles of restructuring.

On the 17-18<sup>th</sup> of December 1986 the youth of Alma-Ata took to the streets to protest against ignoring the interests of the Republic. The demonstration was peaceful, no anti-government slogans, the citizens were exercising their constitutional right.

Rather than go out to the demonstrators, to explain to them the essence of the decision of the Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, the Republic's leadership refused to engage in dialogue. Fearing of the demonstration to span G.V.Kolbin and the Republican authorities appealed for help to Moscow, to the Central Committee of the CPSU. As a result, the USSR

Interior Ministry redeployed special units of internal troops from different regions of the country to Alma-Ata. The demonstrations were suppressed by force, using Sapper shovel, service dogs, fire brigade engines. A lot of students and young workers suffered from the illegal actions of law enforcement bodies. A member of the December events in Alma-Ata Samat Zhilmagambetov remembers about that time: «We were standing in the square. Speechmakers spoke. Everything was peaceful. But at some point, one of the soldiers hit a girl in the head, and she fell. Since then, the massacre began. Boys raised the bloodstained girl in their arms and carried her. They shouted that there was the killing. A jet of cold water was sent from fire trucks to the people to stop the angry crowd. We had no choice but to flee. And then the girls stood forward in the area. They lined up and shouted: «What kind of jigits you are if escaping?!» We were unarmed. The boys had taken off marble slabs from the square, split them, and with them went to the soldiers. Hoses were pulled from fire trucks. Tattered and wet boys and girls were thrown into the car, and were taken to the stadium and stacked in piles on the ground. Some, as we later learned, were taken out of the city, stripped and left there».

The authorities deliberately incited ethnic hatred, arming with iron bars and scraps cable squads made up of the Russian-speaking industrial workers, and throwing them on the Kazakhs demonstrators. According to some sources, during the tragic events of December 17-18, several demonstrators were killed and more than 200 were hospitalized, various injuries were received by more than 1700 people. In the dispersal of the demonstration there were Sapper shovel, service dogs used, people were hosed in the cold water, beaten, detainees, many were taken and left half-naked in the country. The news of the dispersal of the demonstration stirred up the whole Kazakhstan, in many cities of the country similar demonstrations took place, which were repressed by the authorities as well.

There was tension in the society. Following the events, the party bodies launched a noisy campaign for the identification of «nationalists» and «Decembrists». The arrests began among students. According to the evaluation of the Supreme Council of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic during the investigation of the events of December 1986, the number of detainees was about 85,000 people.

Repression began after the December events: two members were sentenced to capital punishment, 99 people were convicted (of which only 46 people were rehabilitated over time). For participation in the events of December 787 people were expelled from the Komsomol. 52 people were

thrown out from the Communist Party, 1138 people received Komsomol administrative punishment, 271 students were expelled from schools, hundreds of people were forced to resign from their job. 12 of rectors of various universities lost their positions. One of those sentenced to death was Kairat Ryskulbekov, a student of Architecture and Construction Institute. According to the memoirs of the poet Mukhtar Shakhanov, after the announcement of the death penalty Kairat Ryskulbekov, a powerful wave of indignation rose worldwide demanding his pardon: «There were many posts abroad on the death sentence to Kairat Ryskulbekov. In July 1987, Hungary published a letter to Andrei Gromyko with a request for pardon to K.Ryskulbekov signed by well-known writers Ya.Kisi, A.Razhek, G.Demsky, G.Konrad and other cultural figures, a total of 41 people., 77 public figures of Czekoslovakia raised their voice in his defense, among them was the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Kh. Khachek. The agency «Reuters» reported that the Polish «Union of Freedom and Peace» sent a letter to M.S. Gorbachev, in which they cast doubt on the validity of the sentence and demanded its revision».

In July 1987, the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution in the spirit of improper Stalin era «The Work of the Kazakh Republican Party Organization for International and Patriotic Education of the Working People», in which the December events of 1986 were characterized as «a manifestation of the Kazakh nationalism». Speaking at the I Congress of People's Deputies of June 6, 1989, Mukhtar Shakhanov demanded to hold an objective investigation of the events and to review the decision of the party leadership of the CPSU. Only later, during the collapse of the USSR, the CPSU Central Committee reversed its decision and took a verdict, opposite the previous decision: «...performance of the Kazakh youth was not of nationalism character, it was their right to free expression of civil and political positions ». Thus, justice was done only in May 1990.

December events of 1986 caused a mixed assessment by foreign analysts. According to some, they were a manifestation of inter-ethnic struggle, based on the opposition of the Muslim national forces towards the «big brother», according to others; it was the expression of young people of their attitude against the violation of the rights of the Union Republic by Moscow.

The demagogic declarations of G.V.Kolbin to strengthen internationalism and the need to study the Kazakh language was accompanied by the closure of access to education and the work on the prestigious positions for the members of the indigenous nationality, the constant search for «nationalists» and «corrupted».

Thus, in December 1986 and the subsequent events in the country demonstrated that the idea of perestroika, democratization of all aspects of social life had been nothing more than a declaration: the despotism of the Soviet system was far from obsolete, government methods still had not ruled out the suppression and repression.

December 1986, according to President Nursultan Nazarbayev, marked the beginning of Kazakhstan's independence and sovereignty; it demonstrated the maturity of the consciousness of the Kazakh youth. That youth, having overcome the fear of the existing system, openly said on behalf of the people that violation and disregard of the feelings of the national pride was unacceptable. Nursultan Nazarbayev, analyzing the events of those days, wrote bitterly: «In the history of the Kazakh there were a lot of dramatic and high minutes, hours and days. One such high dramatic minutes of the recent national history were three days of December 1986. And this first germ of a new democratic consciousness was presented by the system as a display of obsessive nationalism».

The December revolt of the Kazakh youth was the first in a series of national-democratic speeches, movements across the country, in the beginning of the dismantling of the USSR. It was after the Alma-Ata event at the turn of 1980-1990-ies there were events in Tbilisi, Baku, Vilnius and other cities of the country, which fostered the collapse of the Soviet political system.

The historical significance of December 1986 was defined in 2006, at the opening ceremony of the memorial «Tauelsizdik Tany» («Dawn of Freedom»), dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the events of December, as the precursor of independence. What happened in December 1986 was not random. To understand the roots of the December events the findings of the Head of State are important: «In December 1986 Alma-Ata demonstrated the collapse of the socialist doctrine of solving the national question». What was the essence of this doctrine? As you know, this doctrine was based on the thesis of the priority of social and class beginning over national. It was this approach saw the way the «final» solution of the national question. However, the realities of the XX century were different. Ignoring national features, long-term policy of suppressing of national feelings and national consciousness only aggravated the situation in the country. The gap between the formal proclamation and the actual state of affairs in the national federal structure of the Soviet Union led the national question to a standstill. The conclusion is obvious – «any doctrine is based on the primacy of class over national self-defeating».

Events of the second half of the 1980s in the Soviet Union showed that interethnic, ethnic and cultural issues was comprehended very weakly and shortsighted within the traditional Soviet doctrine of the national question. However, the regime for the purpose of self-preservation is still trying to «neutralize the national diversity of peoples and cultures», which ultimately led to the destruction of the Soviet system.

The basis of the December events was a complex historical, social and economic reasons. Parallels can be drawn with the era of colonial rule, which, in principle, was continued in the Soviet Union with no changes, when a significant part of the solution of internal problems of the Republics was regulated by the Center using the command-administrative methods. Change of the first head is a kind of detonator putting an end to the systematic disregard for basic principles declared by the Constitution, and restructuring guidelines.

Youth uprising was a reaction to the long-term violation of the national interests and the rights of indigenous peoples, when as a result of artificial mass migration on the territory of Kazakhstan of other nations, Kazakhs became the minority in their homeland, it reduced the influence of national culture, the language in public life. The protest against G.V.Kolbin candidacy was not a protest against the Russian people, but against another protégé of a powerful Center.

The demonstration was peaceful and had a political nature, but it was not calling for the overthrow of the state system. On the part of the party and bureaucratic structures of the Republic and the Centre that statement was interpreted as a revolt of a handful of a nationalistic and extremist part of the youth.

**Political Situation in the 1987-1989.** The period after the December events was marked by increased totalitarian and repressive functions of the state in Kazakhstan. Along with demagogic statements of G.V.Kolbin about internationalism and the need to study the Kazakh language, beating of the new national intelligentsia, accused of organizing of the December revolt began. «Witch-hunt», search for «nationalists» and «corrupt» was intensified, academics U.Dzholdasbekov, N.Nadirov, anthropologist O.Ismagulov were subjected to harassment. As already been noted, admission to universities and to work began based on quotas on a national basis, which in practice denied the access to education and the prestigious work to the members of the indigenous nationality, constituted the absolute minority in the cities.

During the repression campaign which was started in the country, the emphasis was on the search for the organizers and the general performances



of the secret organization. The Republican leadership held open Komsomol and trade union meetings, which strongly recommended excluding participants in the events of the schools, laying them off from work.

The investigation and court hearings were held with gross violations of procedural rules, the authorities launched an unprecedented in the post-Stalin period a wave of repression and persecution of the national intelligentsia.

The party apparatus exerted pressure on the investigative and judicial authorities with a view to impose the latest to conviction. When suppressing the revolt he police forces committed numerous violations of the law - beating of detainees, taking them half-naked out of town in the winter, putting them to temporary detention for a few days without a warrant. During suppressing the revolt batons, sapper shovel, service dogs were used. The Ministry of Interior forces, KGB, prosecutor's office were thrown onto the defenseless youths – the whole repressive apparatus of the totalitarian machine that existed in the USSR.

Thus, the unresolved national problems and the lack of genuine national statehood created fertile ground for the iniquity of the command-administrative bureaucracy and one-party system, when the actual state of affairs hardly was consistent with the declared principles of internationalism and was replaced by paternalistic attitude of the Centre to the Republics .

Thus, the declared principles of glasnost and perestroika and democratization were tested in December 1986 in Alma-Ata. It was the first bitter experience of «democratization» in the Soviet Union. In figurative expression of foreign observers, this kind of revolts were expected in the Baltic States, Ukraine, Tatarstan, but not in Central Asia, which led eventually to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

### **3. Formation of a Multiparty System in Kazakhstan**

Despite the fact that the change in leadership and the subsequent repression had a negative impact on the socio-political life of the Republic, the process of democratization in Kazakhstan provided the impetus growth of various informal amateur organizations.

In August 1988 there was the first independent socio-environmental movement «Initiative», which main purpose was to raise the social activity of the population on the basis of anti-war, environmental, peace and humanistic ideals, the principles of transparency, democratization, social equity and justice. Later this organization spun off from other political

organizations, such as the «Green Front», the Social Democratic Party of Kazakhstan.

In the first stage of multi-party system (1988-1991), when following the December events the society of the country was still passive, in October 1988 «Almaty People's Front» appeared. In December of the same year, the society «Memorial» was formed that put an aim to debunk the totalitarian regime.

Further, there were many other amateur public organizations and parties, and it exposed the problem of unresolved legal framework for the activities of non-governmental organizations. As a result, on April 14, 1989 the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR «On the Order of Formation and Activity of Independent Public Associations» was adopted, by which the boundaries of the functioning of public institutions were significantly expanded and delineated.

Democratic processes had matured in the union Republics in the late 1980s. According to information published in the newspaper «Kazakhstanskaya Pravda» on September 3, 1988, 300 informal groups were formed in Kazakhstan by this year. The movement «Nevada-Semipalatinsk» became one of the first and major associations. The aim of the movement was the closing of the Semipalatinsk and other ranges. At the initiative of M.Shakhanov to help people in the Aral Sea region the Committee on the Problems of the Aral Sea and Lake Balkhash was organized. The environmental movements were created in many cities of Kazakhstan. In Kazakhstan all union organizations were presented by the branches of the historical and educational society «Memorial», Helsinki Union, «Chernobyl» Union and others. The most popular among the newly formed social movements was the historical and educational society «Adilet», «Akikat», «Kazakh tili», a civil movement «Azat», «Unity», and others.

In the summer-autumn of 1990 the movement «Azat» was a major political force for the full state independence of Kazakhstan. At that time, there were more than 100 high-grade, but not the mass of amateur politicized groups. Among them three were well-organized political organization «Zheltoksan» and «Alash», Cossack associations. In Almaty a new socio-political organization – the Social Democratic Party of Kazakhstan was organized. In 1989-1990 a factor that united the Social Democratic Party of Kazakhstan and the Republican Movement «Azat», and the organization of «Zheltoksan», as well as other associations was a social critique of the Communist Party policy. There were substantial differences on other issues,

including the state system of the USSR, Kazakhstan's independence, the definition of the status of the state language, in their programs.

Thus a transition from one-party to a multiparty system began. However, in 1990, the Communist Party still remained the most massive in size. Almost all the key positions in the state apparatus took its representatives. By the end of 1990 there were around 800 thousand Communists in the ranks of Kazakh party organization. However, the all-Union sentiment did not spare Kazakhstan: criticism of the Communist Party began in mass media. There were disagreements among the communists themselves. Thus, the established in October 1989 in Alma-Ata club «Kenes» openly talked about the Communist Party's inability to be a «leading and guiding force of the Soviet society», there were calls for the reform of the Communist Party. Social movements began to put pressure on the Central Committee of the CPSU. The members of the CPSU began to leave the party. In late 1989, the number of out-of Communist Party exceeded the number entered. And in 1991, during the first three quarters of the year over 15 000 members left the party. It should be noted that despite the absence of the former Unity, the Communist Party of Kazakhstan continued to enjoy great influence: there were 52.7% Communists among the deputies of councils of all levels.

**The Demographic Situation in Kazakhstan.** By the end of the 80s the number of departures from Kazakhstan began to exceed the number of arrivals. So, in 1989 the negative balance of migration amounted to 46, 8 thousand men. This immediately affected the change of the national composition – due to the high birth rate among Kazakhs. According to the 1989 census, first time since 1926 Kazakhs ranked the first in number, exceeding 6.5 million People, ie 39.7% of the population. The share of Russian decreased to 37.8%, while in 7 of the 19 regions their share was more than Kazakhs. Migration of mainly Germans and Greeks abroad began.

At the same time the problem of development of the Kazakh language remained acute. By 1989 in the country about 600 schools with the Kazakh language learning was closed, the neglect of the national culture, language and traditions dominated. The growing discomfort in international sphere led to outbreaks of violence. The tragic events occurred in the summer of 1989 in the city of New Uzen – one of the centers of oil production.

The worsening of the social situation and the tensions between the indigenous nationality and workers, shift workers have led to the riots and bloodshed in June 1989, stopped only by the intervention of the police and troops.

The aggravation of interethnic relations required the urgent revision of the national policies. One of the first steps for the normalization of the national policy was the adoption of the Law «On Languages» in September 1989, declaring the state Kazakh language and Russian – the lingua franca. This step stabilized the political situation in the country and contributed to smoothing the ethnic conflicts. A cultural renaissance of the Kazakh, Tatar, German, Korean, and others began. In the years 1990-1991 482 Kazakh kindergartens, 155 schools were opened. 49 national-cultural centers were established in the Republic.

At the same time chauvinist sentiments of the population, stung by the collapse of the Soviet Union began to emerge in Kazakhstan. This resulted in the formation in August 1990 of «Unity» movement and activation of Cossack organizations. In September 1991, the Ural Cossacks tried to organize the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the ministry to «the tzar and the fatherland», which caused a fair protest of Kazakhs. Representatives of the Kuban, Don, Orenburg Cossacks, and activists of the «Azat», «Zheltoksan» and other national-democratic organizations began to arrive to Uralsk. Only thanks to the leaders of «Azat» movement riots and clashes between Cossacks and Kazakhs were prevented. Cossacks provocative actions aimed at bringing an artificial ethnic hatred, were condemned by public opinion. However, there were still a lot unresolved problems in the sphere of national policy.

**Anti-Nuclear Movement.** One of the major events of social and political life in the country, as already noted, was the International antinuclear movement «Nevada-Semipalatinsk». Its foundation was laid in February 1989 at the Republican meeting of the public. At the head of the movement was a major public figure, poet Olzhas Omarovich Suleymenov.

The organization received a strong support from the entire population of Kazakhstan and beyond. In a very short period of time the branches of the movement began to appear in various cities of the country. The movement, which arose as a protest against testing at the nuclear range, became one of the major precursors of the democratization of the public life. The main requirements of the movement were the closure of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site and the disclosure of the truth about the consequences of the nuclear tests, as well as the impact of various military facilities on the Republic's population.

On the territory of the Republic there were many Soviet military-industrial complex objects. 43 major military plants significantly affect the ecological situation. The construction of these plants, their placement

was done without consulting the country. Often workers and employees from other Republics worked in these factories, which also caused a latent discontent of the population of Kazakhstan. According to expert estimates, around 1 million hectares of Kazakh land was occupied by ranges and other military installations. Semipalatinsk nuclear test site occupied 8372 square km. At the same time the land was claimed without any notification and consent not only of the local population, but also of the Republic's leadership. Even the local management was not able to somehow influence the situation, since these objects, because of their strategic importance, had been run by the Union military and political departments.

Total at the Semipalatinsk nuclear test sites and others around 500 nuclear explosions were conducted. The nuclear tests had had a strong negative impact on the environment and on human health. According to scientists, a total of at least 500 half a million people were subjected to ionizing radiation.

Underground tests had influenced negatively the state of watering facilities, violating the groundwater flow. The content of harmful elements near the landfills was from 30 to 100 times higher than the maximum permissible limits. Until 1990, the Defence and the Ministry of Health had to hide the real figures on the impact of the effects of the tests on the public health. The inhabitants of the region adjacent to the Semipalatinsk test site, suffered from a variety of diseases, particularly of oncological nature. Mortality of the population from the effects of the test have increased by 7 times. Decline in fertility, increase in mental illness and suicide were reported. In addition to the Semipalatinsk test site, 38 nuclear explosions of various capacities were produced in 27 locations in Kazakhstan.

The changes, which began in the spring of 1985 in the political life had their impact on the foreign policy orientations of the USSR. The priority in foreign policy was given to human values.

In 1985 the Soviet Union unilaterally declared a moratorium on its nuclear testing. In 1987 nuclear tests were resumed. This coincided with a period of growing social awareness, a rethinking of the traditional priorities and values. At the end of 1988 in the USSR, it was decided on the unilateral reduction of the armed forces. These measures of the Soviet Government met positive responses both domestically and abroad. USSR demonstrated tangible steps towards the normalization of the international situation and, to a certain extent, sought to debunk the myth of the Soviet Union as an «evil empire».

The Movement «Nevada-Semipalatinsk» had found support in international circles. On August 6, 1989 at a meeting organized by the movement, an appeal to the people and the President of the USSR and the USA was adopted, where it was spoken about the need to introduce a moratorium on nuclear testing. The movement became a detonator unfolding in the future events – doctors, scientists started talking on the nuclear danger. For the first time the voice of the victims of nuclear tests themselves was heard. The Federal Government was forced to conduct 11 instead of 18 planned nuclear test under the pressure from the public, supported by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The moratorium was declared not as a result of the governmental agreements, but by the powerful pressure of the public.

In May 1990 under the auspices of the movement «Nevada-Semipalatinsk» the International Congress «The Voters of the World against Nuclear Weapons» was held Alma-Ata, in order to coordinate the efforts of various anti-nuclear movements. The decisive condition for the cessation of nuclear tests was the Republic's independence. The Declaration on the State Sovereignty stated to cease production and testing of all types of nuclear weapons on the territory of Kazakhstan.

**On 29 August 1991 the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev signed a decree to close the Semipalatinsk test site.** Thus, the nuclear tests were stopped in Kazakhstan. The activities of the movement «Nevada-Semipalatinsk» influenced the foreign policy of independent Kazakhstan, when the Republic had consistently upheld its non-nuclear status. It was also important that after the closure of the Semipalatinsk test site a moratorium on the Russian, American and French sites was declared.

One of the major achievements of perestroika was the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan in February 1989. Out of 21 979 Kazakhstanis who participated in the fighting in Afghanistan, 780 people were killed, 393 became disabled, 22 were missing. The withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan became a major success of Soviet foreign policy and raised the country's prestige in the international arena. In this regard, relations with China got much warmer, which has a large border line with Kazakhstan.

Meanwhile, there was a significant event in the political life of the Soviet Union. In May 1989 the I Congress of the People's Deputies of the USSR took place. It discussed the particularly acute problems of economic, social, cultural and ideological development of the country. A group of contradictions was identified related to the demands of the representatives

of the Union Republics to divide the powers between the center and the subjects of the federation. The requirement of signing the Union Treaty was announced for the first time. The representatives of the Baltic Republics demanded the dissolution of the Union.

After the I Congress of the People's Deputies of the USSR a sharp intensification of the activities of various social organizations and movements took place in Kazakhstan. In March 1990, the first democratic elections to the Supreme Council of the Republic of the XII Convocation took place. In the pre-election struggle there were over two thousand applicants for 360 deputy mandates. An important fact is that 90 people from the national associations were elected to the legislative body. Although there was no development of the electoral system, there was no strong parliamentary parties in the country, these elections were a milestone in the development of a democratic system.

The Supreme Council of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic of the XII Convocation and the Soviet of the People Deputies significantly affected the processes of democratization. The deputies were trying to reflect the changed conditions in the adopted new national law, to the extent permitted by their competence, professionalism at that period. Gradually they began to expand the rights and the freedoms of citizens of the Republic. Given the multi-ethnic composition of the population of Kazakhstan, consolidation of legislation of the Republic on the provisions of the governing of the certain aspects of inter-ethnic relations was very important, it had a positive impact on the socio-political situation.

In the Kazakh SSR the concept of self-control and self-financing of the Republic began developing in this period, which settled the Kazakh rights, the right of ownership of natural resources and means of production. The Supreme Council sessions required the filling the sovereignty of the Republic with the political and economic content. Communities of the countries increasingly came to believe that the dismantling of the super-centralized administrative system was inhibited by the dictates of the public management structures, preserving the Communist Party's monopoly on power.

During this period, there was redefinition of the place and role of the Communist Party, the Communist Party of Kazakhstan was increasingly being criticized.

#### 4. Crisis of 1980-1990 in USSR and its Causes

The systemic crisis in the Soviet Union took place in two main areas - economic and political. After the half-hearted reforms carried out between 1985-1988, did not give economic growth, it was decided to use the elements of the market relations. However, Perestroika, disrupting the old economic mechanisms, did not create new ones. The unreasonable and not supported practice of the reforms, the lack of a realistic program led to an increase of the crisis phenomena in the economic sphere. In the political sphere, Mikhail Gorbachev and his entourage tried to rely on the transparency and democratization of the elements, which in practice led to the disintegration, disorientation of the authorities, shook the old political system, accelerated the crisis of ideology.

To a large extent this was due to the fact that the Soviet Union had never carried out an effective reform of the economic system. Initially, a range of measures to accelerate socio-economic development of the country were used. However, the introduction of public acceptance of the system, an attempt to combine the planning system and the market economy, as well as a number of other failed experiments reinforced the destabilization of the economy. In these years, also there was a merger, interweaving of the formal economy with shadow production and trading activities, which involved many big enterprises.

The situation in the economy deteriorated drastically. The economy became more costly, unprofitable. The state budget deficit continued to grow. In 1988, it amounted to 120 billion rubles or 11% of the gross national product (GNP). The Soviet government resorted to massive borrowing from abroad. During 1985-1991 the public debt rose from \$ 20 billion to \$ 103 billion. The efforts of inflation, decreased supply of products between the Republics sharply decreased the standard of living. Inflation, shortages of basic foodstuffs, the gap of economic ties between the Republics ultimately undermined the credibility of Mikhail Gorbachev and the speed of change in the society. Evidence of this was the increase in irritable estimates and anecdotes. For example, giving a definition of the restructuring, the people sneered: «Restructuring – this is the truth, the whole truth ... and nothing but the truth».

The concept of transition to a market economy, where the elements of the planned management remained, was formed in 1989 by Leonid Abalkin, but because of the resistance of the followers of the so-called «socialist construction» it could not make its way. It is noteworthy that if L.I.Abalkin



concept was designed for 6-8 years, then the alternative program of overcoming of the economic crisis in the Soviet Union by the rapid transition to a market economy, prepared by a group of Soviet economists led by Grigory Yavlinsky (Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers RSFSR) and Stanislav S. Shatalina (economic adviser to Gorbachev), was planned for 500 days.

Democratic processes in society inhibited the party-state nomenclature. In this situation, Gorbachev tried to rely on the initiatives by his supporters «Congress of the People's Deputies», which was originally conceived as the triumph of the democratic governance. The I Congress of the People's Deputies (May 1989) **was the first attempt to combine communist totalitarianism and the parliamentary democracy.** Alternative electoral process before the Congress became an unprecedented phenomenon, and together with polarization of groups at the congress led to a very rapid politicization of the Soviet society. It is at the congress that the political opposition was formed – the «Interregional Deputy Group» (IDG), among whose leaders was Boris Yeltsin, Gorbachev's ambitious foe for inner-party struggle in 1987-1988. IDG was for the decentralization of the introduction of private property and multi-party system, the economic independence of the Union Republics. This put the need to fill the sovereignty of the Union Republics with real content on the agenda. So since the I Congress of the People's Deputies a deep process of reform of the state system of the USSR began.

The opposition moods, which became the mouthpiece of Boris Yeltsin, were becoming increasingly common in the Soviet society. In 1989-1990, there was an open split among the political forces (primarily within the CPSU). Personal and group struggle between Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin were increasingly moving into the plane of the scale of competition between the Union center and the RSFSR for power and resources.

The destabilization of the Soviet Union contributed to the collapse of the socialist system. Gorbachev tried to radically change the previous policy of the USSR against the socialist countries. He walked away from the old paternalistic policy of limited sovereignty in respect of these countries. It was stated that there would be no Soviet intervention, including into the economy, no military support of the regimes. But in spite of the attempts, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) was unable to restructure radically. As a result, the countries of the «real socialism» started to increasingly seek their own path of development. In the late 1980s,

the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Afghanistan began. The weakening of the Soviet military presence in the union countries caused the intensification of anti-Soviet sentiment. Democratization processes in those states led to the «velvet revolution» in Poland, the German Democratic Republic's (GDR), Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania in the end of 1989 – the beginning of the 1990s. In December 1989, Ceausescu regime by force of arms was toppled in Romania. In 1990 the GDR joined the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) as the result of the referendum. After the victory of the democratic revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe the Soviet leadership failed to establish relationships with them on the basis of the ratio of the new balance of forces. The new political elite were anti-Soviet, anti-communist. Many years of Soviet dictatorship in relations with these countries, supported by the military presence of the Soviet Union, could not prevent the departure from it of its former allies and their orientation to the West. Thus, the events in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe hastened the collapse of the USSR.

**The main stage of the political change was the III Congress of Deputies held in early 1990, at which Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution on the leading role of the Communist Party was canceled and thus a multiparty system was legitimized.** The Congress introduced the institution of the President of the USSR, but it could no longer compensate for the drop in the credibility of Mikhail Gorbachev in the society.

The process of sovereignty of the Union Republics (the adoption of the State Sovereignty Declaration) which occurred in 1990 was crucial in the approximation of the collapse of the Soviet Union: on March 9 – in Georgia, on March 11 – in Lithuania, on March 30 – in Estonia, on May 4 – Latvia, on June 12 – in Russia, on June 20 – to Uzbekistan, on June 23 – in Moldova, on the 12 of July – in Ukraine, on July 27 – in Belarus, on October 25 – in Kazakhstan. Obviously, in this series the Russian declaration was of special importance. Nursultan Nazarbayev in his work «On the Threshold of the XXI Century», says: «**Everyone at the question been on his lips from whom, from what Russian proclaimed sovereignty? It is the core of the country**». Russian sovereignty was not, of course, the root cause of the Soviet collapse, but this collapse became irreversible after it announced the sovereignty of the RSFSR on June 12, 1990.

**In 1990 in Moscow (the capital of the USSR and RSFSR) two centers of power were formed, and it established a diarchy for a short time.** However, this delicate balance could not be long and should have

ended in the victory for one of the parties. The Soviet Union headed to its disintegration a step by step.

Assessing the causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union, some researchers believe that the collapse of the USSR was prepared by external and internal forces for a radical change in the geopolitical situation in the world; others argue that it was an objective, inevitable process. As a direct participant in the actual events Nazarbayev concluded: «there is no clear and comprehensive explanation the question of the collapse of the USSR yet. Too many things have intertwined: an objective crisis of the system, exhausting geopolitical competition, subjective mistakes of the country's leadership – and so on to infinity ... But without the awareness of this huge default we could not be guided in our present day and, more importantly, to our future». This means that a serious analysis of the causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union is required. And an example of this in-depth analysis is given to them in the book «On the Eve of the XXI Century», where the extreme point of view (radically pessimistic, and liberal), which reduce the dissolution of the USSR either to the external or the internal circumstances are not considered to be reasonable, though, each of these positions reflect real trends. Only a combination of factors, «complex causes» could lead to the disintegration.

The first factor is the «arms race», which in general lagged the Soviet economic complex and was a heavy burden for the Soviet Union.

The second most important factor, in addition to subjective human error management, was the growing technological backwardness of the economy and society as a whole. Overvoltage of the economy was a consequence of its military orientation and at the same time led to a crisis of the entire economic system, and this is an «obvious, clear and real factor, of course, it is more important than the subjective reasons», emphasizes Nazarbayev.

The third «fundamental cause» of the collapse of the country, along with the strategic factor of technological backwardness, or loss of competitiveness, was a national issue. According to many politicians, «it is even the most important, determining cause». Power had demonstrated its inability to control the situation, and therefore, doom. The country's leadership did not have a program and strategy to address the national question. It was impossible to consider a system of national contradictions and conflicts in the Soviet Union in isolation from the global situation, as «the awakening of ethnicity» in different forms and its manifestation had become a challenge of the second half of the XX century. In this regard, in the USSR, which proclaimed the superiority of class over nationality,

there was a significant underestimation of the national factor. In particular, the «ethnic and cultural problems of Central Asian countries – as the Kazakhstan President points out in his work «On the Threshold of the XXI century», were almost and not comprehended within the traditional Soviet doctrine of the national question».

Disengagement of the USSR leadership on the resolution of complex national problems had led to the fact that the national question became one of the main factors of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The fourth important factor in the collapse of the Soviet Union was decoupling of the center and the regions. The system of relations «center-periphery» had undergone radical changes before the lawful, the legal dissolution of the USSR. That is, the administrative, economic, and hierarchical other links weakened before December 1991. There remained only the Communist Party, therefore the Communist Party crisis became a crisis of the society and the country.

Finally, the fifth factor of the collapse was the sovereignization of the Republics, which meant the impossibility of the continued existence of the Soviet Union in the same capacity.

#### **5. Start of the sovereignty process in Kazakhstan. Adoption of the Declaration «On the State Sovereignty of the Kazakh SSR»**

Developments of the events in 1989 in the center and in general in the Soviet Union had a direct impact on Kazakhstan (as well as on other Republics). In 1989, GV Kolbin was transferred from Kazakhstan to Moscow as head of the People's Control Committee, and the First Secretary of the CP Central Committee was elected Nursultan Nazarbayev. The government was headed by Uzakbai Karamanov. Election of Nursultan Nazarbayev as the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan meant the coming to power of people with new the mentality of the people. Soon, at the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPC to key positions in the country were given to Vladimir Anufriyev – the Second Secretary of the Central Committee, Uzbekali Zhanibekov, Erik Asanbayev and Vladislav Dvurechensky – Secretaries of the Central Committee (respectively, ideology, economics and agriculture), Myrzatai Zholdasbekov headed ideological department, Zhanibek Karibjanov – agricultural. Abish Kekilbayev head the department of international relations. At the same time the deputies of the Supreme Council have made changes to the political system of Kazakhstan: the post of the presidency of the High Council

was established as the head of the Republic. Nursultan Nazarbayev was elected for the post of the Supreme Council, his First Deputy was Sergei Tereshchenko.

One of the important political issues required to be resolved was the question on the assessment of the December 1986 events. The result of the Commission review the circumstances of these events was the decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR of 24 September 1990, in which the official estimate of the events in 1986 was given. It stresses that the escalating of the peaceful and a small demonstration into a protest riot was caused by the political powerlessness of the leadership, its inability and unwillingness to find a peaceful way out of an acute situation, its reliance on force rather than reason and goodwill. The inability of the authorities to take the situation under control led to tragic consequences, which were expressed in the loss of life on the part of the demonstrators, and of the persons, ensuring the protection of the public order.

The country continued the process of rehabilitation of the repressed culture and science elite started in 1988-1989. The process of the revival of the forgotten names of the Kazakh intelligentsia, republishing of their books was a product of publicity at the time. The public had learned to enrich the spiritual heritage of the political leaders of Alash Orda - Alikhan Bokeykhanov, Akhmet Baytursynov, Myrzkhakyp Dulatov and was able to get acquainted with the works of Magzhan Zhumabayeva Shakarim Kudaiberdievy, Zhusupbek Aimauytov, Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpayev, Sanjar Asfendiarov and many others.

A feature of 1990 was accelerated politicization of society: as a result of **the abolition of Article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR** the road for a multiparty system was opened up in Kazakhstan.

An important factor in the political activity of the population was the election of people's deputies. In early 1990, pre-election struggle for deputy mandates in the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR of the 12th Convocation was conducted. The right to nominate candidates for deputies was granted to labor collectives, citizens' assemblies. The electoral process involved political groups, informal associations. In the pre-election struggle for 360 deputy mandates there were more than 2,000 candidates involved.

On March 25, 1990 the first democratic elections of the deputies of the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR was held. In a broader context, they became part of a campaign led by Gorbachev to strengthen the weakened political legitimacy of the Soviet system. However, the experience of their implementation had shown that they were a big challenge for the Center,

because the forces that were configured on the sovereignty and independence dominated in many of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republics.

Along with representatives of other categories, scientists, lawyers, university presidents, religious leaders entered the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR. Of the 340 deputies 51 were the members of the Communist Party. Half of the new Parliament was represented by the nomenclature. The Chairman of the Supreme Council was elected Erik Magzumovich Asanbayev. The Vice-Chairman of the Permanent Representative of Kazakhstan to Moscow was A. Serikbolsyn and an associate professor of the Alma-Ata HPS Zinaida Fedotova Leontievna. The Parliament worked until 11 December 1991 under the leadership of E.A.Asanbaev, and then he was replaced by S.A.Abdildin. A deputy group from «Democratic Kazakhstan» took an active role in the parliament. In ideological terms, the members of this group were the supporters of «Democratic Platform» in the CPSU.

«The Soviet Parliamentarism» had its historical justification during the dismantling of the communist system. Then it was an important step on the path of democratization. However, «the parliament – said Nursultan Nazarbayev, – was taking populist decisions to increase wages, to carry out unfunded social programs, and the executive authorities were accountable for their performance in the budget deficit. Thus, the executive authorities came under fire from the mass media, Deputies and the society. As events unfold, there was an objective contradiction between the course of the executive and parliament power».

**On April 24, 1990, the Supreme Council established the position of the President of Kazakh SSR** adopting the Law «On the Establishment of the Post of the President of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and Introduction of Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Kazakh SSR». The keynote of the draft of the Act was made by a deputy, a prominent lawyer, Professor Sultan Sartayev, elected by the Union of Lawyers of Kazakhstan. In his speech, he stressed that the issue of presidential power in the country was not an attempt of blind imitation of the center, it was not trampling of the structure of state power, established at the level of the federation as a whole, but a political continuation of the strengthening of executive power in the framework of the democratization of the Soviet state under the conditions of the country's total federation. The question of the presidency was reviewed in the discussions. Some members felt that the institution of the presidency of the Republic would alienate the Republics from the union center, would create a legal framework for the full

independence of Kazakhstan, and may give rise to authoritarianism. Others, however, clearly supported the need for the introduction of the post of the President of the Republic, pushing a variety of political and legal arguments. It is noteworthy that even then some deputies' opinion about the necessity of electing the president by popular vote was expressed as a «truly popular president must be an elect of the whole people».

The President of the Kazakh SSR was elected Nursultan Nazarbayev by the absolute majority of votes (317 deputies against 18). The Vice-president became S.A.Tereschenko. The Office (Apparatus) of the President and the Presidential Council was formed to ensure the activity of the President of the Republic. The head of the presidential administration became Nurtai Abykayev, heads of departments – Vladimir Ni, Kairbek Suleymenov, Gadilbek Shalakhmetov Mikhail Babushkin. The Presidential Council – the political and advisory body to the Head of State – composed of the President of the Supreme Council Erik Asanbaev, the Prime Minister Uzakbai Karamanov, the deputies Ibrahim Zhangurazov, Sergei Drozhzhin, Sultan Sartayev and Myrzatai Zholdasbekov and Daulet Sembayev (the latter two worked on the liberated base). Commission on Citizenship (Chairman – M.Sagadiev) and Pardons (S.Sartaev) were formed.

The establishment of the post of the president reflected the public mood. To implement economic and political reforms, to stabilize the situation a strong power, an effective control mechanism was needed in the Republic. Introduction of the institute of presidency in Kazakhstan allowed making the state power more independent from the management by the party structures and the Union center. Initially, the presidency was combined with the Soviet system of power.

After being elected to the highest office Nursultan Nazarbayev had taken active steps to strengthen political and economic independence of Kazakhstan in the framework of a reformed Soviet Union. At the same time, the first President expressed the will and perseverance to prevent the collapse of the established socio-economic and historical ties between the peoples. The course of political events in the USSR and Kazakhstan boosted the credibility and popularity of President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Activities of the Head of State, aimed at the strengthening of Kazakhstan's sovereignty and economic independence, sharp criticism of shortcomings and deficiencies of the union leadership found support and approval among a large number of citizens of Kazakhstan and the Republics of the Soviet Union. Popularity of Nursultan Nazarbayev in the USSR increased so that in December 1990 at the Federation Council, the question was raised about

his election as the vice-president of the USSR. In addition, it should be noted that the introduction of the institute of presidency in Kazakhstan took place a year earlier than in Russia.

Thus, the form of government on the eve of Kazakhstan's independence integrated attributes of multiple forms of government; presidential, semi-presidential and parliamentary, suggesting the presence of Institution of Presidency, Vice President, Prime Minister, the government's accountability to Parliament.

In the early 1990s, the Kazakh SSR Constitution of 1978 continued to operate in Kazakhstan, which contained many provisions, which were purely declarative. And under the rapid development of the situation in the Soviet Union in 1990, there was a need for a completely new legislation, fixing the sovereign rights Kazakhstan. The situation in the society in October 1990 in connection with the necessity of the adoption of the Declaration «On the State Sovereignty» was pretty hard. Special resonance was caused both in the national press and the Union by an alternative draft of the Declaration «On the State Sovereignty», proposed by the members of the group «Democratic Kazakhstan».

In 1990, in all the Union Republics two concepts were competed: the national state and the concept of the rule of law. Discussion of the draft of the Declaration was stormy. As a result, **the Declaration «On the State Sovereignty of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic» was adopted on 25 October 1990** and in November 1990 on its basis – the Law «On Improvement of State Power and Governance Structures in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic».

President became the chief executive. The Council of Ministers has been transformed to the Cabinet of Ministers. Formation of the government becomes the prerogative of the president. The post of the vice-president of the country was established. There a merge of the apparatus of the Head of State and the Council of Ministers into a single Office of the President and the Cabinet of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR. An advisory body to the President was formed – the Council of the Republic. The State Councilor was Evgeniy Yozhikov-Babahanov (construction and regional policy), Myrzatai Zholdasbekov (social development), Baltash Tursumbaev (agriculture and environment), Karatay Turysov (Industry), Yuri Hitrin (state-legal policy).

The declaration «On the State Sovereignty» proclaimed the principle of the supremacy of the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR and the laws on the territory of Kazakhstan, the right to suspend the action of the USSR acts on its territory that violate the sovereign rights of the Republic. **The actual**



**implementation of the Republicational sovereignty began with this Declaration.** While in the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan was sovereign only legally, but in fact did not have sovereignty and therefore could not act as a real subject of international law.

The Declaration of the indivisibility and inviolability of the territory of Kazakhstan was fixed on October 25, 1990, the country was defined as a subject of international law. This claim on the right of exclusive property of the Republic on all natural resources, economic and scientific-technical potential of Kazakhstan allowed pursuing an independent economic policy. **For the first time, the Declaration rejected the class approach to the definition of the social basis of the state and declares the national character the state.** The Declaration was the basic underlying legislative act that started the stage of further development of the state and legal system of the country on the way of registration of full independence.

The historical significance of the Declaration «On the State Sovereignty of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic» is that it had given a real content of state sovereignty of the Republic, recalled its own statehood of Kazakhstan, which had a long history, emphasized the principle of the territorial integrity and declared the system of separation of powers, an essential principle of the functioning of the Republic as a democratic and legal state.

So, during the dynamic 1990, in Kazakhstani society in spite of the crisis, the forces that would later create a new independent state – the Republic of Kazakhstan, were formed.

**Political Situation during the Breakup of the USSR.** Events of 1990-1991 showed reluctance to the Soviet leadership to go on a serious reform of relations between the center and the Republics and a real change in the political system. It continued to confirm the course of building socialism. All this was in contradiction with the growing liberalization of the society, the growth of political activity of the masses and the realization of the need for radical reform. This activity had resulted in the creation of a number of political parties and organizations, especially since some of them were supported by the new authorities of Kazakhstan.

Thus, the movement «Nevada-Semipalatinsk» started mass forms of protest, in Almaty and the regions society «Kazakh tili» were organized, which became in a short time one of the largest in the country. The spring of 1990, a number of social-democratic organizations were united in the Social Democratic Party of Kazakhstan. In late May, the organizing committee set up a national-democratic movement «Azat», the founding congress of which was held in June of the same year.

In the summer and autumn of 1990 the movement «Azat» became a major political force for the state independence of Kazakhstan. At the same time, radical political organizations – «Zheltoksan» and «Alash», Cossack associations were formed. The movement «Unity» as organized in Almaty in contrast to the national-democratic organizations. Concerned about the growing tension in the society, Nursultan Nazarbayev held a meeting with representatives of the most influential political parties and movements at the end of September 1991, on which an agreement was reached on the one-year moratorium on the carrying out of mass protests in the capital.

Along with the growth of political activity of the masses the process of disintegration of the USSR was gaining momentum. The transition to a market economy demanded decentralization of the political system, but Moscow authorities had opposed this. Numerous projects of the new Union Treaty were not satisfactory for the Republic. The actual crisis of the central government led to the independent steps of the local leaders. On April 24, 1990 the Law «On the Establishment of the Post of the President» was adopted, which established an office of the Head of State in Kazakhstan and began to form an independent branch of government.

The most important legal act was the declaration «On the State Sovereignty of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic», adopted on 25 October 1990. It proclaimed the right of Kazakhstan to suspend on its territory the laws and other acts of the supreme bodies of the Union, in violation of its sovereign rights and the Constitution. This proclamation of the exclusive property of the Republic on all natural resources, economic and scientific-technical potential of Kazakhstan allowed pursuing an independent economic policy. For the first time the Declaration rejected the class approach to the definition of the social basis of the state and established the national character of the statehood. In addition, the document contained provisions enshrining the need for implementation of the principle of separation of powers and the international legal personality of Kazakhstan.

The next step in reforming of the state was the Law «On Improvement of the Structure of State Power and Governance» of 20 November 1990. In accordance with this law, the President was declared the head of the executive and administrative authorities, the Cabinet of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister was introduced instead of the Council of Ministers, formation of the government became the prerogative of the President.

The sovereignty of the Republic and the Union treaty contradicted each other. Therefore, the Government of Kazakhstan led active negotiations to conclude a treaty of alliance, takes into account the new realities. On July

24, 1991 the leaders of the nine Republics signed the «Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States», providing for the preservation of a single control only in two areas – military and economic. This agreement effectively turned Union into a confederation. In August-September 1991 it was planned to sign an agreement on the formation of the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics, completely reorganizing the union state, but a part of the leadership of the USSR tried to stop it and seize power by force, creating unconstitutional the State Emergency Committee (Emergency Committee). After the failed coup attempt in August 1991 all-union structures began to break up and lose control of the country. In these circumstances, Kazakhstan began to prepare for the proclamation of independence.

### **Control Questions:**

1. When did period of «perestroika» in the Soviet Union begin and who was its initiated?
2. What was the main essence of perestroika and what results did it bring?
3. What was the reason for the events of December 1986 in Alma-Ata?
4. When was the office of President as the head of state established in Kazakhstan for the first time?
5. When was the declaration «On the State Sovereignty of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic» adopted and what was its value?

## SECTION II. NEW KAZAKHSTAN IN THE NEW WORLD

### Topic 11. The Collapse of the USSR and the Formation of the CIS. Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan

#### *Lecture Plan:*

1. *The growth of political and economic crisis. The collapse of the USSR and the formation of the CIS.*
2. *Declaration of independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Adoption of the state symbols.*
3. *Construction of a new Kazakhstan statehood. Introduction of the institute of presidential power.*

#### Summary of the Lecture

##### 1. The growth of political and economic crisis. The collapse of the USSR and the formation of the CIS

The political and economic crisis in the USSR in the late 80's – early 90-ies reached its climax. Inconsistent and half-hearted economic reforms of the late 80s, attempts to combine the planning and administration approach, extensive Soviet economy and the market mechanism were doomed to fail and lead to a deepening crisis. Life demanded radical measures, but the Soviet leadership did not dare to move to change the economic basis of the Soviet state due to the complications of the political situation in the country and the fear of a social explosion.

Political reforms in the USSR in the late 80's – the beginning of the 90s, declaration of the establishment of the socialist rule of law, the establishment of the Soviet parliamentarism, the convening of a new higher authority – the Congress of the People's Deputies, the introduction of the Institute of the President of the USSR, the formation of a multiparty system – led to the democratization of the society and made the inevitable aggravation of a long time national question. **Forced internationalization without considering national interests led to serious miscalculations in national politics.**

The tension accumulated over the years in national relations, the system reluctance to change the national policy at beginning of the reforming society in the mid-80s led to an open clash between the administrative-command system and the society. It is well known that the political life of

Kazakhstan during the Soviet period was determined by the settings that had been dictated from the center. The desire to «Moscow» to carry out a unified and predictable policy in the Republics in its own interests, to form the upper echelons of power solely on the ground of the center was no longer accepted unconditionally in the Republics.

Totalitarian power ran into an open protest for the first time, when in December 1986 it changed of the head of Kazakhstan. The peaceful rally of the Kazakh youth on 17-18 December of 1986, which expressed its disagreement with such a disregard for the interests of the Republic and the policy of the center in respect of the national staff, ended with the tragic consequences. At the heart of the events of December 1986 in Alma-Ata, it was a complex of historical, socio-economic and political factors.

Start of the 90-ies in the Soviet Union were marked by the domination of the national paradigm – crisis of the administrative-command system, dissatisfaction with the national politics the center raises the problem of the national independence and sovereignty of the Republic. This process was accompanied by a strengthening of the inter-ethnic conflicts that led to an open conflict. Formed in 1922, the Soviet Union, which was a federal state, in fact, turned into a unitary, where the Soviet Republics had limited rights and had no real sovereignty, the Center ignore the rights of the Republics on the national statehood and sovereignty.

On May 18, 1989 Lithuania was the first Soviet Republic which adopted the Declaration of Sovereignty. By the summer of 1991 the majority of the Union Republics of the USSR adopted a law on sovereignty, which forced the Soviet leadership to accelerate the development of a new Union Treaty. The signing of the new Union treaty meant not only the preservation of a single state, but also the transition to its real federal structure.

First of all, you need to pay attention to the political situation in the USSR in the late 80's – early 90's, to emphasize the growth of the centrifugal forces. During this period, the Soviet Republics began to declare their sovereignty. In 1990 and 1991 among the main problems was the problem of signing a new Union Treaty. On March 17, 1991 a referendum was held on the question: to be or not to be to the Soviet Union. The majority voted for the preservation of the USSR. Baltic Republics, Moldova, Georgia and Armenia did not participate in the voting.

This process was accompanied by a strengthening of the inter-ethnic conflicts that led to an open conflict (massacres of the Armenian population in Sumgait in 1989 and Baku in the 1990s, Nagorno-Karabakh, clashes between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the Osh region, armed conflict between

Georgia and South Ossetia in 1991). As a result of ethnic conflicts of 1991 in the USSR there were more than 1 million refugees of various nationalities.

**August «Putsch» of 1991 and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.** In spring of 1991, the relationship between the federal center and the sovereign Republics entered a new phase. On the one hand, on the 17th of March in the referendum on the fate of the Soviet Union the majority of citizens voted for the preservation of the Union, and on the other hand, the heads of the Republics, including Ukraine, the Baltic states, as well as Russia, were set up to strengthen their position at the expense of the Union. In this situation, Gorbachev tried to develop a new treaty of alliance, and began the arduous process of negotiation of the text and the interests.

On April 23, 1991 in the suburban residence of the President of the USSR Novo-Ogaryovo a meeting with the leaders of the RSFSR, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan was held. The meeting was called «9 + 1» – the nine union Republics of the USSR and the President of the USSR. After a nine-hour negotiation the statement on urgent measures to stabilize the situation in the country and overcoming of the crisis was signed. The document recognized the sovereignty of the states, the adoption of the new Constitution of the Union and the need of the re-election of the Union authorities. It is noteworthy that in the text of the statement the term «USSR» in relation to the future of the Union was not mentioned.

On June 12, 1991 Boris Yeltsin was elected the President of Russia (RSFSR), and it aggravated the situation of dual power in Moscow even more. On June 17th the revised draft of the agreement, which caused considerable controversy in the country, was sent to the Soviet Republics. On July 29 a regular discussion of the new union treaty took place during a confidential meeting of M.S.Gorbachev, B.N.Yeltsin, N.Nazarbayev and it was agreed to sign an agreement and decide on the new leadership on August 20. The post of the Prime Minister of the Union of Sovereign States was offered to N.Nazarbayev, the president would be Mikhail Gorbachev.

According to Boris Yeltsin, as reflected in his book «Notes of the President», the content of the conversation at the meeting was the signal for the August coup in 1991, especially for the most conservative leaders of the Union.

During the summer the opposing forces (supporters of the former USSR and supporters of the new) probed each other's intentions, while in search of allies, revealed possible reactions of the international community on

the taken steps. Gorbachev's actions in this conflict situation pushed his opponents to a coup in the image of dismissal of Khrushchev in 1964.

On the night of August 19, the President of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev, who was on vacation in Foros in the Crimea, was removed from power. In a country from 4 a.m. a state of emergency for six months was introduced in connection with the alleged failure of Mikhail Gorbachev to fulfill presidential duties due to his health. The Statement of the Soviet leadership, published in the newspaper «Pravda» reported that the duties of the President had been assigned to the Vice-President Gennady Ivanovich Yanaev and the administration of the country to the Committee of the State of Emergency (Emergency Committee), which consisted of a number of high-ranking party and soviet leaders.

At its core the creation of the Emergency Committee was a coup attempt. According to the State Emergency Committee leaders, the main aim of the conspirators was to prevent the collapse of the Soviet Union, which, they believed, was to begin on August 20 during the first stage of signing of a new union treaty, transforming the Soviet Union into a confederation - Union of Sovereign States. A new Acting President G.I.Yanaev said in an interview to the radio station «Echo of Moscow», «On the 20<sup>th</sup> of August we did not allowed signing a treaty of alliance, we prevented the signing of the Union Treaty». In Moscow, troops and armored vehicles were introduced. The Emergency Committee relied primarily on the strength of the KGB («Alfa Group»), the Ministry of Interior (Division after Dzerzhinsky), and the Moscow military district (Tula Airborne Division, Taman Division, Kashemirovskaya Division). Total in Moscow there was introduced, but about 4.000 troops, 362 tanks, 427 heavy machinery BMP. Additional parts of the Airborne were sent to Leningrad neighborhood, Tallinn, Tbilisi, Riga. The troops of Airborne were commanded by Generals Pavel Grachev and his deputy Alexander Lebed. However, the coup did not have full control over their own forces; on the first day the Taman Division moved to the side of the House of the Russian Federation Council (the «White House»). Boris Yeltsin who had arrived at night from Almaty, addressed his famous message to the supporters from the tank of this division «To the Citizens of Russia» and described the action of the State Emergency Committee as a «coup d'etat».

The resistance to the Emergency Committee was headed by the political leadership of the Russian Federation (President Boris Yeltsin, vice president A.V.Rutskoy, chairman I.S.Silaev government R.I.Hasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Council). At the urging of the authorities mass of Muscovites

gathered at the White House, among whom were representatives of various social groups of the democratic community, students, intellectuals and veterans of the Afghan war, as well as members of criminal organizations and «petty bourgeoisie». However, the victory over any of the conflicting forces could not give a chance to Gorbachev for the continuation of his political career as a real leader of the country.

A difficult situation was in the country. Around the White House, the residence of Boris Yeltsin and the Russian government, barricades were erected, rallies were held, crowds of people blocked the promotion of the armored vehicles in the city center. According to Leonid Mlechin, the author of «Boris Yeltsin. Epilogue», «the most terrible was the night of 20 to 21 of August, when reports of impending storm were coming from all sides», an information arrive that «the tanks started their way to the building, and that tankers refused to talk to the deputies». In this situation at 01:30 a.m those ones blocked in the White House, began to call the President of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev. Filatov told him that the shots were already close, and that «we must intervene». Nazarbayev questioned him in detail about what was happening, where Boris Yeltsin was, and promised to contact with the Kremlin. After some time, the President of Kazakhstan called back and said that G.N.Yanaev gave him a promise – «there will be no bloodshed».

In these crucial days the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev made a statement of principle: the State Emergency Committee «generates obviously illegal documents, which, among other things, violate the Republican declaration of sovereignty».... A more decisive statements and actions of N.A.Nazarbayev on the 20-21<sup>st</sup> of August on the prevention of the bloodshed in Moscow did not get publicity as they were blocked by all-union information agencies. However, in the evening of the 20 the of August USA officially disseminated information that the balanced position of Nursultan Nazarbayev and the rejection of the Emergency Committee outweighed the balance of forces in favor of democracy.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of August Mikhail Gorbachev returned to Moscow by plane, sent by the Government of Russia. The Emergency Committee decided not to use military force. The troops were returned to the barracks. The attempted coup failed. The Leaders of the Emergency Committee were arrested and brought to justice. The reasons for the defeat of the Emergency Committee were due to the lack of support from the general population, the Russian leadership's resistance, as well as the desire of the leaders of the union Republics to solve the internal problems in the new plane. An important was the fact that the bulk of the Russian military had supported



the Russian leadership, not leaders of the Emergency Committee. To a large extent **the Emergency Committee's defeat was due to the uncertainty and indecision of its instigators.**

On August 23 decree Boris Yeltsin banned the Communist Party and by the decree of 6 November He put an end to the Communist Party as a right-boiling state structure. The failure of the putsch marked the collapse of the Soviet political system, the crisis of the vertical power «center-Republic» because it was linked to the collapse of structures that made up the «core» of the old system and the levers kept by the powers of the CPSU and the KGB.

The Emergency Committee was the main task in the preservation of the so-called «socialist system» and in the prevention of the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, instead of strengthening the union state, the introduction of the emergency was the last step to its disintegration. Gorbachev still remained formally the President of the USSR during the hundred days followed after the August events, but he could not change anything. The situation was aggravated by personal confrontation of Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, who in 1990-1991 objectively turned into a confrontation between the USSR and Russia. Gorbachev could not implement many of the ideas of Perestroika, including the «new thinking». Assessing his work, Margaret Thatcher, being a fan of his as the past country's leader, who stood boldly on the path of a fundamental restructuring of all sides of the life of society, wrote with disappointment: «Facing in 1991 the choice to continue on the path of fundamental change or return to repressive communism, he faltered. Therefore, in spite of the admiration for his achievements, understanding of the situation in which he found himself, and personal likes, I am sure that the arrival of Boris Yeltsin to replace him was to the benefit of Russia». Thus, even world leaders, seeing the inconsistency of Gorbachev realized that the coming decisive Yeltsin to power was inevitable. But at the same time, according to Margaret Thatcher if Boris Yeltsin courage was not strongly reinforced by the ruthlessness, «he would never defeat the Communists, who wanted to return Russia back to the socialist past».

The so-called coup substantially contributed to the victory of Boris Yeltsin ove Mikhail Gorbachev. «The credibility of Russia to Yeltsin was at that time enormous. Gorbachev could not offer anything to save the crumbling and flowing into the poverty country. His steps were perceived as an attempt to keep his place», – writes L.Mlechin. Dual power ended in Moscow.

Thus, the August events were the final blow to the outdated Soviet-Communist reality that hastened the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation on its territory of independent states.

In 1991 the development of Kazakhstan was defined both by its own internal goals as well as by the tendencies of the Union.

The Head of State, President of the sovereign Kazakh SSR, conducted constructive work on the preparation and coordination of a new union treaty until conditions permitted.

Activity of various political and social organizations increased in the internal socio-political life of the Republic. Multi-party system became a fact, and the Law «On Public Associations» was adopted, legalizing a multiparty system in Kazakhstan and proclaiming such important and essential rights of man and citizen, as the right of association, the right to freedom. At that time, the law was not accepted by all the leaders of social movements, as it clearly reflected the views and atmosphere of the «post-socialist» society.

The President of Kazakhstan had shown foresight and firmness in the crisis days of August 19-21, 1991, during an attempted coup in Moscow. Then the Emergency Committee sent to all the presidents of the Republics a draft of the «Statement of the Politburo», which justified emergency reasons. There were supporters of the Committee members, among them there were people from Kazakhstan. In the few areas working groups in the implementation of the Emergency Committee decision were establish. When on August 19, the President of Kazakhstan gathered heads of the national agencies, he «saw that they were immersed in a stupor», some officials in those days «began to make portraits of Mikhail Gorbachev of the offices» – says N.A.Nazarbayev, in his book «On the Eve of the XXI century».

On the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> of August the President N.A.Nazarbayev made two statements in which a special emphasis was made on the need to maintain calmness and restraint, on the fact that the state of emergency was not introduced in Kazakhstan, and all power belong to the Soviet authorities in accordance with the Declaration of Sovereignty the Kazakh SSR and the Constitution. The President called on the staff of units and subunits of the Armed Forces, Interior Ministry and the KGB of the USSR stationed in Kazakhstan to be faithful to constitutional norms, with a focus on strengthening the sovereignty and loyalty to the principles of democracy, preservation of the Union, to carrying out further reforms. Nazarbayev proposed to convene an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet of the

USSR, which to identify a specific election date of the President of the USSR and to sign the Union Treaty immediately.

Adoption of these statements was a correct tactical move of the President of Kazakhstan. The Head of State took into account all aspects of the explosive situation in the country: the mood, traditions of various ethnic groups and their orientation in the selection decision. He knew that the leaders of many of the major divisions of the military-industrial complex could support the Emergency Committee. Therefore, the main task of the leadership of the Republic of those days was to maintain stability, preventing any social conflict. And this task was completed.

After the failure of the coup on August 24, the Supreme Council of the Republic adopted a resolution **«On the Evaluation of the Current Situation and Measures but Strengthen the Sovereignty of the Republic»**. The third paragraph reads: «in accordance with the law to consider necessary to remove from their posts the heads of ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations, governing bodies, that undertook actions aimed at actual recognition of the Emergency Committee of the USSR». The President Nursultan Nazarbayev issued a series of decrees: «On the Formation of the Kazakh SSR of the Security Council», «On the Transition of State Enterprises and Organizations of the Union Submission into the Control of the Government of the Kazakh SSR», «On the Establishment of the Gold Reserve and the Diamond Fund in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic», «On Ensuring of Independent Foreign Activity of the Kazakh SSR», «On Closing Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test Site».

Having visited in August 1991 the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site, Nursultan Nazarbayev announced the convening of a special session of Parliament, which coursed heated debate on the closure of the test site with a half-century history. According to the first declassified documents the aggregated charges made of the explosions conducted exceeded at the site the powerful of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima by 2,5 thousand times. In this situation position of the some radial patriots seemed logical, «they offered to deputies» – said A.S.Gursky: «do not give up regional superpower status, retain Kazakhstan though such leadership at least». However, the President of Kazakhstan demonstrated political vision, and at the end of this session on August 29 he announced his decree on closing the landfill. As a result, having a significant part of the process chain for the production of such weapons, Kazakhstan became the first country in the world, which by its own will closed the nuclear test site and soon voluntarily

renounced the fourth in size nuclear arsenal reserves. The test site was closed without the consent of the then leadership of the Soviet Union.

The historic decision to close the Semipalatinsk test site was the first and unique precedent in which a State voluntarily stopped operation of such a facility, liquidating a possibility to use it for military purposes. This decision was one of the main events in modern history of Kazakhstan, it predetermined the country's relationship with the world, an important component of the choice in favor of denuclearization. It was laid in the foundation of the security model generated by him and led during these entire years. Today denuclearization of Kazakhstan is the foundation of peace and security around the perimeter boundaries. This is a real possibility of fruitful cooperation of Kazakhstan with other countries.

**In August 1991 the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev announced his resignation from the Politburo.** Following this, the Communist Party of Kazakhstan withdrew from the CPSU. The Exceptional and Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan was held on the 7<sup>th</sup> of September 1991. At the congress, it was decided to dissolve the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and to create a new party. A sharp debate about the name of the party broke among the delegates. Most of the delegates were inclined to the title «socialist». Nazarbayev suggested the name «People's Unity of Kazakhstan», but it was not supported by the delegates. The newly created party was called «The Socialist Party of Kazakhstan» (SPK). In the first part of the 1990s, the SPK was a large and influential party in its ranks, there were 47 thousand people of different nationalities. It had its own print media – newspapers «Respublika» and «Sukhbat».

Some members of the Communist Party joined the Party of the People's Congress of Kazakhstan. Initiators of this party were a poet and a public figure Olzhas Suleymenov and Mukhtar Shakhanov, well-known in the country and abroad. The main task of the Party was to achieve further socio-economic development of the country by using parliamentary methods. The party declared that it supported the New Deal of the President and adheres to the principles of internationalism.

In September 1991 the Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR recognized the independence of the Baltic Republics.

The leaders of the seven Republics – Russia, Belarus, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, announced their intention to create a new inter-state body – the Union of Sovereign States (SSG). But that did not happen. On December 8, 1991 in the Belovezhskaya Pushcha,

the residence of the Belarusian leaders in Viskuli, the leaders of the three Republics, Yeltsin (Russia), Leonid Kravchuk (Ukraine) and S.Shushkevich (Belarus) signed a document, which says: «The USSR as a subject of international political law and a geopolitical reality no longer exists».

An agreement on creation of the CIS was reached at the same place – the Commonwealth of Independent States. When the question arose, how the three Soviet Republics may conclude an agreement without the participation of the other Republics, Sergei Shahray (former Russian State Legal Adviser) tried to offer a way out. «The following argument belongs to him – says Andrei Kozyrev (former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia): the Soviet Union was created in 1918-1921 by four independent states of the RSFSR, Ukraine, Belarus and the Transcaucasian Federation. Since TSFSR ceased to exist, three subjects that once formed the Union, have always maintained their right to self-determination both in embodiments of the Union treaties and the Constitution of the USSR».

But in any case, in spite of this explanation, an attempt to create a page without the direct participation of Kazakhstan and Central Asia was a mistake and it was corrected quickly. Thus, the sovereignty of the 1990-1991 process was secured with Belovezhskaya Pushcha-agreements. It is noteworthy that US President George. W. Bush was informed the first of its outcome, and the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was informed the second.

Nazarbayev, a direct participant in many pivotal events of the time, recalls that the next day, ie on the 9<sup>th</sup> of December in Moscow «a joint meeting, which was attended by Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin, and myself, was held. Yeltsin spoke in detail about the decisions taken in Belovezhskaya Pushcha. There was quite a tense and nervous conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin for more than two hours about the essence of the Bialowieza agreement... It was a shame for the country and for the two leaders, who could be together. However, the dialogue did not happen».

On December 12, 1991 in Ashgabat there was a meeting of the leaders of the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan, where it was stated that it would be possible to participate in the establishment of the CIS only when the rights for all the former Soviet Republics which intend to voluntarily join the CIS would be recognized as equal.

On December 21, 1991 in Almaty, the leaders of 11 countries (except Georgia) signed the Declaration on the final dissolution of the USSR and the formation of the CIS – Commonwealth of Independent States.

On December 25, 1991, Gorbachev announced his resignation as the President of the USSR. Thus, 1991 was marked by landmark events: the failed coup, the elimination of the CPSU, the disintegration of the empire under the name the USSR.

In conclusion, we need to focus on the underlying causes of the Soviet collapse. N.A.Nazarbayev wrote about them in his book «On the Rhreshold of the XXI century». Nazarbayev calls the collapse of the USSR, of course, as dramatic, as a global phenomenon of the end of the century.

According to Nursultan Nazarbayev, the fundamental reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union were growing technological backwardness of the economy, and society as a whole, a tremendous burden imposed by the arms race in the development of the USSR and the national question, which had not been addressed for years. Ethnic relations were not only unmanageable but also explosive.

## **2. Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Adoption of the State Symbols**

In the process of gaining independence, Kazakhstan has gone through several historical stages:

Stage I – from September 1989 to April 1990. It covers the period from the introduction of the institute of the higher officials of the Republic – from the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR, to the Presidential Institution as a head of state. This period was characterized by the deepening of the socio-economic crisis, the growth of political and legal contradictions resulting in half-hearted economic reforms and the hesitant actions of the union leadership in the field of domestic freedoms. With the rapid collapse of the government power and the economy of the USSR the introduction of the presidential rule in the Kazakh SSR was a natural in 1990, it contributed to the stabilization of the political and economic life of the Republic.

Stage II – from 25 October 1990 to December 8, 1991. It covers the period from the proclamation of the Declaration «On the State Sovereignty of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic» to Bialowieza agreement between Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, i.e. the collapse of the USSR. The historic step in the process of formation of Kazakhstan's independence was the adoption of the Declaration «On the State Sovereignty of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic» by the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR on the 25 of October 1990. The Declaration enabled the country to become

an independent subject of international relations, to determine foreign policy in its own interests, and to decide questions of foreign economic activity. This phase was characterized by the rapid growth of the national consciousness, the radicalization of the activities of various political parties, social organizations and movements in all the Union Republics of the former USSR.

In the early 90-ies in the Republic of Kazakhstan after gaining sovereignty the priorities were the construction of a sovereign state, the formation of civil society institutions. It was necessary to determine the nature of the new state, the essence of which was compliance with all elements of the state attributes of an independent state.

On December 1, 1991 national elections of the President of Kazakhstan were held. Nursultan Nazarbayev was elected the President of the state.

On December 10, 1991 the Supreme Council adopted the «Law on Renaming the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic to the Republic of Kazakhstan».

Stage III – from the 16 of December 1991 to the end of 1992. On the 16 of December 1991 the Supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan adopted a historic document – the Constitutional Law «On the State Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan», which proclaimed Kazakhstan an independent, democratic, legal state, having the supreme right on its territory and the national wealth, self-determining and conducting its own internal and foreign policy. This law was an important step in the political and constitutional development of the Republic and reflected the fundamental democratic principles such as the right of nations to self-determination, the priority of individual rights and freedoms, political stability, separation of powers, interethnic accord and others.

This period was marked by the establishment of a unified Kazakh citizenship. On December 20, 1991 the «Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was adopted. On March 2, 1992 Kazakhstan was admitted to the UN. We got the opportunity to be involved in the world affairs and the human problems.

On June 4, 1992 the Republic of Kazakhstan state symbols were approved: the State Flag, Coat of arms of Kazakhstan, in December – its National Anthem.

On September 29 in Almaty, the first World Kurultai of Kazakhs was opened, and in December 1992, the Forum of the Peoples of Kazakhstan. The main objective of the internal political development of the country was

a policy of preserving inter-ethnic harmony and political stability within the state.

Thus, the Republic became an independent state, it received the real conditions for all-round self-development. State acquires the status of independence only if it is economically and politically independent, and conducts its own independent foreign and domestic policy.

Stage IV starts from 28 January 1993 and ends August 30, 1995. This was one of the important stages in the formation of the democratic statehood of Kazakhstan. The first Constitution of independent Kazakhstan was adopted on January 28, 1993. But two years of operation showed its inconsistency with the folding realities, this constitution did not provide for an effective mechanism to resolve conflicts between the branches of power, which were directly reflected in the subsequent political and constitutional development of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Carrying out economic reforms, as well as political and social was hampered by a weak legislative framework, the imperfection of the judicial system.

From August 30, 1995 a new stage in state building of Kazakhstan begins. That same day, the second Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan was adopted. This Constitution had laid the fundamentals of the new state, formed a single state the power to regulate and guide social development. The President was granted the powers of the constitutional arbiter, ensuring coordination of the functioning of all branches of government and their responsibility to the people. The current Constitution was one of the major achievements of our society, and that it is one of the main stabilizing factors in the reform period. On the basis of the new Constitution of the 9<sup>th</sup> of December 1995, elections were held for the first bicameral Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The upper house is the Senate and the lower is the Majilis.

**Symbols of Kazakhstan Government.** An important manifestation of the new Kazakhstan statehood became the symbols of the Republic of Kazakhstan, developed with the direct participation of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Symbols of Kazakhstan state are the evidence of its sovereignty and independence, unity of the people and the authorities. They express the idea of Kazakhstan's statehood, consolidation and aspirations to national and universal values. The purpose of the state symbols are, on the one hand, the consolidation of the main priorities of the statehood: integrity, independence, unity in the minds of citizens, on the other hand, the formation of the image of Kazakhstan at the international level as a supporter of peaceful



neighborliness. The state symbols of the artistic image reflect the main features of the Kazakh philosophy, fundamental national and universal values that help maintaining the historical continuity of generations. State symbols are external forms of the ideology of nationhood.

Complementing each other, they are a single entity in the perception of citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the international community as the basis of the inviolability of the Republic and the presidency.

On June 4, 1992 the President Nursultan Nazarbayev signed the Law «On the State Flag of the Republic of Kazakhstan», «On the State Emblem of the Republic of Kazakhstan» and «On the Musical version of the State Anthem of the Republic of Kazakhstan». On June 6 in Almaty Opera and Ballet House named after Abay, a solemn ceremony dedicated to the state symbols of the Republic took place. On the same day, the State flag was raised above the President's residence and the building of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the coat of arms was set. On December 11, 1992 the text of the National Anthem was approved. Subsequently, the statements on the state symbols were systematized in a special Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan having the force of Constitutional Law «On State Symbols of the Republic of Kazakhstan» dated January 24, 1996. The standards of the National Flag and the National Emblem were stored in the residence of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. They were delivered from Almaty to Astana, the new capital by the special transport, accompanied by a guard of honor.

A blue flag with a golden national ornament on the left, with golden sunshine and soaring silhouette of an eagle in the center of adorns all government buildings in the Republic today, flying over the buildings of the sovereign Kazakhstan embassies in foreign countries, it is set near the UN building. Now it is perceived by everyone as a symbol of freedom, independence and sovereignty of our country. The author of the National Flag is an artist Shaken Niyazbekov. The flag is a rectangular cloth of blue color with the image sun with rays in the center of the, which is placed under a soaring eagle. Along the shaft is a strip of a national ornament.

Pure blue color of the national flag indicates the cultural and ethnic unity of the people and at the same time points to the idea of the indivisibility of the state. The light is the source of life and energy. Therefore, the sun silhouette is the symbol of life. Upon careful consideration one can notice, that the sun's rays (beam 32) in our flag are having the form of grain - the basis of abundance and prosperity.

A steppe eagle or a golden eagle occupies a special place in the outlook of the nomads. In the language of symbolism the silhouette of an eagle means the state power, breadth, and vision. It is a symbol of freedom, independence, commitment to the goal, to the height of the flight in the future for the inhabitants of the steppe. However, the eagle, having a powerful force, is able to give a fitting rebuff to anyone who tries to interfere with the movement to the future. The Silhouette of an eagle arose from the idea of a young sovereign Kazakhstan's aspiration to the heights of the world civilization. The element that gives originality and uniqueness of our flag, is a band parallel to the shaft, consisting of a national ornament. It depicts Kazakh ornament koshkar-muyiz (horns).

The Authors of the coat of arms are architects Zhandarbek Malibekov and Shota Ualikhanov. The core of the coat of arms is shanyrak, underneath the name of the state «Kazakhstan». On top of the the coat of arms is a five-pointed star. On each side are flying tulpars. The main background of the the coat of arms is blue, the same as on the flag, golden mythical winged horses, the shanyrak, the star.

Shanyrak» is the upper part of the vaulted yurt, a symbol of family well-being, peace, the universe. Tundik is a hole of yurta reminds about the bright sun on a background of blue, peaceful sky. Dome poles are uyk, uniformly diverging from the center on the blue space of the Coat of arms, they remind beams of the sun – the source of life and warms. The authors were able to solve the problem of the image of kerege – sliding trellised bases of a yurt. Cross triple kuldireushi supporting Shanyrak symbolize unity of three zhuzes, which ensures its durability. Thus, the language of heraldry authors reflects a peaceful essence of Kazakhs.

An integral part of the composite structure of the coat of arms is gold fantastic horses with horns in the form of a half moon. A Silhouette of horses in the language of heraldry has a profound meaning: it means fearlessness of a lion, insight of a falcon, physical power and strength of a bull, quickness, speed and plastic of a deer, cunning of a foxes and resourcefulness in the fight against the enemies. Gold wings of the horses remind also sheaves of grain, gold ears, that is a sign of labor, abundance, and material welfare. Besides, a horse is the life companion of the nomads, it is closely connected with all the economic and spiritual life. The winged horse (Pegasus and Unicorn connection) refers to the aspirations of a strong, prosperous state. Five-pointed star expresses the desire of Kazakhstan to join the community of the nations and the peoples of all five continents.

Changes in the public mind, demanded new content and musical-poetic character of the country. National Anthem is the official symbol of the state, the musical equivalent of the coat of arms and the flag. The text of the anthem was written in collaboration with Muszaphar Alimbaev, Kadyr Myrzagaliev, Tumanbai Moldagaliev, Zhadyra Daribaeva. This text was put to the music of the National Anthem of the Kazakh SSR (composers Mukan Tulebaev, Eugene Brusilovskiy, Latif Hamidi).

The anthem is the national symbol of a sovereignty of the Republic, unity, friendship and brotherhood of all people of Kazakhstan. Emotional core of the hymn is pathos – a passionate enthusiasm, elation, unifying people in their love for the motherland and devotion to the Fatherland. However, in parallel, and increasingly the song «Menin Kazakhstanym» («My Kazakhstan») was sounded for the expression of patriotic feelings. Written in the 1950s by Shamshi Kaldayakov, Zhumekenom Nazhimedenov the song won Kazakhstan, becoming the unofficial anthem of the country.

On January 6, 2006 the joint meeting of the Majilis and the Senate of Kazakhstan addressed the issue of a new national anthem. The agenda of the supreme legislative body of the government of the Republic included a question on the Law «On Amendments to the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan having the force of law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «About the State Symbols of the Republic of Kazakhstan». A speaker of the Majilis of the Parliament of Kazakhstan Ural Mukhamedzhanov informed the deputies with a letter of the President of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev. The letter said that the current national anthem, unfortunately, did not win the recognition of Kazakhstan. The most popular is the song of Kaldayakov, it is an unofficial national anthem. Now is the time to approve this status officially. The writer believed that for the proclamation the folk song as the anthem, certain changes should have been made. The text of the anthem, consisting of fifty-nine words, 25 words were written in the new edition. When reading the letter it as also revealed that, without claiming authorship, Nursultan Nazarbayev personally contributed to the lyrics introducing the changes to meet these requirements. They praised the Kazakh people to fight for the independence of their native land.

During the discussion of the bill a number of deputies proposed to include the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev into the list of authors of the new composition of the hymn «Menin Kazakhstanym» («My Kazakhstan»). The deputies of the Majilis and the Senate unanimously agreed on the text of the anthem by Zh.Nazhimedeno and N.A.Nazarbayev.

January 10, 2006 entered the history of Kazakhstan as the birthday of the country's new national anthem. The new official musical-poetic symbol was performed for the first time on January 11 at the Presidential Palace «Akorda» in Astana during the inauguration of the President N.A. Nazarbayev after his victory in the next presidential election. The witnesses of the presentation of the anthem of the country were guests from 70 countries. Among them there were the presidents and prime ministers, ministers and diplomats, leaders and representatives of international organizations. In the performance of the anthem at official ceremonies, the present rise and apply palm of their right hand to the left side of the chest. The content of the text and energetic, cheerful melody of the new National Anthem of the Republic of Kazakhstan awakes patriotic feelings in the hearts of the people.

### **3. Construction of a New Kazakh Statehood. Introduction of the Institute of Presidential Power**

Introduction of the institute of presidential power in Kazakhstan was necessary and inevitable. Without such an institution the general architecture of the Kazakh statehood would be incomplete. The need to introduce the institute of presidency was clear even before the declaration of independence. The President Post made the political system (and hence the country as a whole) more sustainable in the conditions of crisis and reforms. The transition from the Head of the Republic, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, to the President witnessed the beginning of an important conceptual transformation, the beginning of the movement to a new quality of the higher level of the state and political system.

In 1991, the evolution of the institute of presidency made an important and logical step – the transition from the elections by the Supreme Council to the national elections. On the 1st of December 1991, in the fateful days of Kazakhstan, national elections were held on which Nazarbayev was elected the President of Kazakhstan. 98.78% of the voters participated in the elections voted for Nursultan Nazarbayev. At the same time elections of the vice-president were held, E.M.Asanbaev was elected to the Vice-President office.

On December 10 inauguration of the President was conducted at the Palace of the Republic in Almaty. Nursultan Nazarbayev gave the oath of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan – to rightly serve the people of the multinational Republic, strictly follow the Constitution of the Republic

of Kazakhstan, guarantee the rights and freedoms of citizens, and honestly perform the duties assigned to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Ceremonial inauguration of the Head of State was broadcast on television: Nazarbayev suited to the platform, puts his hand on the Constitution and the Declaration of State Sovereignty, said the text of the oath in the Kazakh and Russian languages. The national anthem of Kazakhstan was played in the hall. After the speech of the President of Kazakhstan a group of elders came to the stage: the People's Akin of the Republic Abenov Shaker, the People's writer of the Republic Dmitry Snegin, the People's Deputy of the USSR Ibragimzhan Kozhahmetov, the People's Artist of the USSR Qudus Kuzhamyarov, and the honored coach of the USSR Eduard Airich. On their behalf Sh. Abenov blessed the President and handed him the national pattern embroidered caftan, a headpiece, and an encrusted belt.

On the same day, December 10, the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR, based on the aspirations of the multinational people of the Republic to build a democratic, independent, peaceful, law-based state, based on the principle of self-determination, inviolability of human rights and freedoms, political, economic and ideological diversity of society, adopted the Law on the renaming of the Kazakh SSR in the «Republic of Kazakhstan». It was decided to make the appropriate changes to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Kazakh SSR and the declaration «On the State Sovereignty of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic», in the laws and other acts of state bodies of Kazakhstan. The decision legalized the policy of democratic transformations in society, civil peace, the official departure from the Soviet-socialist ideology.

Kazakhstan model of political system in passed to a new stage in its development in December 1991. If the first stage, from April to November 1991 was the formation of a parliamentary Republic, then the next stage – since December 1991 – to the Republic began to form a presidential Republic.

On December 12, 1991 was published the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On the Rehabilitation of the Citizens Prosecuted for Participation in the Events of December 17-18, 1986 in Kazakhstan». Guided by the principles of humanity, impartiality and fairness the decree read: to consider the parties involved in the criminal, administrative and disciplinary action for participating in the events of 17-18 December 1986 in Kazakhstan, rehabilitated.

It was also announced that December 17 would now be the Day of democratic renewal of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Paying tribute to the memory of those who defended the national dignity of all Kazakh people,

and above all the courageous and selfless actions of the young people, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan signed a decree on awarding (posthumously), the highest award of the state «Halyk Kaharmany» to Kairat Ryskulbekov. These steps have become one of the first democratic government actions in the post-Soviet period. They found a broad support in the society.

A landmark step in the formation of Kazakhstan's independence was the adoption of the Constitutional Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On the State Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan» on December 16, 1991, which became a logical continuation of the constitutional norms, originating from the adoption of the Declaration on State Sovereignty.

The adoption of the above-mentioned legal instrument became the determining factor in the fate of the people of Kazakhstan. If the Declaration of State Sovereignty was adopted in circumstances of the still existed Soviet Union, with the adoption of the Constitutional Law «On the State Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan» the country was finally embarked on a truly independent development. This law is based on the fundamental, democratic principles: the right of the nations to self-determination, the priority of individual rights and freedoms, political stability, separation of powers, interethnic accord and others.

With the proclamation of its independence Kazakhstan entered a new historical stage in the political and constitutional development of the Republic. This was the stage, at which the foundations of the modern state were laid.

The main provisions of the Constitutional Law were revealed in seven chapters, consisting of 18 articles. Article 1 of the adopted document states that the Republic of Kazakhstan is an independent, democratic and legal state, independently defining and conducting domestic and foreign policy, the territory of which is integral, indivisible and inviolable.

In the following chapters and articles of the law a wide range of issues are stated and regulated. It is noted that the citizens of all nationalities, united by common historical destiny with Kazakh nation constitute the single nation of Kazakhstan, which is the sole bearer of the sovereignty and the source of power. Questions of citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan are agreed upon. It is stated that the revival and development of culture, traditions and language, strengthening the national dignity of the Kazakh nation and people of other nationalities living in Kazakhstan, is one of the most important duties of the state.

The constitutional law has clearly defined public authorities of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the economic foundations of the state independence. The Republic of Kazakhstan has an independent economic system, based on the diversity and the equality of all forms of ownership. The Republic of Kazakhstan is declared a member of the world community, the subject of international law. The matter of protection of the state independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan is specifically stated. Any interference in the issues constituting the inalienable right of the Republic is regarded as an encroachment on its independence. In order to protect its independence and territorial integrity of the Republic has the right to establish their own armed forces.

The final Regulations state that the Republic of Kazakhstan shall have its state symbols – the coat of arms, flag and anthem. Almaty is defined as the capital of the country.

The adoption of the Constitutional Law «On the State Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was the beginning of the real sovereignty of the newly independent state, a qualitatively new stage of democratic transformations in Kazakhstan in continuation of the democratic process that had taken place after December 1986. The Constitutional Law of Kazakhstan contributed to the realization of the positive aspects of the old political system by the society. At the same time, it legislates strong cleaning of the Economics and Politics from the recurrence of totalitarian system.

The proclamation of the real sovereignty led to the recognition of the country by the other world countries. The Constitutional Act helped to resolve the issue of the border with China, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia. It laid the foundation of the trust policy, partnership and stability in Eurasia. All citizens of Kazakhstan were provided with conditions for complete confidence in their security. The law was the inner impulse for all the people of Kazakhstan. Trust, harmony and stability was confirmed by the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The law was the basis of the future constitution. The provisions of the Constitutional Law were placed above the norms of the current Constitution of the Kazakh SSR of 1978.

In order to ensure the state sovereignty of the Republic corresponding bodies were created in 1991-1992-ies. A new state body was approved under the leadership of the President – the Security Council. In accordance with the Law «On Introducing Amendments and Additions to the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR» of 25 August 1991, this authority was assigned functions

to make recommendations for the protection of the sovereignty of the Kazakh SSR, the territorial integrity, to implement the defense policy. The President decrees of March 16, 1992 «On Creation of the Republican Guard of the Republic of Kazakhstan», of «On Internal Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan» dated October 10, 1992 were of significant importance. In accordance with Article 16 of the Constitutional Law, the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On Defense and Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan» defined the role of the Armed Forces in the Republic's security system. The laws were passed to protect the basic human rights and freedoms. On December 20, 1991, the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On Citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan», which introduced significant changes to the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR of 1978 was adopted. It did not recognize the Soviet Union citizenship, dual citizenship.

Another Law of the Kazakh SSR «On Property in the Kazakh SSR» was adopted of January 2, 1991. This law is not formally a constitutional, but, despite this, it played a crucial role in the development of Kazakhstan as a sovereign and democratic state. In order to implement the principle of democratic pluralism, the most important laws have been passed in the country: «On public associations», «On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Associations», «On mass media» and others.

The declaration «On the State Sovereignty» and the Constitutional Law «On the State Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan» became the basis of the constitutional reform in the country, they were not only the legal basis for the relevant reforms in the political, social and economic spheres, but also legal sources of the Constitution of sovereign Kazakhstan.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of December 1991 for the former Soviet Republics in terms of foreign policy. Conclusion of the Bialowieza agreements by the leaders of the three Slavic Republics created a tense situation. In 1996, N.A. Nazarbayev recalled: «Today, many have forgotten the situation of those years, but we really were on the verge of creating two unions Slavic and Turkic connecting with Tajikistan». In this situation, the President of Kazakhstan «made every effort to prevent the scenario of the formation of the Turkic and Slavic Union ... Where would we have come today, in a few years, if such unions were formed, just hard to imagine».

On December 13 at the initiative of Nursultan Nazarbayev the presidents of Central Asian states met in Ashgabat. The Turkmen side proposed to consider the project of creation of the Confederation of Central Asian states in response to the decision in Bialowieza. As a result of many hours



of negotiations, soberly assessing the situation, Nursultan Nazarbayev and Islam Karimov «insisted on the beginning of a dialogue with the Slavic Republics, in order to prevent the collapse of the USSR along the Europe - Asia axis and «set a condition that they would enter in the CIS only on the founding rights but not as just joined». It was the President of Kazakhstan who insisted on holding the next meeting with the participation of all interested States in Kazakhstan.

On December 21, 1991 in Almaty the presidents of 11 states signed the Alma-Ata Declaration. The Independent States stated that «with the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ceases to exist». Henceforth legally the USSR ceased to exist, and the Commonwealth of Independent States was born. So, thanks to the efforts of President Nursultan Nazarbayev the transformation of the geopolitical space of the Soviet Union began in December 1991, but not into the separate ethnic spaces, but in the Eurasian space, constituted by sovereign States.

Pondering abrupt change of times in the early 1990s, the President of Kazakhstan, said: «Unlike in other regions of the planet, the disintegration of the USSR led to the formation of not just new states without any foundation, but to revival of the once-lost statehood, which had deep historical roots. We can say that there is a complex, comprehensive process not only of the collapse of the USSR, but also of the restoration of the statehood of sovereign Republics, its legitimization».

Construction of Kazakhstan statehood in the first half of the 1990s was carried out in the strategic, institutional, and symbolic aspects. After the legal registration of the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan a number of priority tasks were raised in front of the community: the creation of government institutions, recognition of a state in the international arena and its membership in various international organizations. To meet these challenges, a group of young economists was formed of representatives of the various categories of specialists, foreign advisers to the President of Kazakhstan.

The strategic goal of the development of a sovereign state was defined with a strong presidential power. The challenges were set before the country's leadership, on the solution of which depended not only the efficient functioning of the social and political institutions, but also the very existence of Kazakhstan statehood: a clear definition of the state border; the solution of urgent problems and reforms; the establishment of institutional

structures to support the qualitative development of the society; definition and strengthening of the state border.

These tasks have been furnished in the «Strategy of Formation and Development of Kazakhstan as a Sovereign State», developed by Nursultan Nazarbayev (1992). In view of a vacuum existed in the outlook of the whole society the strategy laid the foundation for the development of policy guidelines related to the self-determination of the people of Kazakhstan.

Another basic point of the Strategy was the solution to the problems in the economic sector. It was based on the concept of the German economist, Minister of Economy, and later Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) Ludwig Erhard. In Germany, the implementation of his idea of «prosperity for all» had led to the fact that the revival of the German economy was called «economic miracle». Kazakhstan expected to implement the German experience. The government announced that it would seek, ultimately, prosperity for all. The basis of market-oriented reforms was to be provided by the State free enterprise and the choice of business. Thus, at the very beginning Kazakhstan's economy had been focused on the use of the experience of Western countries.

The strategy was aimed at changing social psychology, at deliverance from the fear of an independent entrepreneurship. It announced its intention to introduce a national currency (tenge). However, the Soviet ruble was seen as the common currency of the transition period.

In the future, assessing the importance of the Strategy, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev said: «It was a condensed program. Four trends in the political and economic sphere, the four directions in the sphere of ideological consolidation. I did not change the guidelines set forth then. Judge for yourself».

Inter-ethnic accord, intra-national unity, ideology, modernization of Kazakhstan's society, inter-confessional harmony and religious tolerance are the basic directions of ideological consolidation Kazakhstan Society. Then, in the first half of 1990, the development of democratic processes in Kazakhstan was considered, says the President, «as a top priority by only 4-5% of the population. At the same time, more than 60% favored such priorities as stable and normal life, peace and tranquility in the country, family well-being, their health and personal safety». A realistic understanding of the situation and tasks allowed N.A.Nazarbayev to formulate a medium-term national approach: economy first, then politics.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What did Nursultan Nazarbayev say about the main causes of the Soviet collapse?
2. When, where and by who was the Declaration on the final termination of the existence of the USSR adopted and the CIS – Commonwealth of Independent States formed?
3. When and how was the Law «On State Sovereignty of the Republic of Kazakhstan» adopted? Determine its historical value.
4. In what historical necessity was the institute of presidency introduced?
5. What are the basic prerequisites of a new Kazakhstan statehood? What are state symbols of the Republic of Kazakhstan?

## **Topic 12. Determination of the State Boundaries of the Republic of Kazakhstan as an Important Factor in Strengthening the National Security**

### **Lecture Plan:**

1. *Historical and legal basis for the definition and strengthening of the state borders of independent Kazakhstan.*
2. *Determination of the Kazakh-Chinese border.*
3. *Kazakhstan and Central Asian Republics: the process of the suspension control and of delimitation of borders.*
4. *Determination of the border between Kazakhstan and Russia.*
5. *The historical significance of the definition of the border.*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Historical and Legal Basis for the Definition and Strengthening of the State Borders of Independent Kazakhstan**

The Head of State N.A.Nazarbayev explained in the «Strategy of Formation and Development of Kazakhstan as a Sovereign State» (1992) that Kazakhstan's present boundaries has historically been the territory of the resettlement of the ethnic tribes which later formed the Kazakh nation and controlling the entire territory of modern Kazakhstan. An independent state in its current form is not someone's gift to the Kazakhs but a historical homeland, the indigenous Kazakh's land, and the authorities will use all constitutional means to ensure the integrity of the unitary state, the unity and inviolability of its territory.

This was an important statement during such an unstable period. The first time in the history of independent Kazakhstan the steps were taken to identify and to strengthen the state borders. All this required decisive actions. The severity of the situation was the fact that while the borders were legalized in the international legal sense, the possibility of bringing some of territorial claims by neighboring states remained. For example, in 1990s there were the statements of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the ideas of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the views of some «analysts» and certain non-governmental organizations on the «legitimacy» of the territory of Kazakhstan. At the same time, the part of the Russian leadership, its President and the Government did not put forward the territorial claims to the sovereign Kazakhstan.

However, as K.K.Tokaev notes, it should be borne in mind that at the initial stage, in 1992, during the first large-scale preparation of a bilateral agreement, the Russian side insisted on the «lite» version of the contract, assuming that paragraph on the recognition of the territorial integrity of states would be clarified later. In this situation, «it took considerable effort» of the personal intervention of Nursultan Nazarbayev, who spent more than one round of talks with Boris Yeltsin, «to convince the Russians in reverse». And as a result this fundamental agreement was signed and became a basis of the following Kazakh-Russian relations.

Thus, with the acquisition of sovereignty, legal registration of state borders became extremely important, it became a priority in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan. The length of the state border on land is 13 400 kilometers. Water borders on the Caspian Sea will be established after determining of the legal status of the sea by all the coastal countries.

In world practice, it is a common knowledge that a legally defined territory and the state border are essential attributes of the state, as they act as the political and legal categories. It is also the geographical environment in which there is a specific human society. Within its borders the state establishes a certain order, which must not be violated by other countries. In this regard, delimitation and demarcation of the border of Kazakhstan were the strategic activities aimed at identifying and securing the national territory and spatial limits of the sovereign state, as well as the strengthening of the national security as a whole.

To understand the significance of the definition of the state border in 1990-2000-ies, it should be borne in mind that earlier Kazakhstan as an independent state, both in the period of the Kazakh Khanate, and in the days of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, had not had recognized borders in an international legal sense such as today. At the same time it should be noted that the delimitation of the state borders of the sovereign Kazakhstan, and other CIS countries, was held absolutely on a «clean» sheet, not arbitrary, but based on actual administrative boundaries of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (with the RSFSR, Uzbek SSR, the Kyrgyz SSR, the Turkmen SSR) and a part of the statehood borders of the USSR (with China).

The real situation in the 1990s was such that, in order to maintain stability and good neighborly relations at both the national and regional (and even global) level, new independent states – the CIS countries – were to recognize (and ultimately recognized) the passage of thier borders along the same administrative and boundary lines.

Thus, the independent Republic of Kazakhstan rightfully inherited the historical continuity of the whole territory and boundaries of the Kazakh SSR. Therefore, in the Declaration «On the Sovereignty of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic» in 1990 it is fixed (Article 3). «The territory of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic within the existing boundaries is inviolable and indivisible and cannot be used without its consent». However, following the declaration of independence a complex task arose: first, the delimitation and consolidation of the existing borders on the new, international level, and secondly, the resolution of the arising from these disputes.

Since the first days of its existence as an independent state, Kazakhstan has declared its firm commitment to the norms and principles of international law. President Nursultan Nazarbayev set the following targets of foreign policy: «First of all, we declare the peaceful orientation of its policies and declare that we have no territorial claims to any state of the world». Aware of its responsibility, the sovereign Kazakhstan adheres to the principles of the inviolability of the existing borders, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

The Republic of Kazakhstan Constitution stipulates that the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan within the existing boundaries is an integral, inalienable and inviolable. The Law «On the State Border of the Republic of Kazakhstan» dated January 13, 1993 fixed the state border as a line and a passing through it vertical plane defining the limits of the territory – the land, waters, subsoil and air space, and directly stipulates that the border can only be determined by international treaties of the Republic of Kazakhstan ratified by the Parliament.

Legal registration of the border is a guarantee of compliance with the two basic principles of the international law: the principle of inviolability of borders and the principle of territorial integrity of the state. Thus, the policy of our state in this matter is based on the principles and norms of the international law, domestic law and international practice. At the same time the state border defines the territory in which the Republic of Kazakhstan has full sovereign rights.

With the independence of the country, its diplomatic service had the task of identifying and registration of the state borders with neighboring states. The process of establishing an interstate border was fit in a relatively short period – from 1992 to 2005, it was held in three phases in accordance with the directions: with China, with the Central Asian states and Russia.

There is one Eastern proverb that tells about the importance of borders and territory. When during the period of the invasion the dignitary came to the state governor and said that the enemy requires a tribute for peace, the governor ordered it to pay, as it is only money. When a dignitary came back, saying that the enemy requires a princess, the king agreed to again. But when the enemy demanded territorial concessions for peace and the dignitary recommend to give unused land, the governor ordered to cut off the head of a high official, because the territory is the foundation of the state. A wise ruler knew that by giving part of the territory, you can lose everything in the end. Since then, it took many centuries, but the attitude to the territory and the state border remains unchanged. They are sacred and inviolable.

The Flag, the coat of arms, anthem and the border are the four main components of the characteristic of the state. And now, after the completion of the most important process - the delimitation of the state borders, we can proudly state that the sovereign Republic of Kazakhstan is a full-fledged state with all the ensuing rights and obligations.

## **2. Determination of the Kazakh-Chinese Border**

The Kazakh-Chinese border has a long history. The issue of borders with China was complicated by the existence of territorial disputed in the time of the Soviet Union. Controversial areas are a different interpretation of the contract documents, signed in the XIX century between Qing China and the Russian Empire. Soviet diplomats did not recognize the existence of the disputed areas on the border with China for a long time. But in 1969, Kosygin, while being the head of the Soviet Government, arrived to Beijing on the way from Hanoi. At the airport, he met with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai and asked him: «You keep talking about the disputed areas. What is it?» The Chinese Premier asked the Soviet and Chinese specialists to bring their maps. Comparing them, the discrepancies on the line of the state border were found. The total area of the disputed areas was 34 thousand square kilometers. This was recognition of the existing disputed areas on the China-Soviet border.

The boundaries of these areas were originally established in 1864 by Chuguchak protocol between the Russian Empire, which included Kazakhstan, and China. Later, in 1870, a specific passage of the boundary line was established in Habarasuysk protocol, which was recorded in the treaty maps of 1869, 1870, and 1883. The Russian-Chinese Treaty

of the XIX century was the basis for the solution of the border issues between Kazakhstan and neighboring countries. However, the process of demarcation, ie the designation of the boundaries on the ground, does not always correspond to those treaties. In some places there were two lines of the border. One – negotiable, and the second was an actual protected line.

In 1992, the Kazakh side started negotiations with China. As a result of negotiations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic five international treaties have been concluded, in which the passage of the line of the Kazakh-Chinese border were precisely defined and described. After examining all possible options to address this issue the disputed territory (near the pass Chogan – Obo – East Kazakhstan region and Sarychildy River region – Almaty region) has been divided in the ratio 53:47, where Kazakhstan received the area of 537 square km.

After completion of the delimitation, the parties began border demarcation, the total length of which amounted to more than 1782 kilometers. Protocol between the Governments of Kazakhstan and China on the demarcation of the Kazakh-Chinese border was signed on 10 May 2002. The exchange of territories was an equal and consistent with the interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan. However, sometimes it suggested that there were allegedly harmed national interests. However, **the policy, as you know, is the art of the possible.** Please note that the People's Republic of China also had its national interests, but because these difficult border issues could not be solved unilaterally. A compromise was needed. The fact that Kazakhstan was able to successfully achieve such a compromise and at the same time strengthened its strategic partnership with the great China was an undoubted merit of the leadership of Kazakhstan and its diplomacy.

And the more time passes, the clearer it becomes that the unreasonable views of the opposition on border issues were inadequate to modern interstate realities. Both sides, Kazakhstan and China have shown the necessary vision and decided the border issue by a positive compromise. The historical significance of the agreement with China is a clear consolidation of the borders, excluding their different interpretation between the two countries. Also note, that Russia had taken a difficult decision on the delimitation of the borders with China and has conceded to China a number of island territories on the Amur River in the vicinity of Khabarovsk.

Confucius said many centuries ago: «Politics is the daughter of history, and history is the daughter of geography». The history and geography of Kazakhstan and China are destined to be amicable neighbors, sincere friends and strategic partners. At the dawn of independence, Kazakhstan



had faced enormous difficulties. And China was one of the first to support and accepted the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Among bilateral documents the Agreement between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China on Good-Neighborliness signed December 23, 2002, Friendship and Cooperation is fundamental. The countries achieved a high level of political dialogue and strategic partnership which allows being optimistic about the future of bilateral relations for the benefit of both peoples.

### **3. Kazakhstan and the Central Asian Republics: the Process of Adjusting and Delimitation of Borders**

The boundaries between the neighboring Republics in the Soviet era were internal administrative-territorial and designated only on maps, but not on the ground. In the late 1980s – early 1990s the radical social circles often expressed the idea of the need for a historical approach to the delimitation of the territories. Such audits were fraught with serious complications in international relations and could be the cause of violent conflicts on the post-Soviet space. Common sense prevailed, and after the collapse of the USSR the former Soviet Republics declared the immutability of existing borders.

However, security issues could not be automatically resolve. It was no accident, that the President Nursultan Nazarbayev in the «Critical Decade» stressed the need to establish a «security zone» in all directions of potential threats and challenges. Among a range of measures to be taken within the framework of a unified concept of security, the President stressed the need to complete the delimitation of boundaries between all the countries of the region. This was facilitated by the fact that the countries of Central Asia eventually realized that open uncontrolled borders had been actively used for illegal export of raw materials, non-ferrous metals, energy, and the intensification of illicit drug trafficking, arms trafficking, illegal migration poses a real threat to national security.

In September 1999, a government commission was formed in the Republic of Kazakhstan on the delimitation of the state border of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan was coordinating the negotiations with all neighboring States in accordance with a task on ensure of protection of the sovereignty, security, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders of

the Republic of Kazakhstan with diplomatic means and methods. Article 2 of the Law «On the State Border of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was confirmed: «The Republic of Kazakhstan, on the basis of the international principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of the proclaimed legal succession of the former Soviet Union, confirms the passage of their state border on the day of entry into force of this Law, international treaties, including acts of administrative-territorial delimitation of the Republic of Kazakhstan and other states – former Soviet Republics».

Legal documents, securing the recognition of the administrative-territorial delimitation of the former Soviet Union, became the Alma-Ata Declaration of 21 December 1991, the Declaration On Compliance With The Principles Of Cooperation within the Commonwealth of Independent States on 14 February 1992, the Declaration on respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of the CIS member states of 15 April 1994 and the various bilateral agreements. From the point of view of compliance with the Constitution of the USSR administrative boundary between the Kazakh SSR and the Uzbek SSR was the most settled. The complexity of the same was that 200 kilometers of the border with Uzbekistan (total length of 2351 kilometers) passed on the densely populated area from both Kazakhstan and from Uzbekistan. This is Saryagash, and Makhtaaraal areas in South-Kazakhstan region and Tashkent and Jizzakh region of Uzbekistan. Some localities had grown together, so much so that sometimes the boundary line passed from house to house, cut through the village. However, to avoid mutual territorial claims, the parties took as a basis the existing regional administrative-territorial boundaries established in the 1950-1960-ies.

The negotiations with the Uzbek side were not easy. In February 2000 Tashkent hosted the first round of negotiations of the Governmental delegations of the two countries, they agreed on the line of the joint border. The second round of negotiations (Astana, May 2000) allowed to proceed to the practical delimitation. On the Kazakh-Uzbek border areas had varying degrees of complexity. Government delegations had to work in difficult conditions, but the disputes were resolved by compromise.

The easiest was the delimitation with Turkmenistan, since the boundary ran along the southern tip of the Ustyurt plateau, the desert – all 426 kilometers. As the legal basis for the delimitation documents the border of in 1932 and 1972 was adopted. During the talks in Ashgabat in April 2001, the parties agreed on the draft treaty on the delimitation and demarcation of the Kazakh-Turkmen state border, signed by the heads of both States

on July 5, 2001 in Astana. In December 2001 in Ashgabat at the trilateral meeting the delegations agreed on and initialed the Agreement between Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan on the area of the point of the joint of frontiers. Summary length of the land section of the Kazakh-Turkmen state border was 426.08 km.

A similar situation was on the border with Kyrgyzstan. Negotiations on the delimitation of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz state border were carried out from November 1999 to December 2001 and were based on the Treaty of Eternal Friendship between the countries of 8 April 1997, and the Memorandum of delimitation of the state border between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic of July 17, 1998. At the meetings of the working groups we identified a number of areas where there were differences between geographical boundaries and a description of the boundaries. From August to November 2001 the delegation held several meetings with trips to the area, which resulted in the line of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz border. The agreement was reached on the entire border without any «windows». Agreement between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic on the Kazakh-Kyrgyz state border was signed in Astana on December 15, 2001 and subsequently ratified by the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan in July 2003.

Today the issue of border delimitation with Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are fully resolved. The length of the border with Kyrgyzstan was about 1242 km, with Turkmenistan – about 426 km, with Uzbekistan – 2351 km.

#### **4. Determination of the border between Kazakhstan and Russia**

Kazakh-Russian border is the longest continuous line of the land border in the world and is about 7591 km. The delimitation of the border between Kazakhstan and Russia is unique in the world of international legal practice because of the relatively short period of time managed to agree on all the points of its transmission line.

The delimitation of the border began from west to east, from the coast of the Caspian Sea in the Volga River delta and to the point of border of Kazakhstan, Russia and China in the South Altay. The administrative and territorial borders between the Kazakh SSR and the RSFSR were taken as the basis, established at the time of the Soviet collapse, ie by 1991. We carefully examined all the materials which existed in the state archives, if

necessary, carried out the survey of individual regions, meetings were held with local residents.

According to the head of Kazakhstani government delegation to the negotiations on the delimitation of the Kazakh-Russian state border, Ambassador at Large of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan Murat Atanov, a principal in the negotiation process was «recognition of such an important moment, as the absence of the so-called disputed territories along the Kazakh-Russian border».

The first phase was coordinated and a draft description of the boundary line in the 7440 km was prepared. In the remaining 150 km the joint commission identified 16 sites where they found some discrepancies, and put forward proposals for adjustments to the border line. Proposals for its amendment with a compensation exchange areas were put forward in view of the fact that economic and social facilities on the one hand were on the territory of the other. The sides have met each other, and the passage of the boundary line was settled in accordance with the proposals of the mutual exchanges and the compensation of the areas.

The greatest controversy has caused the definition of the border, passing through **Imashevskoye condensate field** (West Kazakhstan). As K.K.Tokaev notes talks about this site «were difficult, sometimes nervous. Claiming this area, none of the parties, however, failed to present convincing documented arguments in their favor». The border line was shown on different maps, on-duty materials and land or forest management, submitted by the parties. The difficulty lay in the fact that there were conflicting documents issued at the time of Astrakhan oblast executive committees and Guryevsky. Even in Soviet times there were disputes between them for the portion located between the Kurmangazy district of Atyrau region and Krasnoyarsk district of Astrakhan region, and it remained unresolved for decades. After intensive discussions, it was decided to apply the method successfully used in solving disputes in other areas, a compromise and equal exchange. This territory was divided equally; the field will be developed jointly by Kazakh and Russian companies on a parity basis.

The first protocol on the delimitation of the Kazakh-Russian state border was signed in 1998. The negotiations lasted for over six years. This work was begun by N. Nazarbayev since Boris Yeltsin. So, on January 18, 2005, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Russian President Vladimir Putin signed the Treaty on the Kazakh-Russian state border. This treaty was a milestone of foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the key point of law in the international legal formalization of Kazakh-Russian

state border. The document has already entered the history of the relations between the two countries as the opening a new page of the strategic partnership. Kazakh-Russian border is a symbol of centuries-old friendship and good neighborliness.

## **5. The Historical Significance of the Definition of the State Border**

The most important outcome of the work on delimitation of the state border 1990-2000-ies is that the future generations will remain with a peaceful, stable border, protected by international law.

The next stage of the border settlement is its demarcation, ie the designation of the boundary line in the area through the establishment of special border signs. Some media were quick to say that the alleged border delimitation will follow certain difficulties in the movement of citizens, obstacles to cooperation of border regions. The President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev said firmly: «No border posts, no «plowed» field, and no other obstacles at the border will be. Our border has always been a border of friendship and partnership. We have always been united by common historical destinies of our spiritual and cultural closeness of our peoples. We were always together in joy and adversity, we are united in an effort to make the lives of our fraternal peoples prosperous and flourishing. Therefore, we have a full understanding on all major issues and general vision of our future. I see this as a guarantee of stability and prosperity of Kazakhstan and Russia».

In 2003, Kazakhstan started the demarcation of the border with Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, and then continued work on the demarcation of the border with Kyrgyzstan and Russia.

The urgent need for demarcation was due to the fact that the boundary line should be visible and marked on the ground by special signs. The lack of marking the border could lead to border incidents involving violation of the rules of the line of intersection by the residents of the border areas. These facts took place in the area near the border of South Kazakhstan region with the corresponding region of Uzbekistan. This fact creates the preconditions for such negative and dangerous phenomena such as smuggling, illegal migration and drug trafficking.

Demarcation border around the perimeter is needed to ensure the safety and security of the country. to prevent unlawful and forcible change of the line of the state border, illegal use or development of the neighboring states

and their citizens of the border sites in Kazakhstan. Given the geopolitical location of Kazakhstan, this is especially true.

At the dawn of independence, President Nursultan Nazarbayev has repeatedly stressed: «There is no task more important than the preservation of the territorial integrity and independence of Kazakhstan». And today, at the end of the 2000s, we can state with confidence that, together with the statement of the state border a big task to strengthen the territorial integrity have been accomplished successfully". It is a solid foundation of national security and stability in a long historical perspective.

**National security.** The most important factor of the state independence is the Armed Forces and a system of services to ensure security, political, territorial and economic interests of the sovereign country. The establishment of such structures is absolutely necessary for the normal functioning of the state. In the Republic of Kazakhstan, such structures were established in the 1990s under the direct supervision of the Head of State. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Supreme Commander is the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

After the events of August 1991, the status of the Armed Forces was critical. Staff of the 40th Army was eliminated, which led to chaos in the management of land forces in the country. In 1992, thousands of troops illegally left part of the Ministry of Defense. Budget underfunding, the problems associated with the payment of salaries, flight officer training in other CIS countries, evasion of military service – all of these negative phenomena discredited army and its personnel. The polygons as «Baikonur», Saryshagan, Semipalatinsk nuclear facility were particularly affected. These strategic facilities were looted and almost fell into disrepair. Therefore, the creation of the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan was a logical step and objective of the government. In the difficult conditions of 1991-1992 Kazakhstan defended the idea of the formation of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth in the interests of the national security. «During the last year of existence of the USSR and the first years of formation of the CIS and the independent states – wrote in his memoirs the Hero of the Soviet Union Sagadat Kozhahmetovich Nurmagambetov, – reform of the security agencies and the Armed Forces was, to a certain extent, of a spontaneous character, and was rather the result of a collision of many political interests than a purposeful creative process».

March 16, 1992 in accordance with the Constitutional Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On State Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan» a decree «On creation of the Republican Guard of the Republic

of Kazakhstan» was signed. In May 1992, Colonel Bulat Bahitzhanovich Zhanasayev started its formation and staffing. In the same month the first recruits from all regions of Kazakhstan began to arrive to undergo military service in the Republican Guard. The chief of staff of the State Committee of Defense of Kazakhstan major-general S.A. Altynbekov was entrusted the duties of the Commander of the Republican Guard. An honor guard, the commander of which was G. Demchenko captain, who had a great professional experience in preparing ceremonial units, was transferred to a special detachment. The charter of the Kremlin regiment of the Russian Federation was taken as a basis for the formation of the Republican Guard.

In accordance with the Law of 1995 «On the Republican Guard of the Republic of Kazakhstan» (with alterations and amendments as of December 20, 2004) the following tasks shall have trusted to the National Guard: participation in the provision of security to the protected persons in the performance of ceremonial rituals, protection of critical public facilities, security of the standards of the National flag of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the State Emblem of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Over the years, the following officer carried out the command of the Republican Guard: Major General Tulegen Anuarbekovich Umbetbayev, Colonel-General Sat Besshibaevich Tokpakbayev, Major General Bulat Bahitzhanovich Janasayev, Major General Bolat Gazizovich Isakov, Lieutenant-General Abay Balyukpaevich Tasbulatov.

Based on the legal right to create its own armed forces, confirmed by the agreement of the Council of the Heads of States – members of the CIS, «On the Armed Forces and Border Troops», the President signed a decree «On creation of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan» of May 7, 1992. On the same day, the President appointed the participant of the Great Patriotic War, General S.K. Nurmagambetov as the Minister of Defense. The military units, polygons, arsenals, depots, the property of the CIS United Armed Forces were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

April 9, 1993 the Law «On Defense and Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was adopted, which became the basis for the development of many other documents ensuring the military security of the state. 1993 and subsequent years were spent for the stabilization of the situation in the armed forces, the elimination of the consequences caused by the collapse of the USSR Armed Forces, as well as the organization of combat training. The first Military Doctrine of Kazakhstan was adopted in 1993. It was aimed at

the formation of a military security system at the stage of formation of a sovereign state.

Creation of our own Armed Forces required major changes in the system of the military training. **On July 1, 1996 the Cadet Corps of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Kazakhstan named Ch.V.Valikhanov** was formed for training of junior commanders. In February 1997, for the improvement of the preparation of the officers and the development of military science the Almaty Higher Military Command School named after Konev was transformed into the Military Academy. Later, the Military Academy was reorganized into the National Defense University. During the years of independence effectively operating network of military schools in the country was formed.

Develop and adopt a new military doctrine in 2000 was dictated by the need to provide rapid changes in matters of military construction, in the means, methods and character of military action that have occurred in recent years. In July 2000, the Concept of military reform in the Republic of Kazakhstan was approved.

Four military districts were created in 2001, which were then converted into regional «Astana» command, the «West», «East» and «South» compulsory military service depots, the period of which is one year in Kazakhstan. The number of armed forces is about 70 thousand people, the paramilitaries is 34 500. In the Western region of the Republicat the strategic sites in the Caspian region a military infrastructure was established, which should be carried out a systematic control to prevent the penetration of the of international terrorism, extremism, drug trafficking and weapons, expansion of military conflicts in the immediate vicinity of our borders.

To gain military control of the Armed Forces, a Joint Council of the Chiefs of Staff was created by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The Armed Forces of Kazakhstan are divided into the following combat arms: Ground forces, air defense force, naval forces and the Republican Guard.

At the beginning of the century, new threats and challenges arose. In accordance with this on January 7, 2005 a new law «On Defense and Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was adopted, which allows to coordinate the functions and authority of the state bodies in the sphere of defense and the Armed Forces. On July 8, 2005 the Head of State of the Republic of Kazakhstan signed the Law «On Military Duty and Military Service». With the approval of Kazakhstan Development Strategy until 2030 and the Strategy of National Security of the Republic of Kazakhstan there



were qualitative changes in military construction. A priority has been given to the regional organization of on Collective Security Treaties Organization (CSTO). Its mission is to maintain the conditions for general interactivity of the national Armed Forces.

Collective Security Treaty Organization is a regional international organization, the proclaimed objectives of which are to strengthen peace and international independence, territorial integrity, the priority of achieving of which is given to political means by the Member States. CSTO was laid on May 15, 1992 by signing a Collective Security Treaty in Tashkent by the Heads of Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan. In 1993, Azerbaijan, Belarus and Georgia joined the CSTO. Later Azerbaijan, Georgia and Uzbekistan left the organization. At the time of its entry into force in 1994, the CSTO has 9 members, at the moment – 6. The highest authority is the Collective Security Council (CSC), which appoints the Secretary General of the organization.

Since 2009, Russia and Kazakhstan started to conduct annual joint military exercises on the territory of the two countries. The Army of the renewed Kazakhstan enhances its power every year, increases readiness; a gradual transition of military service on a contract basis is being continued. The younger generation of Kazakhstani soldiers seizes new equipment and weapons for the protection of borders and democratic gains.

On July 13, 1992 a new independent domestic intelligence agency was created by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev – National Security Committee (KNB) of Kazakhstan. Today it is a multi-functional, mobile, technically equipped structure, consistently carrying out its activities in the sphere of ensuring the national security of a sovereign and independent Kazakhstan. The head of Kazakhstan's National Security Committee is a chairman, who is appointed by the President of the Republic with the consent of the Senate.

In accordance with the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On the National Security Bodies of the Republic of Kazakhstan» the main tasks of these bodies are the involvement in the development and implementation of state policy in the field of security of individuals, society and the state; obtaining intelligence information in the interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan; suppression of intelligence activity of special services and organizations of foreign countries; combating terrorism and other activities aimed at the violent change of the constitutional system, violation of the integrity and undermining the

security of the Republic of Kazakhstan; safety and protection of the state border of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

**The Border Guard Service** occupies a special place in ensuring the territorial integrity and security of the country it. On August 18, 1992 the Border Troops of the National Security Committee were created by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The first commander was General E. Neverovsky. The Border troops were formed on the basis of Eastern Border District of the USSR. At one time these troops were guarding the Soviet-Chinese and Soviet-Afghan part of the border.

Originally the border troops were a structural part of the National Security Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In 1995, in accordance with the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan the border troops received the status of a separate state committee which purpose was to protect the state borders of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The situation in the southern borders of Kazakhstan and Central Asia was contradictory in the late 1990s, so it was needed to pay special attention to border problems of the country. In this period the facts of smuggling of natural resources, drug trafficking, illegal migration was frequent. In order to prevent such cases in 1999 the border troops guarding the state border were transformed into the Border Service of the National Security Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Currently, the Border Guard Service successfully operates in the direction of security, political stability and the country's independence.

Formation of Kazakhstan as a sovereign state has led to the formation of the new government administration of the Customs Service. Kazakhstan started to determine the customs policy as a separate sphere in the context of domestic and foreign policy.

Fundamentals of the Customs Service of the Republic of Kazakhstan were laid down in the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated 12 December 1991 «On the Formation of the Customs Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan». After the establishment of the Customs Committee in accordance with the Decree of 28 February 1992, «On the Establishment of the Customs Authorities» six customs posts (**Tselinograd, Astana, Karaganda, Pavlodar, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Shymkent, Khorgos**) were created.

Due to the political and economic crisis resulting from the collapse of the Soviet Union, the emergence of a sovereign, independent country took place in difficult historical conditions, which in turn could not leave unaffected the formation of the Customs Service. Until 1992, in Kazakhstan

there were the guarded borders and customs posts only with China («Khorghos», «Bakhty», «Dostyk»). Introduction of the customs borders with the neighboring countries required education in Kazakhstan multi-vector customs organizations.

On July 16, 1999 the Law «On the Customs Service of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was adopted, and on April 5, 2003 – The Customs Code.

In 1995, the leaders of Kazakhstan, Russia, Belarus, and later Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan signed the first agreement on the establishment of the Customs Union, which was subsequently transformed into the Eurasian Economic Community.

On October 6, 2007 in Dushanbe, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia signed a treaty on the establishment of a single customs territory and formation of the Customs Union. On November 28, 2009 Minsk hosted a meeting of Dmitry Medvedev, Alexander Lukashenko and Nursultan Nazarbayev on creation of the common customs space on the territory of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan on January 1, 2010.

In January 2010, the Common Customs Tariff of the three countries entered into force. From July on the territory of the CU member states (including Belarus), came into force a single Customs Code.

On July 1, 2011 all the customs control was moved to the outer contour of the borders of the Customs Union. The border and immigration control was retained at the internal borders.

In accordance with international obligations under the Customs Union and Common Economic Space, of the amounts of import customs duties transferred to the budget of Russia are 85.33% of the total duties received, 7.11% to Kazakhstan, 4.55% to Belarus, 1.9% to Kyrgyzstan, 1.11% to Armenia.

Migrant workers – nationals of the Member States of the Customs Union EAEC (Kazakhstan, Belarus, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan) are not required buy a patent for a job in Russia, they are equated labor rights with Russian citizens.

In October 2011, all the rules of the Customs Union were brought into full compliance with WTO rules. In addition, it was decided that in the case of entry of a CU member states the WTO rules of the organization will have priority over the rules of the CU.

Thus, a new stage in the development of the Customs Service came on January 1, 2010, when the agreement came into force and the Customs Union began to operate, the agreed external customs tariff was applied. The strengthening of the southern borders of the Customs Union is of

particular importance, which was done in 2010-2012 before the functioning of the single economic space. On the basis of the Customs Union of Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belorussia on January 1, 2015 the Eurasian Economic Union was established, Armenia joins it on January 2, 2015 and Kyrgyzstan – on 12 May of the same year.

The border and customs services, on the one hand, protect the public and the economic interests of Kazakhstan, on the other hand, they are adjustable «gateway» between Kazakhstan and neighboring countries, promote positive interaction with regional and world economic community, with all the outside world.

And thus, as a result of a great effort over the years of independence, the structures have been created in Kazakhstan, ensuring reliable defense, security and economic interests of sovereign Kazakhstan.

Historically important and significant in the establishment, strengthening and development of the Armed Forces, the Republican Guard, the Border Guard and Customs Service of the Republic of Kazakhstan is the role of the Head of State. The activities of all these structures that provide real security and sovereignty of the country, is under the direct supervision of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What is the historical and legal basis of the delimitation of the state border of independent Kazakhstan?
2. How was the problem of the border delimitation between Kazakhstan and China solved?
3. What are the features of the delimitation of the state border between Kazakhstan and Russia?
4. What was the process of delimitation and demarcation of borders between Kazakhstan and the Central Asian states?
5. When and on what documents were the Armed Forces, the National Security Committee, the Border Guards and Customs Services of the Republic of Kazakhstan formed?

**Topic 13. Constitutional Reforms of the 1990, 2007 and 2017.**  
**Completion of the Construction of the State Independence of Kazakhstan**

***Lecture Plan:***

- 1. Development of the Constitution of Kazakhstan of 1993.*
- 2. Strengthening of the national sovereignty and of the Presidency Institute. Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1995.*
- 3. Formation of Modern Kazakhstan Parliamentarism.*
- 4. Administrative-territorial reform of 1997.*
- 5. Constitutional reforms of the second half of the 1990s.*
- 6. Constitutional reform in 2007.*

**Summary of the Lecture**

**1. Development of the Constitution of Kazakhstan of 1993**

The Constitution of the Kazakh SSR acting in the early 90-ies did not meet the realities of the time. On the one hand, the Supreme Council – the representative body of the Soviet regime continued to act, on the other hand, a new institution of the presidency had just developed. The government faced the task of the early establishment of the legal framework of the Republic of Kazakhstan. It was necessary to begin with the preparation of the Basic Law, that is, the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

A Constitutional Commission was established on the initiative of Nursultan Nazarbayev for the development of the draft of the Constitution. It was composed of prominent scientists, public figures and statesmen G.Sapargaliev, Yu.Kim, A.Kazhenov, B.Mukhamedzhanov, K.Kolpakov, Yu.Maltsev, T.Donakov. Later it was joined by the Minister of Justice N.Shaykenov. The Management of the Working Group was entrusted to the Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council Z.Fedotov.

Discussion of the most fundamental issues in the draft of the Constitution of 1993 took place in a heated debate at the meetings of the Constitutional Commission. The conservative members of the Supreme Council tried to keep the vertical power of the Soviets, led by the Supreme Council. They blocked the issues of creating a bicameral Parliament, granting the President the right to dissolve the parliament, and others. Therefore, as N.A.Nazarbayev recalls, «the Constitution adopted in 1993 was a compromise between the part of society that opposed the holding of the socio-economic and political

reforms, and its other part, understand the necessity and inevitability of the transformation of the Kazakh SSR in a civilized democratic state».

Yet the Constitution of 1993 was more democratic than previous constitutions. The first Constitution of independent Kazakhstan was adopted on 28 January 1993, it consisted of 4 sections, 21 chapters. Kazakhstan was proclaimed an integral part of the international community, it confirmed the commitment of the Republic to the international standards and its course to the creation of a democratic and legal state. The Constitution proclaimed inter-ethnic harmony in the country under the leadership of the Kazakh nation, to ensure equal rights and freedoms to all citizens, reinforcing the rights and duties of man. Under the Constitution, the state language in the Republic was the Kazakh language and the Russian language received the status of a lingua franca. The restriction of the rights and freedoms of citizens on the grounds of the lack of knowledge of the state language or the language of international communication was prohibited.

During the further progressive development of Kazakhstani society the disadvantages of the Constitution, its detachment from reality were more and more visible. It was stated that Kazakhstan is a democratic state, but in reality in 1993, democratic reforms have yet fought their way. The Basic Law defined the legal and social oriented status of the state, and this was yet to be achieved. The Constitution of 1993 has not been clearly defined form of government. Kazakhstan was proclaimed a Republic, but did not specify which one. At this time, the country has both the signs of a presidential and a parliamentary Republic.

The structure of the Constitution of 1993 also caused some criticism. The chapter on the Supreme Council was before the chapter of the President. This meant the rule of the supreme representative body in the state hierarchy. In the article «state, its bodies and institutions», it was stated that the right to speak on behalf of Kazakhstan belongs only to the Supreme Council and the President. Here again the rule the Supreme Council was traced. In the economic sphere, the possibility of private ownership of land was excluded. As the researchers note, the 1993 Constitution is a kind of trade-off «between the emerging institution of the presidency and the Council, between the market and the remnants of the command economy».

The 1993 Constitution did not give the definition of such concepts as «social cohesion» and «political stability», «economic development for the benefit of the people», «Kazakhstan patriotism», «vote on the Republican referendum». It was not possible to clearly define the state policy without

their clear definition. At the request of the Head of State, these concepts were introduced in the Constitution (1995).

The contradictions between the executive and the legislature exacerbated every day in 1993. The work of the deputies of the post soviet period was carried in the absence of a developed market economy and the civil society. In 1990-1994, many laws that did not have a financial base were adopted. As a result, society was conceived in frustration, distrust of the policies.

The tragic events of October 1993, in Russia, the elimination of the former power of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow influenced the course of further political processes in Kazakhstan. The need for strong presidential power to carry out economic reforms, the course on modernization of Kazakhstan was more and more clear. After the dissolution of the Communist Party and the establishment of vertical management the Soviets lost their former significance, since in fact they retarded the progress of economic reforms and the legislative framework for the establishment of civil society. **Political differences between the Government and the Parliament deteriorated sharply.** Local councils found the way out of the situation. Following the dissolution of the Soviet of the Alatau district of Almaty they announced about their self dissolution. In a short time, dozens of other representative bodies announced of their dissolution. More than 200 members of the XII Supreme Council out of the 360 prematurely removed from their office as deputy, and submitted their resignation. This process began on November 16, 1993. Under the circumstances, on December 10, 1993 the Law **«On Temporary Delegation of Additional Powers to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Heads of Local Authorities»** came into force, which allowed the President to take decisions of a legislative nature.

The significance of the Constitution of 1993 is that it had laid the foundations for a civilized development of the state, became a guarantor in the protection of rights and freedoms. With its adoption of the international community welcomed a new democratic state – the Republic of Kazakhstan. «However, – indicates N.A Nazarbayev – the 1993 Constitution was the legal obstacle to the improvement of the state apparatus, the further development of socio-economic and political reforms. It is a «compromise of the history». The Basic Law did not meet all public expectations, primarily due to the fact that it identifies not goals and priorities in social development».

Thus, in the first half of the 1990s Kazakhstan's model of political system passed three stages in its development. The first stage (March 1990 – November 1991) was the establishment of a parliamentary Republic.

In the second stage (from December 1991 to January 1993) a semi-presidential Republic was formed. The third stage (from January 1993 to March 1995) showed the features of both parliamentary and presidential country (especially since December 1993).

The general trend of the evolution of the state-political system in the first half of the 1990s was quite obvious and historically logical – in the direction of strengthening of Kazakhstan as a presidential Republic.

## **2. Strengthening of the National Sovereignty and of the Presidency Institute. Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 1995**

Since the second half of the 1990s, the process of gradual formation of public-political system of modern Kazakhstan had been taking place. However, it was not perfectly smooth: the starting point of the transformation was the decision of the Constitutional Court of 6 March 1995, which recognized the Supreme Soviet of the thirteenth convocation, elected in March 7, 1994, illegitimate (in connection with the violation of the Election Code). The occasion was a lawsuit submitted by the candidate deputies Tatiana Kwiatkowska to the Constitutional Court, the requirements of which boiled down to the invalidation of elections in Abylaykhanovsky electoral district of Almaty city. As the result some of the documents of the CEC of the Republic of Kazakhstan were recognized inconsistent with the Constitution, the use of which violated the equality of citizens' rights during their participation in the elections, contributed to the establishment of polling stations not equivalent to the numerical composition of the electorate. There were also identified numerous examples of violations of the counting of votes. As a result the Supreme Council of the thirteenth convocation was dissolved.

The deeper causes of the dissolution of the Supreme Council were its low efficiency, slow-acting when the adoption of the laws necessary to society, especially in the period of transition to a market economy, was very long. Such slowness could slow the pace of reforms, the implementation of the commitment to the speedy development of the market mechanisms.

A non-standard political situation developed in the country: **Kazakhstan remained without a legislative, representative body.** However, on March 11, 1995, the Constitutional Court confirmed that the Law «On Temporary Delegation of additional powers to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the heads of local authorities» adopted on the 10 of December 1993, continued to operate. So at the next turn of the modern



history of the country the responsibility for the development of the course of the country was entirely on the shoulders of the Head of State.

The way out of the current political situation was an Initiative of the Kazakhstan People's Assembly (established on 1 March 1995) to hold a referendum to extend the powers of the President. After the signing of the Decree of March 25, 1995 «About the Republican Referendum» a referendum to extend the powers of the President N.A. Nazarbayev until December 1, 2000 was held on April 29, 1995. It was attended by 91.26% of voters, of which 95.46% voted in favor of the extension of powers of the President. Since then, the institution of the presidency became the leading political institution in the country. **From March to December 1995 the President of the country Nursultan Nazarbayev**, endowed with the legislative powers, signed **one hundred and fifty of market laws**, finally consolidated the processes of modernization in Kazakhstan.

After the April referendum, the question arose about the development of the new Constitution, which was an adequate task of a new stage of national development. At the same time the Constitution had to meet not only current needs, but most importantly – the prospects of Kazakhstan. It should positively solve the problem of the relationship between society and the state, strengthen the sense of patriotism and confidence in the future of all the people of Kazakhstan, taking into account the scale, political engagement of the population, the state of society and the experience of countries that successfully have found a way out of similar situations.

**A number of drafts were considered.** Advisory Constitutional Board was established by the presidential decree for the analysis and examination of the selected drafts on May 22, 1995. This council consisted of 12 people: Yu.V.Basin, professor of the Kazakh State Law Institute, Doctor of Law; V.A.Kim, head of the department of public law KazSNU, Doctor of Law; K.A.Kolpakov, a representative of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the Supreme Council, Doctor of Law; A.K.Kotov, Deputy Director of the Research Centre for Private Law of Kazakh State Institute; B.A.Mukhamedzhanov, Head of the Department on legislation and judicial-legal system of the Administration of the President of the RepublicKazakhstan; E.K.Nurpeisov, a prominent scientist, rector of Kazakh State Law Institute, PhD; G.S.Sapargaliev, Director of the Institute of State and Law of the Ministry of Justice, Academician of NAS of the Republic of Kazakhstan; M.Kh.Suleymenov, Director of the Research Centre for Private Law of Kazakh State Institute, corresponding member of National

Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan; N.A.Shaykenov, Minister of Justice, Doctor of Law. The commission also included foreign experts: S.S.Alekseev, Chairman of the Scientific Council of the Center for the study of the Russian Federation; Roland Dumas, Chairman of the Board of Constitutional Council in France.

The draft constitution was submitted for public discussion on 30 June. An active discussion of the basic law lasted for the whole month: **approximately 35 thousand meetings** took place in the country to discuss the project, and there were about 30 thousand different suggestions and comments... As a result, **1100 amendments were made** into the 55 articles of the Constitution (95). The discussion was also attended by 58 national organizations, associations and movements, they submitted 678 proposals and comments.

On August 30, 1995 the national referendum was attended by 8,212,773 people, or 81.14% of the electorate. Only 9.9% of the participants expressed a negative answer at the referendum. The new Constitution of the Republic was approved by 89% of the participants in the referendum. The adoption of the Basic Law of the state in such a short time is a rare phenomenon in the world. The new Constitution established a solid foundation of the statehood and a clear political and legal outline of a single state power, capable to guide and regulate the development of society. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan it is a democratic, secular, unitary, social and legal state. **In fact, Kazakhstan has become a state with a presidential form of government.** The basis of the democratic system, democratic principles and values are an individual, his rights and freedom, ideological and political pluralism, equality before the law.

The constitution established democratic principles of separation of powers in the country between the legislative, executive and judicial branches, which interact on the principles of deterrence and balance. The principal position was that the institution of the presidency now has become the personification of the unity of the state and the people of Kazakhstan, while in the 1993 Constitution it was within the executive branch.

In accordance with Article 40 Section 3 of the Constitution the President is the Head of State, which determines the direction of domestic and foreign policy. President, first of all, the symbol and guarantor of the unity of the people and the government, and secondly, provides a unified action of state power branches, maintaining the responsibility of government to the people of Kazakhstan. Thus, the President is the supreme arbiter between the branches of government and has the relevant powers.

Thus, the feature of the new Constitution and the confirmed by it the state and political system of government is to strengthen the institution of the presidency, which generally corresponds to the challenges of the modern era. Kazakhstan is a free society, it is not surprising that the tendency to strengthen the institution of the presidency, as reflected in the 1995 Constitution and in the actual practice of state building, sparked a public debate about the presence of signs of authoritarian political system of Kazakhstan. Note, however, that the expansion of powers of the President as the head of state is due to the need to accelerate completion of the reforms in the socio-economic sphere in the conditions of the transit period.

The concept of «Parliament» as a democratic institution has been introduced in the Constitution, approved in many countries and has proven its effectiveness. The new constitution defined the powers of the President in the relationship – the Parliament and the President-Government. Parliament has been recognized as the highest representative body exercising legislative activity of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In accordance with the constitutional powers the Parliament can in a limited form speak on behalf of the people, and to approve the basic principles and rules of governing of certain aspects of government and public relations.

In order to implement the mechanism of checks and balances, as well as the improvement of the legislature, a bicameral Parliament was established in Kazakhstan. According to the 1995 Constitution, the Parliament consists of two permanent chambers: the Senate and the Majilis. The powers of the Senate are 6 years, of the Majilis – 5 years. The upper house of Parliament is the Senate. It is designed to perform oversight functions of regional representation, and is the link between the head of state and the lower house – the Majilis, which, in turn, pays special attention to the requirements of the people being the main representative Chamber.

Thus, in the mid-1990s a professional parliament began to form for the first time in the history of Kazakhstan. In the context of increasing of the presidency there was not an oversimplification, but, on the contrary, the further development of the state system. It is evidenced by the creation of a bicameral Parliament, which replaced the unicameral Supreme Council.

Responsibility and the importance of the executive branch were increased in the reformed public system. The government itself carries out the management of the system of executive bodies. In the 5th section of the new Constitution, the powers of government are clearly marked.

In contrast to the 1993 Constitution, the 1995 Constitution settled, clarified the relationship of the main political institutions of the state system.

The transformation of the political system of Kazakhstan proceeded in difficult situation, in parallel with the formation of the civil society, reforms of the economy. Lack of development of political institutions and democratic governance, the weakness of the electoral system led to many difficulties. It was in order to overcome these difficulties and an early exit from the crisis and Ensuring Sustainable Development in the period of restructuring the institution of the presidency was given a major and decisive role.

As a result of political transformation in the mid-1990s, the country formed a special model of presidentialism, which corresponded to the historical significance of ongoing large-scale reforms of Kazakhstan's civil society, especially the national political culture and the emerging market economies.

In the mid – 1990s, this transformation of the political system of Kazakhstan was met ambiguously by the world and domestic public. Some (some former deputies, representatives of political parties, experts) considered the events of 1995 only as «unconstitutional dispersal of the parliament» For others, in 1993-1995 there was not so much «acceleration» but «dissolving» of the Supreme Council of the two convocations, which logically followed from the adoption of the new Constitution and the strengthening (in complex internal and external environment) of the powers of the president.

Then, in 1995, various political forces looked at the essence of these changes in different ways. Some stood on the side of political change, while others, in fact, against them. But history will put everything in its place. Time has shown that the creation of a new parliamentary system was absolutely necessary and justified. Ultimately, not only in Kazakhstan but also in all CIS countries there were similar transformations, and the old system of the Soviets, and the former constitution gave way to its historic place to new political structures and laws.

The advantage, a big plus of Kazakhstan's situation in 1995 (and 1993) consisted in the fact that the dissolution of the Supreme Council took place peacefully, without bloodshed, through legal mechanisms, rather than through armed confrontation as it was in neighboring countries.

Kazakhstan firmly embarked on the path of law and order.

### **3. Formation of Modern Kazakhstan Parliamentarism**

A new stage of Kazakhstan's Parliamentarism began with the formation of a bicameral Parliament in 1995. Elections to the Senate and the Majilis of the Parliament of the first convocation were held on December 9, 1995.

40 deputies were elected to the Senate – two persons from 19 regions and the capital of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Seven deputies of the Senate were appointed by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. All members are certified specialists with higher education, among them: 10 lawyers, 10 economists, 9 engineers, 8 agricultural specialists. There were 4 doctors, 11 candidates of sciences among the deputies. Many deputies had been previously elected to legislative bodies, among them - the people's deputies of the Kazakh SSR, the USSR, and the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kazakhstan of the twelfth and thirteenth convocations, having professional experience of legislative activity. On January 30, 1996 at the first meeting of the Senate of Kazakhstan of the first convocation Omirbek Baygeldi was elected Chairman of the Senate by the recommendation of the President of the country.

The Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan consisted of 67 deputies. According to the results of the elections in the Majilis men dominated – 58 deputies, women -9. All members of the Chamber had higher education, including 7 doctors of sciences, 10 candidates of sciences. On January 30, 1996 at the first session of the Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan of the first convocation of the Majilis Marat Ospanov was elected the Chairman.

On January 30, 1996 during the first session of the Parliament of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev President of the Republic said: «... **We are facing the beginning of the true, civilized parliamentarianism in Kazakhstan**». The country began to form professional parliamentary environment. Reflecting the ways of development of Parliamentarism in Kazakhstan Abish Kekilbayev said: «Perhaps, creation of the professional Parliament, could be called the most important event in the political life of the current year without exaggeration. The beginning of his work, of course, will go down in Kazakhstan history calendar as one of the significant milestones in the establishing of the new statehood and democracy».

The main directions in the development of the Parliamentarism were professionalization of legislation both at the level of individual deputies and the Parliament as a whole; transition from a unicameral to bicameral structure; the formation of deputy groups in the Parliament. Unlike the former Supreme Council, which met at the session two or three times a year, a two-chamber parliament has become a permanent supreme representative body exercising legislative functions of the country. Its sessions started on the first of September and continued until the end of the last working day

of June of the following year. This made it possible to systematize, improve quality and accelerate all legislative work. Thus, the Parliament elected in 1995, received about 500 laws.

According to paragraph I of Article 61 of the Constitution, **the right of the legislative initiative was given to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, deputies of the Parliament and the Government.** Reducing the subjects of legislative initiative was a factor, enabling them to qualitatively carry out the basic functions of Parliament.

Together with the legislative activity the Parliament controls the execution of the laws. In accordance with Article 53 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan the Parliament considers and approves the report on the implementation of the Republican budget of the Government. Non-approval of this report by the Parliament is distrust of the Parliament to the Government. In accordance with Article 57 of the Constitution, each House of Parliament independently, without participation of the other Chamber shall appoint three members of the Accounts Committee for Control over Execution of the Republican Budget for a five year term.

Kazakhstan Parliament exercises its control function through parliamentary hearings, «parliamentary clock». One way of parliamentary control is a deputy's request. By posting requests to members of the government, deputies could obtain information about their activities. The deputy's requests raises issues both of the state level and of the individual regions of the country. Number of parliamentary inquiries has increased every year. For example, if in the course of four years of the work of the Parliament of the First Convocation of the Majilis deputies sent 188 requests, in the second convocation of the Parliament the number of the requests reached 2349.

The value of a new stage of Kazakhstan's parliamentary system, which began in 1996, and by and large continued to the present, is that the Parliament has become a full-fledged collective political ally of the President in reforming society. Since 1995, the nature of the relationship of the Head of State and the Parliament structurally changed that immediately yielded positive results. So, if the last Supreme Council took only 7 laws for the year, in June 1996 the Majilis (for the first 5 months of its operation) adopted 35 laws.

During the work of the new Parliament in the second half of the 1990s, a key role played a Majilis speaker M.T.Ospanov, manifested himself as a constructive political leader, a master of compromise and negotiation processes. With the support of the President M.T.Ospanov and the deputies

made a significant contribution to the establishment and development of the Parliamentarism in Kazakhstan.

The events of this period created a solid foundation for the successful development of the Parliamentarism in the coming years. A full-scale mission of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly for the first time monitoring the parliamentary elections in October 1999 in Kazakhstan on a multiparty basis, expressed satisfaction of the democratic reforms in the country. The Vice-President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, Igor Ostash, in particular, noted: «We are closely following the developments in Kazakhstan, they are close to us. Deep democratic processes are going in the country».

The changes and amendments to the Constitution of 1990 are essential in the development of the parliamentary and improvement of the control legislative functions of the Parliament.

#### **4. Administrative-Territorial Reform of 1997**

In order to revive the National names, restore native historical and geographical names of the administrative-territorial units, the names of many regions, cities, districts and other settlements were changed as per the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated May 4, 1993 «On Regulation of Transcription in the Russian Language of Kazakh Place Names, Naming and Renaming of Certain Administrative-Territorial Units of the Republic of Kazakhstan». Renaming was carried out in accordance with the suggestion of local Councils of the People's Deputies, and on the advice of the State Onomastic Commission at the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Renaming also touched hundreds of streets of the cities, many villages, to which new names had been assigned.

An important direction of the state and the regional development in the second half of the 1990s was the administrative-territorial reform of 1997.

According to the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated May 23, 1997 «On Changes of the Administrative-Territorial Structure of Almaty, East Kazakhstan, Karaganda, North-Kazakhstan Region» there was a change (through the merger of districts) in the internal structure of these areas. As a result of the decision of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan of May 23, 1997, pursuant to the Presidential decrees, the borders of Almaty, East Kazakhstan, Karaganda, North Kazakhstan regions were changed. So, Zhezkazgan region was merged with Karaganda, some

Kokshetau districts – with North Kazakhstan. Semipalatinsk region merged with the East Kazakhstan region. Taldykorgan region was annexed to the Almaty region, Turgay region – to Kostanay.

The main objective of the 1997 reform was to optimize the administrative structure, reducing the number of subsidized regions. Later, the status of the regional centers was returned to two of the former regional centers – Kokshetau in 1999 and Taldykorgan in 2001 respectively, Akmola and Almaty regions.

The consequences of the changes were different. Reducing Turgay region strongly affected the socio-economic situation of the region. Zhezkazgan region due to the presence of a large corporation «Kazakhmys» underwent this process easier. Accession of the Semipalatinsk region to the East Kazakhstan region made the United East Kazakhstan region subsidized. However, after the decision of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated August 25, 2005 «On Approval of the Development Program of Semey city of the East Kazakhstan Region for 2006-2008» the situation changed for the better. The program contributed to the growth in output of goods and services, increase of investment, improvement of the material and living conditions of citizens, strengthening the material base of the social and industrial infrastructure.

Administrative-territorial reform in 1997 was not only of internal, but also of geopolitical significance because the areas which underwent new reorganization were the areas with their outer boundaries equal to the state border. Enlargement of the border regions stabilized their position, contributed to an internal integration, to the unitary in common geopolitical space of the sovereign Kazakhstan. Of great importance was the fact that the enlarged marginal area was not called by the names of the border towns, but as important Kazakhstani regions: North Kazakhstan, West Kazakhstan, East Kazakhstan, South Kazakhstan regions.

## 5. The Constitutional Reforms of the Second Half of the 1990s

The constitutional reforms of the second half of the 1990s became a confirmation of the creative, evolving nature of the state-building in the era of independence.

On October 7, 1998 the Parliament adopted the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «**On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan**». There had also been amended the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On Elections in the Republic of



Kazakhstan». In accordance with these amendments, the authority of the Parliament to amend the Constitution was extended. Amendments to the Constitution were aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the legislative and professionalism of the deputies. Changes and amendments to the Constitution of 1998 reinforced the importance of the place and the role of the representative bodies in the public administration system.

Changes to the Constitution abolished the age limit for civil servants, extended the presidential term to 7 years and removed the upper limit of the age limit for presidential candidates. Another common for democracies amendment abolished the voter turnout limit in the elections (not less than 50%) for the recognition of the elections.

The process of improving the basic legislation continued in 1999. In accordance with the amendments introduced to the Constitution of May 6, 1999, the political parties received **10 seats in the Majilis of the Parliament**, indicating a new trend in the development of the country's political system. The legal framework of the electoral system changed significantly. Kazakhstan has established a **new mixed electoral system**, in which the 67 deputies of the Majilis were elected still in the single-member constituencies, and 10 seats for the first time were allocated on the basis of proportional party representation. Together with the changes in the Constitution new presidential elections have been declared.

**Electoral System and Formation of the Party System.** An electoral system and a forming party system that were evolving interconnected, occupied an important place in the total public and political architecture of the Republic of Kazakhstan as a democratic country: the electoral legislation affected the nature of the activities of the political parties.

**Formation of a modern electoral system started** with the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1995. The basis of the law on elections was the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated 28 September 1998 «On Elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan «having constitutional force. Abolition of a special article «On the Influence of Parties on the Formation and the Expression of the Political Will of the Citizens» from the Constitution of the 1995 had an important affect on the development of the party system in the country. This change was an important step in the country's transition to a civil society. It was also prohibited the establishment of political parties in government, illegal interference of the state in the activity of public organizations and the associations of public and state institutions.

Renewal, improving of the legal basis for the formation of a multiparty system is reflected in the laws «On Public Associations» and «On Political Parties», adopted in 1996 to ensure the right of free association of citizens of Kazakhstan. These laws were adopted in order to form parties of a parliamentary character. However, after the elections to the Majilis of the Parliament in 1995 there was a crisis in the development of the parties. Its main reason was that the activities of the parties were limited mostly by the election campaigns.

In Kazakhstan in the second half of the 1990s the changes were brewing in the emerging party system. The presidential, parliamentary elections and elections to the maslikhats influenced the activation of activities of the parties. A substantial role in stimulating party activities was the allocation of 10 seats to political parties in the Majilis of the Parliament. Thus, the parties that received 7 per cent or more of the votes, fought among themselves for these places. **As a result of the innovations, the political parties were given the right to participate in the parliamentary elections based on the party lists.** A striking example of the revitalization of their activities was the appearance of the seven political parties on the political scene of the country for eight months.

**On January 10, 1999 the national presidential elections were held.** For the first time in the history of independent of Kazakhstan the President was elected on alternative bases. According to the results of the elections, 79.8% of the votes were given to N.A.Nazarbayev, while an opposition representative (Communist Party) S.A.Abdildin received 11.7% of the votes. The presidential elections of 1999 were pre-term, there had been such precedents in world during transition types. A responsible decision to hold such election had been made by Kazakhstan's state elite, so that, in fact, to be ahead of some internal and external factors prevailing at the end of the 1990s. For the stable development of Kazakhstan in the new decade it was necessary to prevent domestic disasters, however, it was necessary to avoid a possible situational effect from the neighboring Russia, where the political tension persisted after the 1998 financial crisis, and in 2000 the presidency of Boris Yeltsin should end. In general, early presidential elections in January 1999 in Kazakhstan helped to keep stability and positive trends in the development of the country.

**In the same 1999, on October 10, the elections to the Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan were held using the new mixed electoral system.** The election race was attended by 10 parties. As per the result of the elections, 67 deputies were elected in single-seat

constituencies and 10 - on the party list of the national district. The following parties won: «Otan», «Civil», «Agrarian» and the Communist. After the elections of 1999 the number of deputies from parties has increased in the Majilis of the Parliament. If by the results of the 1994 elections, the number of the members of political parties in the Supreme Council was 28.2%, in 1995 the Majilis of the Parliament had 61.2% of them, and in 1999 – 84.4%.

Thus, in 1990 Kazakhstan came a long way in the political sphere which main milestones are: the revival of the Kazakh statehood; the creation of the constitutional foundations of the sovereign country; the approval of the presidency and the election of the First President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev; the formation of Kazakhstan Parliamentarism and a multi-party system; the strengthening of the national security.

In spite of the difficulties that arose in this extreme political period, the state and the people successfully solved the historical problems facing Kazakhstan and create real foundations for sustainable development of Kazakhstan in the new, XXI century.

**The Presidential Elections in 2005.** In the 2000s, the institute of presidency in Kazakhstan entered a new stage of development, coupled with a successful exit from the economic crisis of the 1990s and the further sustainable development of public-political system. The most important milestone in the strengthening of the institution of the presidency was the election in 2005. According to the Constitutional Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan the President is elected by universal, equal and direct elections on an alternative basis.

It was determined to conduct the presidential election in December 2005 by the decisions of the Constitutional Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated August 25, 2005 and the Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan of September 7, 2005.

On September 9, 2005 at the VIII Congress of the Republican Party «Otan» the party leader Nursultan Nazarbayev was nominated as a candidate for the presidency. By the decision of the Congress «People's Coalition of Kazakhstan in Support of a Presidential Candidate N.A.Nazarbayev» was founded. Along with the party «Otan» seven political parties and public associations nominated Nursultan Nazarbayev as their candidate. Yerasyl Abylkasymov was nominated by the Communist People's Party, Alikhan Baimenov – by the democratic Party «Ak Zhol».

Preparations for presidential elections contributed to differentiation of the opposition camp. The Democratic Party «Ak Zhol» was divided into two wings due to internal disagreements. The first wing was grouped around

Baimenov, the second was separated on the initiative of Bulat Abilov, Oraz Zhandosova, Altynbek Sarsenbayev and united the movement «For the Just Kazakhstan». This movement was supported by Akezhan Kazhegeldin, Zamanbek Nurkadilov.

Only five presidential candidates out of 18 officially passed the registration in the Central Election Commission: Nursultan Nazarbayev, Yerasyl Abylkasymov, Alikhan Baimenov, Mels Edeusizov and Tuyakbay. Tuyakbay, a former Speaker of the Majilis of the second convocation, and the deputy chairman of the political party «Otan», was introduced as the common opposition candidate.

2005-2006 were accompanied by sad events for the opposition camp. The tragic death befell the famous statesman and public figure, a former Minister of Emergency Situations Z.Nurkadilov and the former Information Minister, co-chairman of the unregistered party «True Ak Zhol» A.Sarsenbayev.

The death of prominent opposition figures shocked the Kazakh society. Many were overcome by a feeling of anxiety, and compassion for them. However, the investigation did not produce results, and that is why the perpetrators of these were not identified and punished. Eventually, in the mid-2000s, the opposition, in spite of the activity could not find a broad support in the society, formulate a constructive, acceptable for the majority of Kazakhstanis program and therefore lost the political struggle for votes.

**The presidential election of December 4, 2005 became an important event in the political life of Kazakhstan.** More than 8.8 million voters on the list, about 6.8 million people took part in the elections. 6.1 million voters voted for the incumbent President of the country Nursultan Nazarbayev. Essentially, these elections were a triumph N.A.Nazarbayev's policy, they drawn a line under a long and ongoing controversy of the opposition with the official authorities. According to the results of the elections, Nursultan Nazarbayev won 91.15%, J.A.Tuyakbay – 6,61%, A.M.Baymenov – 1.61%, E.A.Abylkasymov – 0.34%, M.Kh.Eleusizov – 0.28% of the votes.

91.21% of voters participated in the presidential elections of 1995, in 1999 this number was 87.05%, in 2005 – 77% of the electorate. In general, the index of citizens' participation in the presidential elections is quite high. It should be noted, that there was some decrease in voter participation in elections (for example, during the elections to the Majilis in 2007, the voters turnout was 64%). These trends have been observed in the current conditions not only for the CIS countries, but also for developed democracies.

Despite the relatively low activity of citizens in the parliamentary elections, the interest of Kazakhstan to the presidential elections was very

high. And this was for several reasons. Political expectations of citizens in relation to the institutions of the State were primarily related to the authority and activities of the current head of state. Also, a relatively weak development of civil society institutions, the low credibility of political parties, including opposition misrepresented, among the people affects it. In general, in December 2005, the people fully supported Nursultan Nazarbayev as the real head of state, and as the «Otan» party leader.

On January 11, 2006 in Astana, the ceremony of the inauguration of President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev took place in the new Presidential Palace «Akorda». The ceremony was attended by the delegates from more than 70 countries.

Having laid his right hand on the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev took the oath to people of Kazakhstan: «I solemnly swear to faithfully serve the people of Kazakhstan, strictly follow the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan, guarantee the rights and freedoms of citizens and conscientiously fulfill my high duties of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan». The Chairman of the Central Election Commission of the Republic Onalsyn Zhumabekov presented N. Nazarbayev the certificate of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Then the President of Kazakhstan made an inaugural speech in which he highlighted the priorities of the further development of the state. At the beginning of his speech Nazarbayev said: «Today is a very important historical day not only for me, taking the oath, but also for the whole country ... I took the national support given to me in this election as a support for the policy of stability, interethnic consent and dynamic economic development. Therefore, my high and holy duty and the following periods will remain faithful service to the people of Kazakhstan».

The goals outlined in the speech of the President on January 11, 2006, were close and identical to the moods and desires of the people. After all, the dream of the people of Kazakhstan, walking on the path of independence is it's democratic, social and prosperous state. Independence, achievements in the economic, social and political spheres, make it possible for Kazakhs to look with confidence to the future.

The next election of the Head of State were on the 3d of April 2011 in accordance with Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan № 1149 of February, 2011, which were extraordinary.

The following people were registered as the presidential candidates in Kazakhstan: the incumbent President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan

Zhambyl Akhmetbekov, Chairman of the Patriot Party of Kazakhstan, a Senate Deputy Gani Kasymov and the leader of the environmental organization «Tabigat» Mels Eleusizov.

On April 5, 2011 the CEC announced the final results of the elections, according to which the incumbent President Nursultan Nazarbayev won 95.55% of the votes, Gani Kasymov – 1.94% of the votes, Zhambyl Akhmetbekov – 1.36%, Mels Yeleusizov – 1.15%

On April 26, 2015 in accordance with Presidential Decree No. 1018 of February 25, 2015 «On the Appointment of Early Presidential Elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan» the fifth in a row presidential elections took place. The following candidates were registered as the presidential candidates in Kazakhstan: the incumbent President Nursultan Nazarbayev, the Secretary of CPPK Turgun Syzdykov and the Chairman of Kazsovprom Abalgazi Kusainov. According to the voting results, Nursultan Nazarbayev gained 97.7% of the votes, and Turgun Syzdykov Abalgazi Kusainov – 2.3%.

## **6. Constitutional Reforms of 2007 and 2017**

The political system of a presidential Republic, established in 1995, had been fully complying with its historic mission during the second half of the 2000s. The Constitution of 1995 laid the foundation of the modern statehood of Kazakhstan. The Constitutional reforms in 1998, 1999, 2007 were aimed at further modernization of the institutions of political power, regulation and enforcement of relations between the branches of the government in accordance with the modern requirements.

The amendments and additions to the Constitution of 1998 increased the powers of deputies, strengthened the role and the significance of the supreme representative body in the system of the state power – the Parliament. However, the mechanisms, which would give an opportunity to the Parliament to become a real institution of the peoples' representation had not been developed. This issue was resolved in the course of the constitutional reform of 2007. The situation called for a political transformation that would ensure the transition to a presidential-parliamentary system to a more developed democratic one. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of May 2007, the both Houses of the Parliament voted in support of the initiative of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev to amend the Constitution.

New changes were aimed at creating an effective system of balance between the branches of government. To this end, a significant part of the presidential authorities had been transferred to the Parliament. In particular,

the Parliament began to possess the authority to control the formation and activities of the Government, two-thirds of the Constitutional Council, the Central Election Commission and the Audit Committee. To improve the efficiency and quality of the government activity its responsibility to the head of state and the parliament was considered. As part of the executive branch of the reformation, it was decided to strengthen the role of the local government institutions and the elections of akims.

The decision on the representation of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan in the Majilis was of great importance: from now on 9 members were elected by Kazakhstan multiethnic forum. Importance of both Houses of Parliament was widened in the approval of the heads of the power structures, as well as the judiciary bodies. At the same time, **the number of members of the Parliament had increased to 154, including 47 senators and 107 Majilismen. At the same time 98 deputies of the Majilis were elected by current political parties based on the party lists.**

The Senate is composed of deputies, two persons from each region, city of Republican significance and the capital were elected. Half of the elected deputies of the Senate were re-elected every three years. 15 deputies of the Senate were appointed by the President of the Republic, taking into account the need to ensure representation of national-cultural and other significant public interest in the Senate.

In total, all these measures meant the transition from a presidential to a presidential-parliamentary Republic. As a result of constitutional reforms in 2007, the necessary prerequisites and possibilities were created in Kazakhstan for the formation of a new political system.

On July 15, 2002 the new Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On Political Parties» was adopted. In accordance with the new law, political parties became one of the main subjects of the political and electoral process. They should not exist on paper, but actually work. And if a political party did not participate in the elections of deputies of the Majilis of the Parliament twice, it would have been dissolved by the court decision.

A law adopted in 2002, strengthened the requirements for the establishment of political parties and their state registration. If under the old law there were only 10 people from any region of the country enough to create a political party, according to the new law, a political party was created by a group of citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan, acting on behalf of the 2/3 of the regions (the capital, a city of the Republican significance, a region) and convening a constituent congress (of at least 1000 people). Another change regards the requirement to the state registration of

a political party, was associated with the number of party members. Under the new law, a political party must have been at least 50 000 members, acting on behalf of structural branches, having at least 700 members in each of the regions, cities and the capital. All these changes resulted in a departure from the political arena of individual parties, as well as in the birth of new political parties.

In accordance with the new legislation on elections, political parties received the right to form electoral blocs, which led to the unification of some parties during the elections to the Majilis of the Parliament in 2004.

Holding of elections to representative bodies is one of the ways of expression of the will of the people. The right of free expression of will by the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan is implemented by voluntary and open participation of the country's citizens in the elections. According to the Constitutional Law «On Elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan», the President, the deputies of the Majilis and maslikhats are elected by universal, equal and direct vote. The deputies of the Senate shall be elected by secret ballot on the basis of the right of indirect elections.

The elections to the Majilis of the Parliament of the fourth convocation took place on August 18, 2007. A feature of these elections was the widespread use of the methods of western PR-technologies in the election campaign, in particular the participation of parties in open TV debates. The election was attended by seven political parties. However, only the People's Democratic Party «Nur Otan» could overcome the 7% barrier.

**In conclusion let us review the election campaigns in the Majilis of all convocations (starting with the first and ending with the last one – sixth):**

### ***The First Convocation***

The first elections to the Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan were held on December 9, 1995. The country that had just received its independence adopted a new Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, it defined the Parliament as the highest representative body exercising legislative functions. On the basis of the majority system 67 deputies were elected, and the only party represented in the Majilis, was the Republican political party «Otan», chaired by the President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

### ***The Second Convocation***

In autumn 1999, as per the introduced constitutional amendments, the elections to the Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan were held on the mixed scheme the first time in Central Asia, which provided an



opportunity for political parties to be elected to the parliament based on the party lists by proportional representation. 10 political parties took part in the elections. In the majority single-member districts 547 candidates had been registered. In general, an unprecedented number of candidates were nominated for the elections at that time in Kazakhstan, – an average of eight people for one place.

Following the elections to the Majilis of the Parliament 67 deputies from single-mandate constituencies were elected and 10 deputies from the parties on a single national constituency. They represented four parties – the Republican political party «Otan», the Civil Party of Kazakhstan, the Agrarian Party of Kazakhstan and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (not to be confused with the Communist People's Party, which was registered only in 2004), overcoming the 7% barrier.

The deputy majority was left after the Republican political party «Otan» – 27 representatives in the Majilis.

### *The Third Convocation*

Elections to the Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan of the third convocation were held in September 2004. 12 political parties participated in the elections, 4 of them were in the composition of the two blocs. As a result of the elections to the Majilis of the Parliament 77 deputies were elected.

10 deputies were elected based on the party lists by proportional representation system and based on the territory of a single national constituency. Of these, 7 deputies were from the Republican political party «Otan», 1 – from the Republican Party «Asar», the Democratic Party «Ak Zhol» and the electoral bloc «AIST», the Agrarian and the Civil parties of Kazakhstan.

In the elections to the Majilis of the Parliament of Kazakhstan in 2004 the Agrarian Party of Kazakhstan created a block called «AIST» (Agrarian-Industrial Union of Workers) with the Civil Party of Kazakhstan. As a result of the election the bloc gained 7.07%, Romin Madinov was elected to the Majilis of the third convocation from the block based on the party list.

The Republican Party «Asar» was founded in October 25, 2003. Following the elections to the Majilis the party won on the party list 541 239 (11.38%) of the votes, the deputy on the party list became Dariga Nazarbayeva.

The Democratic Party «Ak Zhol» was formed on the basis of the public association «Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan». On April 3, 2004 the party was registered in the Ministry of Justice of Kazakhstan. In the elections

to the Majilis of the Parliament the party received 12.04% of the votes, a deputy on the party list became Azat Peruashev.

#### ***The Fourth Convocation***

The elections to the Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan of the fourth convocation were held in August 2007, in accordance with the amendments made to the Constitution in May 2007.

According to the new Constitution the Majilis consists of 107 deputies. 98 deputies were elected from the party lists on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot on a single national constituency.

In the elections of 18 August 2007, which was attended by seven political parties, the 7-percent barrier overcome only Republican People's Democratic Party «Nur Otan», deputies of which occupied 98 seats in the Parliament. The Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan elected 9 deputies.

#### ***The Fifth Convocation***

The new composition of the Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan of the fifth convocation was formed in January 2012.

The election was attended by seven political parties, three of which were gained more than 7% of the vote as per the election results and passed in the Majilis of the Parliament: the party «Nur Otan» (80.99%), the Democratic Party of Kazakhstan «Ak Zhol» (7.47%), the Communist People's party of Kazakhstan (7.19%).

From the party «Nur Otan» in the Majilis of the Parliament there were 83 deputies; from the «Ak Zhol» – 8 deputies; from CPPK – 7 deputies. In total, the Majilis constituted of 107 deputies.

#### ***The Sixth Convocation***

The Kazakhstan Central Election Commission registered 107 deputies to the Majilis of new convocation formed by party lists as a result of early elections on March 20, 2016.

Based on the party lists there following number of deputies was elected: from the party «Nur Otan» – 84 deputies; from the Democratic Party of Kazakhstan «Ak Zhol» – 7 deputies; from the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan – 7 members; the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan elected 9 deputies.

According to the approved lists, the VI convocation of the Majilis included 33 deputies of Nur Otan from the V convocation, as well as a number of prominent political figures who worked in the Majilis in earlier convocations. There were also highly skilled economists, lawyers and political scientists.

Thus, the deputy chair was occupied by the Deputy Minister of Justice of the Republic of Kazakhstan Bakhytzhan Abdraiym, the adviser of akim of Astana Mikhail Chirkov, the Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Kazakhstan Trade Unions Pavel Kazantsev, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture of Kazakhstan Saparhan Omarov and a famous TV presenter, the director of strategic planning of the television channel «KTK» Arthur Platonov and others.

From the previous parliamentary team of DPK «Ak Jol» in the new Majilis there were 3 deputies, among them was the leader of the parliamentary faction of «Ak Zhol» Azat Peruashev who also worked in the previous convocation.

The Communists had renewed their team in a lesser state. There were 4 members of the previous convocation in the VI convocation, including the head of the fraction Vladislav Kosarev.

According to the list of the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan, in the new convocation there were 3 deputies of the Majilis of the previous convocation – Roman Kim, Akhmet Muradov, Yuri Timoshenko. Deputy mandates were received by the President of JSC «Republican newspaper «Egemen Kazakhstan» Sauytbek Abdrakhmanov, Deputy Interior Minister Vladimir Bozhko, as well as heads of a number of ethnic and cultural associations and public figures from different regions of Kazakhstan.

### ***On the New Constitutional Reform of 2017***

Now I would like to briefly dwell on the basic nature and purpose of the new constitutional reform carried out in early 2017. On January 25, 2017 the President of Kazakhstan made an appeal on the redistribution of powers between branches of government. According to the President, the ongoing reform is based on the logic of our development and the logic of modern development in general. Its main point is that the President gives some of its powers to the Parliament and the Government, as a result there will be a serious redistribution of power, democratization of the political system as a whole.

According to Elbasy, «This reform is aimed at improving the efficiency of the control system. We built a new state, a new economy, a new society. Our properly structured development path was confirmed by history. Noting the 25th anniversary of our independence, we talked about our achievements, including the work of the authorities, the presidential system».

Under the new conditions the President prioritizes a strategic function, the role of supreme arbiter in the relations between the branches of the government. The Head of State also focus on the foreign policy, national

security, and the country's defense. The role of the Government and the Parliament will be strengthened.

It is further noted, that this work would be conducted in two key areas. Firstly, it is necessary to transfer a significant part of the established by regulation powers of the President on social and economic processes to the Government and other executive bodies. The government, the ministries and akimats should be fully responsible for this area. Delegation of authority can be achieved through changes in the relevant laws. Appropriate amendments on the transfer of the some power of the Head of State to the Government or the Parliament (about 40), will be introduced to the Parliament for adoption before the end of the current session.

Secondly, as stated in the appeal, a difficult task should be address – the task to balance the relationship between the branches of the government at the constitutional level. It is important to strengthen the role of the Parliament in the formation of the Government, to increase its responsibility to the deputies. The winning party in the parliamentary elections will be a decisive influence on the formation of the Government. On this basis, it will be a natural, as proposed by Nursultan Nazarbayev, if the government will abdicate the authority to the newly elected Majilis, not the President, as it was before. It is also proposed to simplify the procedure for expression of distrust to the members of the Government by the Parliament. This will strengthen the control of the legislature over the executive branch of power. It is also useful to transfer to the Government the power of approval of state programs, for which it will bear full responsibility.

In turn, the Government should transfer the right to form and to abolish the central executive bodies, which are not included in it. The President may waive the right to cancel or suspend the acts of the Government and the Prime Minister. All this will increase the responsibility of the executive government agencies and their managers, will give them the necessary powers.

According to the address of the Head of State, the proposed reform will help to solve three problems. First, to create a reserve of stability of the political system for years to come. Secondly, increasing the role of the Government and the Parliament will provide a more effective mechanism of response to modern challenges. Yes, it is a more complex control system, but also the society has become more complex. In this regard, the President deliberately goes to the delegation of a significant part of its powers to other branches of government, and he said, it is done with a single purpose – to build a more efficient, sustainable modern system of governance. Third, as

pointed out Elbasy, «the world is no universal model of government. All are in search of. We have never been engaged in copying foreign models of government, but finding out own, often unique solutions, although there are questions that we follow in the framework of international experience».

Thus, the proposed by the President Constitutional reform relies primarily on its own experience and the needs of Kazakhstan.

Given the importance of the proposed measures, the President introduced a draft of the constitutional reform to public discussion, which will be held from January 26 to February 26 2017.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What caused the need for the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 1995?
2. Give the comparative analysis of the Constitutions of 1993 and 1995.
3. What were the peculiarities of the process of formation of Parliamentarism in the Republic of Kazakhstan?
4. What is the significance of the presidential elections and constitutional reforms in the late 1990s and 2007?
5. What are the characteristics of political parties in Kazakhstan?

## **Topic 14. Transition to Market Reforms. Kazakhstan Model of Economic Development**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

1. *Crisis of the planned economy and the beginning of economic reforms.*
2. *Denationalization and privatization. The main stages of privatization in Kazakhstan.*
3. *Reform of the agricultural sector.*
4. *Reform of the banking system.*
5. *Kazakhstan economic model: achievements and challenges.*
6. *Investment policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan.*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Crisis of the Planned Economy and the Beginning of Economic Reforms**

Like most of the former Soviet Republics, since independence Kazakhstan had plunged into a severe systemic crisis, which had long been ripening in the depths of the Soviet planned economy. Together with the collapse of the huge state traditional economic links, way of life and the basic values of society disintegrated.

As you know, before the collapse of the Soviet Union there were three-level systems of economic management: union, union-Republican and Republican. Moreover, the share of first and second level accounted for 43.3 and 48.3 percent, while the share of the Republican level was only 8.4 percent.

Over 40% of consumer goods were supplied by import from the Republics, including 100% in passenger cars, motorcycles, scooters, tv sets, cameras, refrigerators and other complex products, the prices of which raised by 250 or more times.

Energy and electricity prices increased by hundreds of times, tariffs for transportation by rail, road and air jumped dramatically as well. This also affected the prices of final products.

Another reason for the rise in prices was a drop in production and service in all enterprises and organizations and an increase of the share of overheads per unit cost of works and products. Giving businesses the right to set their own prices allowed them to get additional revenue while reducing production volumes. The situation was aggravated by the lack of

market structures under the rule of the state monopoly in production and distribution.

The crisis in the economy adversely affected the condition of its transport infrastructure in general and the rail transport in particular. In the context of a general collapse of production the government used the railway as a means of solving the acute economic problems. For example, it obliged them to transport coal to Russian consumers in exchange for electricity, gas and oil for other state-owned enterprises; transportation of the transport goods and passengers from Uzbekistan through Kazakhstan to repay the debt for delivered natural gas.

In the absence of solvent consumers of transport services, the railways were forced to acquire the majority of a railway-locomotive and spare parts by barter. In 1996, barter deals were 65% of the railways income. Lack of control in the implementation of barter transactions had led to the formation of huge excessive inventory at the warehouses railways. As of October 1, 1996 stocks of material assets reached the amount of 12.7 billion tenge, which was two times higher than its annual consumption.

Along with the «disease», inherited from the Soviet Union, new were added, related to the destruction of a single organism, held together by a common ideology, economy and infrastructure. At the same time Kazakhstan was in a more difficult situation than the other Republics. It inherited the fragments of a centralized economy, aging infrastructure, plant and equipment, which did not meet international standards, extensive agriculture. At the turn of 1980-1990-ies the volume of the economy reduced by 55%.

Since 1990 the Government of Kazakhstan seriously beginning to think that the country may have to get out of the crisis. By this time, the single economic complex actually broke, and consequences of this break were the most severe for Kazakhstan. The fact that 95% of Kazakhstani enterprises were controlled from the center, and the break of managerial, financial, and administrative relations had an extremely negative impact on the state of the country's economy. Nazarbayev understood and did not rule out such a turn of events, in which Kazakhstan would have to indulge in «independent sailing».

In 1990, the Supreme Economic Council of the Republic, led by D.Sembaevym was created. Relying on young and ambitious professionals in the field of law, economics, the management introduced them in a new body, called to develop a market strategy.

A American economist Chan Young Bang, and a Egyptian lawyer Dr.Hassan were invited to Kazakhstan as advisors. The author of the famous program «500 Days» Grigory Yavlinsky became a freelance adviser to the Kazakh leader. Then, in 1990, Nursultan Nazarbayev was the only one of the Republican leaders who supported the program of rapid transition. First of all, the determination of G.A.Yavlinsky to start specific reforms appealed to him. Second, G.A.Yavlinsky thought of the reforms within the framework of the mentioned program inside the Union and on the basis of a single economic complex. When it became clear that the Union Treaty could not be signed, G.A.Yavlinsky proposed the idea of a contract between the Economic Union Republics, although the opponent of G.A.Yavlinsky – an academician Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, had a different opinion, believing that the transition to a market economy required a much longer time. After all, the formation and fixing of market structures, the creation of an appropriate legal framework, training, reorganization of the stereotypes of the mass consciousness, values, motives is a matter of not one year.

During 1990-1994, in Kazakhstan, industrial production volume dropped by half, and in the agricultural sector the decline reached one-third of the production volume. Transportation fell by two-thirds. The government was unable to cope with the management of private enterprises. Kazakhstan had neither the means nor the markets, so most businesses were stopped.

In the first years of independent development a sharp reduction in demand for the products of Kazakhstan enterprises caused a precipitous decline in the economy (12.6%), which lasted until 1995. In 1992-1993, inflation in Kazakhstan reached the 2000- 3000%. All of this suggested that under the conditions the most complex transit it was required as soon as possible to carry out systemic economic, market reforms in all areas.

Thus, the formation of the foundations of a market economy began under extremely difficult economic circumstances in Kazakhstan. We had to take drastic steps to implement positive changes in the economy. The very reality of the beginning of the 1990s set a task in front of the state to develop a new economic strategy and to create conditions for its vigorous implementation. It was necessary to fundamentally change the very foundations of economic relations, because in the early 1990s, according to Nursultan Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan stood at the edge of the abyss.

In January 1992, without any prior consultation with the CIS countries Russia «released» prices. Price liberalization caused a sharp increase in tariffs for transportation, energy prices, raw materials, etc. The early 1990s was a time of emergence of many private firms and companies, which were



mainly engaged in import and export of raw materials and finished goods. At this time, the vocabulary of the former citizens of the USSR included such words as «broker», «barter» and others. Since hyperinflation was «eating up» profits, companies preferred to work on a barter basis, ie, the direct exchange of one commodity for another without money, or by «nal» - cash. This situation gave rise to economic irresponsibility, when no one was producing, but buying and selling.

In this situation, the Republic's leadership was forced to also go to the liberalization of prices for different categories of goods. Market liberalization exacerbated the already tense situation in the Republic.

Transition to new market relations not only led to radical changes, but also gave birth and developed many of the negative phenomena in society: racket, shadow economy, corruption, etc. Racket is extortion cash from business representatives by criminal gangs - became commonplace at the time. Criminal gangs controlled the markets, entertainment companies, parking, smuggled and alcoholic products at the borders, delivery and sales of cars. A man would have just opened a company, registered it, rented an office, and often immediately fell under the pressure of racketeers. Both in Kazakhstan and other CIS countries, there were new influential «authorities» of the underworld, between whom a war criminal started. Subsequently, many of yesterday's criminals could legalize and start their business, others were convicted and put in prison.

The 1990s there was an increase in corruption, which involved the use of power and related opportunities for personal gain. President Nursultan Nazarbayev in his address to the Nation of November 15, 1997 «Kazakhstan-2030. Prosperity, Security and Improvement of Welfare of all Kazakhs» called a decisive and merciless fight against corruption as one of the seven main priorities of the state. The Head of State defined the main directions of the concept to eradicate corruption across the state in the fram of which the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On Combating Corruption» (1998) was adopted.

The crisis in the 1990s called for decisive action by the government to stabilize the economic situation in the country.

## **2. Denationalization and Privatization. The Main Stages of Privatization in Kazakhstan**

The central role in the development of market relations belongs to the issue of property. But under the conditions of the monopoly of the state

on ownership – the remainder from the Soviet era, there was no question about existing of market relations in the economy. Therefore, a central role in the modernization of Kazakhstan's economy and the development of market relations belonged to the privatization process, i.e. the process of transformation of state property into private.

The legal basis of denationalization and privatization was the laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan «**On Denationalization and Privatization**» of June 22, 1991 and «**On Privatization**» of 23 December 1995 year. The law «**On Denationalization and Privatization**» defined privatization as the sale of the state-owned property to the ownership of individuals, non-governmental legal entities, and foreign legal entities, produced by the will of the State as the owner in the fram of the special procedures.

The law «**On Denationalization and Privatization**» provided the following forms of transformation of objects of state property: property leasing; the redemption of the property leased; the redemption of the property by members of the organization; sale of property by tender or auction; reorganization of an enterprise into a stock corporation. Privatization of medium and large state-owned enterprises was mainly done through reorganization into join stock companies (JSC) and the privatization of small and medium-sized enterprises, the objects of trade, public catering and consumer services – primarily through direct sales.

In Kazakhstan privatization passed four stages. In the first stage was 1991-1992 years – privatization was proactive when the state authorities made the decision after receiving corresponding application from the enterprise. And only then auctions, contests were conducted or an industrial and a social infrastructure were passed to the labor team of the enterprise free. There was a program developed «**Program of Denationalization and Privatization of State Property in the Kazakh SSR on the Years 1991-1992**», which was based on the idea of maximum involvement of citizens in the processes of change of ownership through their labor teams. In the conditions of continuing inflation as a means of payment the population got free housing privatization coupons.

At this stage, there was privatization of the housing market, creation of the necessary conditions for the development of market relations. Lease and collective enterprises were created, utility objects were sold at auctions, and the services market began to take shape gradually. These transformations gave impetus to the development of entrepreneurship, forming a layer of owners. In the first stage over 4.7 thousand objects of state property were transformed. Retail trade objects, public catering, consumer services,

utilities and other similar objects amounted to 60% of the total number of privatized enterprises.

The experience of the first stage of privatization in Kazakhstan showed that now it was necessary to move from privatization initiatives to privatization based on one common scenario.

**The beginning of the second stage of privatization in Kazakhstan (1993-1995) was the adoption of the «National Program of Denationalization and Privatization in the Republic of Kazakhstan».** It was the most massive and complex period in the history of privatization, which was carried out in four main areas: small-scale privatization (auction and tender sales of trade objects, consumer services and industrial enterprises employing up to 200 people); mass privatization (enterprises employing between 200 and 5,000 people); privatization by an individual project (enterprise with more than 5,000 people.) privatization of the agro industrial complex.

Under the existing at that time scale, privatization of small-scale objects was of particular importance. More than 6000 objects were sold in the country; thousands of private enterprises belonging to small and medium-sized businesses appeared and began to work productively.

The phenomenon of «shuttles» (chelnok) developed. A characteristic feature of the «shuttle» as business migrants was the fact that their activities had an «informal» nature; As a rule, they were engaged in trading business without official registration in the state bodies. Purchase and sale of goods purchased by «shuttle traders» in other cities or countries, was the only source of their income.

The transition to private property had become irreversible. This was dictated by the very logic of that period. In June 1994, the President Nursultan Nazarbayev introduced to the Parliament a **Memorandum on Economic Policy for the Coming Three-Year Period** in which economic strategy was stated. It included drastic measures to reform the economy and the establishment of macro-economic stabilization.

Transformation of individual state object to join stock companies for was of great importance. Thus, Almaty tobacco plant and Shymkent confectionery factory were the first enterprises sold under individual projects.

A feature of privatization under individual projects, ie, the «Kazakh model of privatization» was that domestic enterprises were transferred to external management, usually by a reputable foreign company that acquired

a major share of the enterprise on favorable terms and became the owner or co-owner of large enterprises.

The process of formation of new corporate enterprises had several stages. Thus, a significant portion of the shares of Ust-Kamenogorsk lead-zinc, and Leninogorsky poli-metallic plant, Zyryanovsk mining and processing plant was transferred to the labor collective at the first stage of privatization. However, the problems of establishing normal production became possible after attracting a strategic investor in the face of the Swiss company «Glinkor». Only as a result of the restructuring on the basis of association of property the complexes of Ust-Kamsnogorskogo lead and zinc, the Leninogorsk polymetallic and Zyryanovsk mining and processing plant was established cost-effective production - the company «Kazzinc».

Attitudes of Kazakhstan to the foreign partners also went through major transformation. The law «**On State Support of Direct Investments in Kazakhstan**» was prepared and adopted in a very short period of time, where the system of benefits to foreign investment had been greatly expanded. After the adoption of this law, foreign capital started to play a crucial role in the growth of the economy. In opposition circles in the 1990s, the sale of state enterprises to foreign capital is often associated with «the sale of the state, the national wealth». And the attitude of the population towards foreign investment in Kazakhstan's economy had been very cautious, which was evident from the data of sociological research. Answers to the question «Foreign investment in the economy of Kazakhstan should be encouraged or inhibited» were as follows: 40% – restricted, 29% – restrained, 11% – should be completely banned, and only 9% were in favor of all-round encouragement.

Both the small-scale privatization and privatization by individual projects involving foreign investment was an important factor in the transformation of society as a whole. The introduction of large, medium and small-scale private ownership in the daily life of Kazakh society was a factor of the fundamental transformation of the public consciousness.

**The third stage of the privatization (1996-1998)** became the transitional phase to the sector programs, when the privatization of the power industry and the oil and gas industry as well as of the **social sphere – health, education, science and culture**, began. It was during this period when the full-fledged domestic investors able to buy large industrial enterprises began to appear.

During the implementation of the Privatization Program 10 leading enterprises were identified in which the state had a stake. In 1999

privatization of the part of the state-owned shares of JSC «Halyk Savings Bank of Kazakhstan» was held, and in late 2000 – of JSC «MangistauMunaiGas». Later the following enterprises were sold out completely: «Aluminium of Kazakhstan», «Kazakhmys», «Mangistau-Munaygas», «Aktobe», «Halyk Savings Bank of Kazakhstan», «Ust-Kamenogorsk Titanium and Magnesium Plant».

**By the early 2000s, fundamental economic reforms were mainly carried out in Kazakhstan.** Property institute was brought into line with the requirements of the market economy.

Thus, as a result of privatization the following important sectors were removed from the state ownership: public sector, catering, and trade; light industry, food, manufacturing, providing a variety of services, agribusiness, energy and raw materials industry. The competitive environment started to develop in health and education, especially higher education.

### **3. Reform of the Agricultural Sector**

Economic crisis of the late 1980s – early 1990s most strongly hit the agricultural sector and the rural population. 1994-1996 were the most critical years, when there was a disparity (disparity) between remission of energy prices and prices of the agri products. However, even here the other was no other way but to create a cost-effective, market-based enterprise. During the years of independence in agriculture in Kazakhstan there had been many significant changes, the share non state agribusiness increased. If in 1991 there were 40% of private business in agriculture, in 2003 its share grew till 99.9%.

In principle, an important step in the reform of the state of the agricultural sector was the regulation of land relations, introduction of private ownership of land. This combination was appearance of an owner and a producer in one persons, it made it possible to raise agriculture. After all, one of the heavy legacies of the Soviet planned economy was the lack of a sense of the ownership in a person working on the land, his alienation from the results of his own labor.

The Presidential Decrees «On Some Issues of Regulation of Land Relations», «On Further Improvement of Land Relations», «On Land», «On Mortgage of Immovable Property», «On the Registration of Rights to Immovable Property and Transactions with it» laid the foundation for the development of market relations in the agricultural sector. Purchase and sale, transfer of the right on land use as collateral, and land lease were

considered as a mechanism for building market relations from the outset of this program.

An important step in the further development of market relations in the agricultural sector was the adoption of the Land Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated 20 June 2003, in which a number of amendments were introduced in 2015. However, these amendments were suspended by the moratorium under the Presidential Decree of May 6, 2016, in connection with the arose public response, and on June 23 of the same year, the eponymous law was passed. The Commission on land reform was established, which made a number of proposals to the Government. On August 18, 2016 Astana hosted a meeting on the results of the socio-economic development of the country and the activities of the Commission on Land Reform, chaired by the Head of State.

The results of the work on land reform were discussed during the meeting and it was decided to extend the moratorium on the amendments to the land law for 5 years. On the basis of this decision, the Parliament of Kazakhstan adopted a special law «On the Suspension of Certain Provisions of the Land Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Enactment of the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated November 2, 2015 «On Introduction of Amendments and Additions to the Land Code of Kazakhstan». This law prolonged the moratorium on certain provisions of the Land Code, concerning, in particular, on the provision to provide foreigners, stateless persons, foreign legal entities, as well as legal persons in the authorized capital of which the share of foreigners, stateless persons, foreign legal persons is more than 50 per cent, the right of temporary use of agricultural land, as well as to provide natural and legal persons the right of private ownership on agricultural land, owned by the state - for a period of 5 years.

The state implemented indirect subsidizing of agricultural at the arly stage of the agricultural reform to help the agricultural sector. The purpose of subsidies was to reduce the purchase prices for seeds, breeding livestock, fertilizers, plant protection products, and veterinary products. In addition, the government had provided preferential loans for leasing of agricultural machinery and the purchase of fuel and lubricants.

In 1991-2003 years in the structure of agricultural production share of plant growing gradually increased from 35% in 1991 to 57% in 2003. Gross wheat yield increased by almost 1.7 times (11 million tons), in 2003 compared to 1991, sunflower – by 3 times (about 300 thousand tons), raw cotton – by 33% (387 thousand tons). In 2016 the gross grain harvest in Kazakhstan amounted to more than 26 mln tons.

Thus, the history of independent Kazakhstan, former Soviet Union countries and the global trends show that deregulation and privatization in the economic sector and the reform of the agricultural sector is a natural and necessary stage of transition from a command, planned economy to a new market relations.

#### 4. Reform of the Banking System

Operation of private banking system of Kazakhstan dates back to December 1990. At that time it was necessary to create a modern two-tier banking system, which would allow to pursue an independent monetary policy. In January 1991, the Law «**On Banks and Banking Activity in the Kazakh SSR**» was adopted, which contributed to the creation of the foundations of a two-tier banking system. **The Republican State Bank was transformed into the National Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the regional branches and offices.** Promstroybank was transformed into a joint stock commercial bank «Turan Bank», Agroprombank – into the Joint-Stock Company «Agroprombank of RK», from among the shareholders «Kazakhstan Commerce Bank» arose, that later became «Kazkommertsbank».

Vneshtorgbank was transformed into a joint stock commercial bank «Alem», Republican Savings Bank in the Joint stock commercial bank «Sberbank Kazakhstan». **In 1993, all of these banks were joint stock companies and the «Savings Bank» was renamed the «People's Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan».** In 1995, these banks were the largest private banks in Kazakhstan, accounting for the backbone of the second tier of the banking system. Thus, at the time of the introduction of tenge in November 1993, the goal of Kazakhstan's banking system has undergone significant transformation: functioning of the two-tier banking system, all the specialized banks had been transformed into joint-stock, and the National Bank was endowed with a number of central bank functions. All this greatly facilitated the transition to our own national currency.

The Decree having the force of law, signed by the President of the country Nursultan Nazarbayev in March 1995 «On the National Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was important in determining the status of the National Bank. The National Bank became independent and accountable only to the Head of State. The direct bank's function was to conduct an independent monetary policy and the creation of a modern banking system of Kazakhstan.

In 1995 the first program of reforming of the banking system of the Republic was adopted. The essence of the program was an ability of the banks to provide credit to the economy at the expense of their personal savings of the population attracted by the banks, available funds of legal entities and foreign loans. Thus, the National Bank was shielded from political pressure and from the functions that could be performed by the second-tier banks.

The next important step in the development of the banking system was the program of transition of the second-tier banks into international financial reporting standards, which was adopted in December 1996.

Thus, in the 1990s, in the course of economic reforms the modern banking sector was created in Kazakhstan.

### *Introduction of the National Currency*

Introduction of national currency was preceded by difficult negotiations process between the Presidents of Kazakhstan and Russia – N.A.Nazarbayev and Boris Yeltsin. Daulet Sembayev, one of the co-authors of the first economic program of the President of RK, who oversaw the issues of economic reform in the post of the Deputy Prime Minister from 1991 to 1993, head of the National Bank of Kazakhstan in 1993-1995, recalled that the President of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation signed an agreement that if one of the states is going to introduce its own currency, it shall notify the other party three months prior to the introduction. However, in **July 1993 Russia** in violation of this Agreement introduced **its own national currency**, notifying Kazakhstan for three days prior to administration of its actions. Simultaneously, Russian proposed to create a new type of ruble zone, based on the Russian ruble (bills of 1993). Another round of meetings and negotiations took place, the new terms and conditions were put forward. As a result, Nursultan Nazarbayev and Boris Yeltsin signed an agreement for a new model for Kazakhstan bank notes for circulation in parallel with the old Soviet banknotes. However, the leadership of the Russia at that time did not fulfill its promises, the new Russian Ruble did not arrive to Kazakhstan. On the contrary, during the fall of 1993 billions of old Soviet rubles poured in Kazakhstan, severely undermining the economy.

Realities of the beginning of the 1990s were such that production and financial system of Kazakhstan until November 1993, ie before the transition to its own currency, were dependent on Russian factors. Price liberalization and the greatly increased volume of money supply had triggered inflation growing every passing month. In 1993 it amounted to more than 200%, which allows us to call it hyperinflation. Therefore, with the introduction of



the national currency of the RK the President acted prudently but quickly and decisively.

As a result of the decisive actions of the President the national currency of the Republic of Kazakhstan was successfully introduced on November 15, 1993. However, to keep the exchange rate relatively stable was almost not possible in the first stage. Justifying the granting to the National Bank of additional powers D. Sembayev said: «In one month after the introduction of tenge it became clear that there would be no stabilization and order in the banking sector and monetary circulation. The President understood this and gave me fairly wide powers, starting with the fact that the chairman of the National Bank was removed from the government. The country needed a representative, independent from the immediate interests of the government».

In the second half of 1993 and the entire 1994 the National Bank credited the second-tier banks and covered the deficit of the state budget at the expense of the printing press. But by the end of 1994, it was possible to bring the situation under control. The rate of depreciation of the tenge to the dollar and the inflation rate decreased by half, compared with the previous year. A stabilization program, initiated with the introduction of tenge, with the support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), prioritized the fight against inflation, and the government of Kazakhstan successfully fulfilled this task. Although during the first year after the introduction of the new currency it devalued from 5 to 56 tenge per dollar, the exchange rate gradually stabilized.

Introduction of tenge had paved the way for deepening of the reforms. In the early 1990s, there were about 200 banks in the country, including foreign ones. The priority of the economic policy of Kazakhstan, in addition to the liberalization of the economy and the formation of a new financial system, was the creation of an independent budget, tax and customs system. In the 1990s, the country received market, corresponding to world standards laws that made the economy turn into a completely different direction.

## **5. Kazakhstan Economic Model: Achievements and Challenges**

According to the Strategy «Kazakhstan-2030», the main goal which Kazakhstan had been facing since independence, was to achieve economic growth based on a developed market economy with a high level of foreign investment. In the 2000s, Kazakhstan managed significantly to move towards its implementation. A certain economic growth was achieved;

the positive changes in people's living standards were strengthened. Kazakhstan's economy moved to a qualitatively new model of development, based on the limited state intervention in the economy with an active role of the private sector and the promotion of competition.

In the 2000s, there was a task of improving the competitiveness of Kazakhstan's economy, without which it was impossible to build a post-industrial society, take a worthy place among the most competitive countries. Actualization of the ways to achieve this goal was the task stated in the Message of the President of Kazakhstan of 18.01.2006 «Kazakhstan Strategy of Entering the 50 Most Competitive Countries of the World».

In the address of 2006 priority directions of development of economy and social sphere were identified. The basis for a breakthrough in the economic development of the country should be successful integration of Kazakhstan into the world economy, for the realization of which it was necessary to focus on the following areas: implementation of the «breakthrough» projects of international importance; the development of competitive production; integration into the international economy through participation in regional and international economic organizations; development of transport infrastructure; accession to the WTO and others.

The main result of the development of Kazakhstan's economy in the 2000s was the macroeconomic stability that had been achieved through the implementation of a number of government programs: diversification, creation of development institutions, holdings, social-entrepreneurial corporations and the National Fund. **In 1996-2005 the average annual GDP growth rate was 8.5%, in 2001-2007 – 10%.** The stable economic growth of Kazakhstan was contributed by the increase of the volume of oil production and the entrance of the Republic to the world markets, despite the fact that prices of energy sources were constantly rising.

Since 2008 Kazakhstan's economy had been characterized by a gradual decline in growth rate of GDP, although it remained significantly higher than the regional ones. Thus, the growth rate of GDP was 3.2% in 2008, in 2009 – 1.2%, 2010 – 7.3%, 2011 – 7.5%, 2012 – 5.5%. In 2014 there was a decline of GDP by 6.7%, in 2015 – by 18.9%. In 2016 the decline of GDP slowed down significantly, and according to the Minister of National Economy Timur Suleimanov «as per the year results, GDP increased by 1%. This was the forecast value for 2016. There is an improvement in construction and transport. These are the industries, which have significantly contributed into GDP, which have been over 1, and, accordingly, raised the whole DGP», – Interfax-Kazakhstan reported on January 10, 2017.

According to the last forecast of the Government of RK, in 2017 GDP of Kazakhstan will increase by 1.9%.

The decrease in GDP growth during the years stated above is connected with the generally negative global macroeconomic situation. In February 2014, the National Bank of Kazakhstan announced devaluation of the national currency. In August 2015, after the announcement of the National Bank to introduce a free exchange rate of tenge, there was a devaluation of the national currency again.

Later, based on the addresses of the President of Kazakhstan the **Strategy of Industrial and Innovation Development of Kazakhstan for 2003-2015** was developed. One of the economic goals of the Strategy was the progressive development of the economy by reducing dependence on exports of natural resources, the development of new non-primary industries and the expansion of exports of ready Kazakh products.

However, in 2003-2007, the state failed to achieve a breakthrough in the industry structure. Although construction, financial, transport, telecommunication, and trade services gained rapid development, this was due to price increases in the commodity sector. **Another important task of the period under review was not implemented, namely, import of ready products and good from abroad was not decreased.** Increase in productivity of Kazakhstani enterprises and the achievement of competitiveness on the world market remained an acutely urgent problem.

In the beginning of 2005 Kazakhstan's cluster initiative was launched as part of the Industrial and Innovative Development Strategy. Clusters are a network of territorially related companies united around a scientific and educational center. The development of such networks is aimed at improving the competitiveness of enterprises, regions and the national economy as a whole. To reduce dependence of Kazakhstan's economy on oil and gas and commodity sectors and to achieve its high performance, there were seven pilot clusters defined: «Tourism», «Food Industry», «Oil and gas engineering» «Textile industry», «Transport Logistics», «Metallurgy», «Building materials».

In Kazakhstan, there were successful examples of the cluster approach in mining industry. Corporation «Kazakhmys», for example, produces copper. Ore is extracted for the production of copper; copper cathodes are produced from it, followed by a complex processing – refining production. A zinc plant was launched, there was a copper rod shop, an enameled wires shop and the related to this production transport and energy system. Next the related engineering plants were built that produced support materials

and mechanisms. The cluster approach gives good results for such production. It is necessary to develop it not only in the raw materials sector. Development of cluster projects was one of the important trends that may foster Kazakhstan economy to acquire a new, innovative and competitive character.

In the 2000s, a number of joint ventures were opened. In particular, in Karaganda a joint French-Russian-Kazakh company «AlianPaint» for the production of dye materials was founded. In Uralsk a new gas turbine was put into operation. In Taraz «Consulting Investment Company Central Asia» bought the production of ferroalloys. In Semey tractors assembly plant was opened with the participation of Kazakhstan, Russia, Belarus and Uzbekistan, as well as an enterprise for the production of knitwear for export. In Aktau a geosynthetics plant «Polikhim» was started. In Shymkent a large pharmaceutical manufacturing («Himfarm») was developed. **In 2009, the locomotive assembly plant was opened in Astana.**

During these years, the growth rate of gross domestic product (GDP) was consistently high. **By 2004, Kazakhstan's economy overcame an important milestone – pre-crisis level of GDP was reached, and in 2005 Kazakhstan's GDP exceeded the 1990 level by 13.3%.** In 2005, Kazakhstan's GDP exceeded the total volume of GDP of the seven post-Soviet states of Central Asia and the Caucasus. During the years 1996-2006 GDP per capita in Kazakhstan increased from **\$3 600 to \$700 dollars.** According to the official statement of the Vice Minister of the economy of Kazakhstan Marat Kusainov, in 2016 real GDP growth is expected at the level of 2.1 per cent, in 2017 – 3.6 percent, in 2018 – 2.9 percent, in 2019 – 3.0 per cent and in 2020 – 3.1 percent. A nominal GDP growth in 2016-2020 is projected at the level 7,4-9,8 percent. **In 2016 GDP will amount to more than 10 thousand dollars per capita and in 2020 will grow to 13.2 thousand.** In addition, he said, exports will increase from 41 billion dollars in 2016 to 55.1 billion dollars in 2020, import – from 28 billion in 2016 to 30.5 billion dollars in 2020. Inflation rate is expected at the level of 6-8 percent in 2016-2017, 5.7 percent in 2018, 4.6 per cent in 2019 in 2020 at the level of 3-4 percent.

The mining industry still plays a leading role in the economy of Kazakhstan, it accounts for almost 60% of total industrial production of the country, and oil and gas production in this sector is about 80%. According to the Committee on Statistics of the Ministry of National Economy in 2015 Kazakhstan produced 79.5 million tons of oil, including gas condensate, which is 1.7 percent less than in 2014, in 2016 oil production will amount 77

million tons, and in 2017 – 79.5 million tons with a subsequent increase to 86.5 million tons in 2021.

During the period of independence, Kazakhstan has increased its gas production in more than 5.5 times. At the end of 2015 gas production totaled 45.3 billion cubic meters, which is 5% higher than the volume of production in 2014 and more than 3.5 times higher than in 2000 and more than 5.5 times than in 1991 (7.9 billion cubic meters). The volume of gas exports increased – according to the results in 2015 gas exports amounted 12.7 billion cubic meters, which is 15% higher than in 2014 and more than 3.5 times higher than 2000, when only 3.4 billion cubic meters gas were exported.

Due to the rapid development of the oil and gas sector the volume of transportation of oil, petroleum and gas via line pipes increased. Kazakhstan has an extensive infrastructure of transportation of oil and gas from the producing regions to the Russian pipeline system, capable of further export of hydrocarbons. The most important export pipeline are the Caspian Pipeline Consortium, the first phase of which was put into operation in 2001, the pipeline Uzen-Atyrau-Samara, including the key transit pipelines the Bukhara-Ural, Central Asia-Center. An international trade port Aktau acquired a great value.

An event of great significance took place on December 14, 2009, when the heads of Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and China opened a transnational gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to China, which will diversify the gas supplies from Central Asia.

State Program of the Development automobile roads industry for the period 2001-2005 was adopted in 2005. In total 11.5 thousand km of roads of the national importance, 3,5 thous. Km of the local roads were built and restored. By early 2006, 3.4 thousand km (15%) of all transport roads were in good operating condition; 8.7 thousand km (38%) werenn in satisfactory condition; 10.8 thousand km (47%) unsatisfactory.

Construction of the border railway crossing Druzhba – Alashankou between Kazakhstan and China and the railway crossing Sarakhs – Mashhad between Turkmenistan and Iran opened new transit corridors along the route of the Great Silk Road from China's Pacific ports (Lianyungang, Tsing Tao, Tyantsein) to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan Turkmenistan, Iran, Turkey and further to the ports the Medeteranian Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Regional transit potential of Kazakhstan was extremely high, as trade routes between the majority of the Central Asian countries, Russia and

other countries of the world pass through its territory, the Republic transport communications are extensive and have a big bandwidth allowance.

One of the key factors in the future development of the state was telecommunications and communications. In the 2000s, Kazakhstan adopted and implemented a national space program. Specialized organizations were formed. On June 18, 2006 the first domestic satellite «KazSat» was launched, a control center «Akkol» was opened.

Thus, in the period 2000-2007 the real Kazakhstan's economy was booming, it regained its potential and after reached a new level of sustainable growth. However, the global financial and economic crisis of 2008-2009 slowed the progressive movement of Kazakhstan. Therefore, the strategic task set by the Head of State was the implementation of any crises measures to overcome this negative situation and ensure continued sustainable growth of Kazakhstan's economy in the post-crisis period. These goals were set in 2010 in the address of the President, which opened a new stage in the industrialization of the country until 2020.

**According to an academician Kenzhagali Sagadiev, despite all the difficulties and obstacles in Kazakhstan for the first 25 years of sovereign development there were significant achievements.** As we have already mentioned, from the first days of independence there were reforms, in all important industries. Already in the first decade of this period, the modern system of government was formed, its foreign and domestic policy was generated, the system of social protection was developed, transition to a market economy took place. According to the importance and content, depth and quality of the changes they dramatically improved the look of our society that had developed in the past. Kazakhstan had taken its rightful place in the international community of the states as a country with democratic development and a market economy. In less than ten years of independence, the US, Germany, France, Italy, Austria and other countries recognized Kazakhstan as the state of the market economic development model and a supporter of democracy. As a result, we received a multibillion-dollar investment, with the hundreds of businesses were built with participation of foreign partners, new industries appeared, such as machine building, chemical and construction industries, the food industry began to develop rapidly.

On this basis, according to the World Bank, Kazakhstan's economy, increased by 7.4 times during the years of independence from 1991 to 2015. According to the international agency UNDP, publishing annual welfare indices of world countries, our country occupies 55<sup>th</sup> place in the world.

According to the Human Development Index Kazakhstan is ahead of China, Malaysia and Turkey, and among 188 countries is on the 56<sup>th</sup> position.

**During the years of independence the health sector reached a good developing pace.** In all regions of the country hospitals and clinical institutions were built, they were equipped with modern technological diagnostic equipment. Thousands of doctors increased their professional qualifications in foreign hospitals. In 2016 the index of efficiency of medical facilities of Kazakhstan took the 51<sup>th</sup> place in the world. Education, health, social protection, business, positive development in a healthy way of life led to the fact that Kazakhstan had increased the average length of life. This year, the figure is 72 years, which is 4 years and 4 months more than in 25 years ago – that is at the time of gaining independence.

From the first days of the sovereignty, Kazakhstan has managed to define far-reaching goals, allowing the country to rise to new horizons of success. Each program proposed by the President in his Address to the Nation, dedicated to the most topical issues of the future development of Kazakhstan. Thus, the issue of a global perspective – a truly fateful agenda, was covered in the Message of President of Kazakhstan of 19 March 2004 «Towards Competitive Kazakhstan, Competitive Economy, Competitive Nation». It fully reflects the growing demand of the time. We, the people of Kazakhstan, by building an open society, have joined all the countries of the planet in the competition for effective state and population management – not only in the level of education and degree of expertise, but also in the level of understanding of the world and the intelligence level, the level of labor productivity, the ability to be creative in decisions facing society. In this regard a real progress is evident.

According to the Ministry for Investment and Development, the annual productivity per worker of the newly introduced plants is on average 20 thousand dollars. This is 5 times more than was previously! Similar reforms were taking place in transportation and many other industries and economic sectors. Six years ago Kazakhstan launched a large-scale, strategic program of industrial-innovative development.

**Its first five-year period is completed, the second have begun.** To be short, the program was able to make an industrial revolution in our economy. Its goal is to equip the industry with the latest technology, to bring it to a new technological level, providing high productivity growth. This in turn should lead to increased competitiveness of our economy. More than 800 new businesses have been built, which produce more than 500 new products. Labor productivity increased by 60% in the processing industry

sector. Serious attention was paid to attract science and technology latest achievements to the domestic industry.

During the years of independence, innovation activity of industry increased by 2 times. Export potential grew up. Our country has risen from the 82<sup>th</sup> to the 56<sup>th</sup> place in the world by the technological level of production, its innovative potential increased from the 101<sup>st</sup> to the 59<sup>th</sup> place. **And Kazakhstan now occupies the 43<sup>rd</sup> place in the world ranking in export potential.** These indicators show serious progress in the industrial development of the countries, and it must be stressed, that they create preconditions for more rapid development in the future.

Construction of the Kazakh section of the transport highway **Western Europe – Western China** is close to completion. It should link the economic relationship of the two major parts of our planet. Thus, the economy of Kazakhstan will receive an important new resource for effective development. Already now, by only maintaining and proving transit of container cargoes Kazakhstan as can earn about 4 billion dollars annually.

**In 2015 the execution of another important program «Nurly Zhol – Shining Path» began.** Building highways from the center to all regions of the country, ensuring a comfortable relationship between enterprises, the country had an opportunity to fully use all of its features. «Nurly Zhol» is a way to create a single economic space in the country, allowing developing its productive forces. In short, our choice is correct, our direction is right, we need to consistently and persistently to work on the implementation of these strategic objectives.

**The mood of any nation depends on the quality of life. And the level of life depends on the state of the economy, its effectiveness.** During the past quarter of a century we have started and continue to carry out reforms in this area. Currently about 90% of our economy is a private property. Kazakhstan has economic relations with over 170 countries of the world. On November 30, 2015 Kazakhstan was admitted to the World Trade Organization, actively cooperating with all international organizations engaged in economy issues, as well as with the 164 WTO member states. Enterprises and companies implemented a corporate management system. There is an agency regulating the activities of monopoly structures. There is a two-tier banking structure, designed to ensure the smooth circulation of money in the country. Tax, fiscal, customs systems were formed, which operate successfully today. Small and medium business began to grow. Is There is the National Trust that was designed to protect us, Kazakhstani, from any emergency situation and which has accumulated a fairly solid



financial reserves. Our own currency – tenge, has been ensuring the circulation of money for 23 years ensures. In short, we have all the tools and levers of a functioning market economy. And we can safely say that we have left from the administrative economy, and moved to the new market system.

During the years of independence, disbanding state and collective farms, we have massively switched to a farm (peasant) model of agriculture. But it turned out that it is not viable in our steppes, where there is the lowest population density and therefore, the network of roads, communications is not sufficient, there is a power supply facilities, schools and hospitals. **This created serious problems in life. Now comes the understanding that in the Kazakh agriculture it is necessary to return to the cooperative form of management.** On the initiative of the President of 29 October 2015 a law «On agricultural cooperatives» was adopted. Co-operatives have begun to set up, but very slowly. However, we have all the possibilities to eliminate these and other drawbacks.

During the last 25 years, our population has passed the universities of the market economy, deepened into its mystery, mastered its mechanisms, began to conduct its own business in accordance with the market economy requirements. The number of people starting a business of their choice increased. Such people already constitute quite a substantial part of our society. A clear understanding of the requirements of the modern times is strong, the characteristics and importance of the road on which we have set foot is understood and accepted by the population. Today, every significant decision of the Government is actively discussed among ordinary citizens. This increases the responsibility of the government for the decision. On the other hand, it is important that such decisions are taken after preliminary discussions with the public, taking into account their views. It brings the power and the people together; it increases and improves the social climate.

Opportunities for such closer cooperation between the authorities and society as proposed by the President on May 6, 2015 the **Nation Plan «100 Concrete Steps»**. If you look closely, it provides an extensive list of specific measures designed to elevate Kazakhstan society and bring it to a new, higher stage of democratic development. Publicity is expanding; public control over the actions of the authorities is enhanced. The reports of heads of ministries and departments to the population. public councils at all levels of management are effective channels of studying people's opinion.

In general, summing up the quarter of a century sovereign development, we can say that we, the people of Kazakhstan, managed to build a new state,

to alter the face of our country in accordance with the new challenges of the time, we have created a new economic system, which operates in many of the countries of the world. We have overcome great passes on our way and have set our sight on new heights. The enormous merit of our President Nursultan Nazarbayev in the construction of a new Kazakhstan should be specially noted. Having raised the flag of Independence, Elbasy firmly and consistently led and is leading his people in the way of progress in such a turbulent world. By keeping a constant dialogue with the leaders of other countries, drawing public attention to the challenges of our time, offering solutions, Nursultan Nazarbayev has shown itself as a world statesman.

## **6. The Investment Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan**

From the very beginning of economic reform Kazakhstan has conducted a progressive work to improve the investment legislation. In the 1990s it was clear that economic progress could not happen without financial injections from abroad. History shows that virtually all developed country raised their economy using foreign funding - loans, investments.

One of the first steps to attract foreign capital was the transfer of enterprises in the management to foreign companies. Valuable experience has been accumulated via trial and error. All companies transferred to foreign control, repaid the arrears of wages, contributed to the pension fund, returned their debts to the energy sector, transportation and other subcontractors. Foreign firms attracted resources are nearly one billion US dollars. In 1996 t over 200 thousand workers were employed by the foreign enterprises.

According to official data, during 1994-1995, the economy of Kazakhstan received more than 3 billion US dollars in the form of official development assistance, loans and export credits from foreign government financial institutions and private companies.

In February 1997, the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On State Support Of Direct Investments» was adopted, the purpose of which was to stimulate foreign direct investments into the economy of Kazakhstan and which provided an enhanced benefits system to foreign enterprises. In particular, it provided up to 100% of reduction in the rate of income tax, land tax and property tax for a period of 5 years from the date of conclusion of the direct investment contract, as well as a decrease in these rates to 50% for the next five years. All this contributed to enhancing foreign investment inflows. Total long-term investment commitments of foreign companies

which had already signed contracts with Kazakhstan at that time were estimated at more than 60 billion dollars.

In 1997, foreign direct investment in the Kazakh economy exceeded US \$ 7 billion. There was 165 dollars of foreign investment for every citizen of Kazakhstan, which is five times more than in Russia. Since 1999, there has been a positive trend of growth of capital investments by investors into the real economy. In 2001, Kazakhstan in per capita investment volume of the population continued to occupy the first place among the CIS countries and has become the second in the former socialist camp after Hungary.

The most rapidly developing was oil and gas industry in Kazakhstan. Proven oil reserves amounted to 30 billion barrels, that is 4 billion tons, gas – 3 trillion m<sup>3</sup>. Recoverable oil reserves of Kazakhstan increased by almost two times. **On September 18, 2005 Kazakhstan extracted the billionth ton of oil.** It is no coincidence that foreign investors were attracted by the possibility to invest in oil and gas industry. The largest companies-subsoil users in this sector are domestic and foreign company: «Tengizchevroil», as well as consortia of companies conducting exploration and production of hydrocarbons in the Caspian shelf and Karachaganak.

The volume of investments directed to the oil industry in 2004 amounted to 5.5 billion US dollars, or 84% of the total investment in the country. The share of 10 largest companies – «TCO», «Karachaganak Integrated Organization», «Mangistaumunaigas», «Uzenmunaigas» and other accounted for 90% of investments. «Agip», «Tengizchevroil» etc were among the companies that most actively carried out the exploration. They accounted for 89% of the investments. A collaborative group of «Lukoil» and «KazMunaiGas» operates in the Republic. Its main task is to develop the project of the Caspian gas chemical complex with an investment volume of 3.5 billion dollarov. **In total during the years of independence Kazakhstan attracted more than 260 billion dollars of foreign investment.**

**In the mid-2000s, Kazakhstan itself became an active investor.** The country's investment to the CIS countries reached 25 billion US Dollars. And this flow began to increase, because the class of domestic investors had become increasingly competitive in foreign markets. Large domestic companies owned facilities in Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Georgia and Ukraine. In Kyrgyzstan, there are more than 400 enterprises with the participation of Kazakh capital operating in such economic sectors such as energy, the natural gas industry, construction materials industry, the banking sector.

«Kazakhmys» Corporation acquired a metallurgical plant in Germany. More than 60 treaties and agreements had been concluded between Kazakhstan and Georgia. So, «KazMunaiGas» had started construction of a modern refinery on the Black Sea coast, a grain terminal in Baku was commissioned, a terminal is under construction in the port of Poti, JSC «Tbilgas» began to modernize its own distribution networks. Kazakh banks actively placed their capital in the CIS countries, including Russia in the years before the crisis.

According to the Statistics Agency by the middle of 2007 in Kazakhstan the investment growth was observed in almost all regions of the country. In 2007, the volume of investment into fixed assets increased by 1.4 times in comparison with 1990 and amounted to 3,400 billion tenge. About 50% of all investments in fixed assets were directed to the development of the mining industry. According to the technological structure of investments in fixed assets, the spending of construction and installation works increased significantly.

However, foreign investment cannot be the sole condition for the diversification of the national economy in the long term. Simple borrowing of foreign technologies is not an option for the development of the economy of an independent state. Innovations should not only be purchased from abroad, but must be developed in the country.

In 2007-2009 the state started to more objectively and consistently monitor the process of the activities of foreign businessmen, their compliance with the treaty obligations, and most importantly - prevention of damage to the interests of Kazakhstan.

In the context of the financial and economic crisis of the late 2000s, the question of the relationship between foreign and domestic investment was adjusted. The current setting of the Head of State was the direction-on to development and the increase of local content in investment and operating costs, the labor force in the projects of foreign investors.

In the second half of the 2000s, Kazakhstan overcame the transitional stage of the transformation into a market economy. The EU and the United States recognized that Kazakhstan was a country with a market economy. The necessary level of openness of the economy with minimal state intervention had already been reached; foreign trade was almost liberalized; 80% of the property was private, macroeconomic stability, exchange rate stability of the tenge had been reached in the country.

Thus, according to the basic criteria of economic development before the crisis the country was ready to join the WTO. Kazakhstan officially joined

the WTO on July 27, 2016 after more than 19 years of negotiations. The volume of foreign trade has reached \$ 120 billion. More than 90 percent of our foreign trade turnover accounted for WTO members. The geography of trade relations significantly expanded. If in the mid 90s Kazakhstan had trade links only with the countries of the former Soviet Union, today we are trading with 185 countries of the world.

Thus, the entry of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the WTO realized one of the most important tasks of the strategic course of the country for integration into the global and regional economies.

As stated in the «Declaration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan», adopted by the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan on November 23, 2016, the Republic has reached high levels in the economic development during this period. The Head of State N.A. Nazarbayev consistently orients people to achieve the highest global indicators.

The strategy «Kazakhstan-2050» New Economic Policy «Nurly Zhol», the Nation Plan «100 Concrete Steps» is a plan aimed at strengthening the power of Kazakhstan's ability to enter into the ranks of the most developed countries in the world. Our unique competitive advantage is a huge natural wealth, agriculture, communication, and transit potential, it became the basis for the economic success of our country. Today, Kazakhstan is a country with a stable market economy, in which the institution of private property is inviolable, the middle class is actively developing, and business is the driving force of economic development.

Due to the strategic vision of the nation's leader of our country, in spite of the global financial and economic crises we have been successfully carrying out the modernization of the economy. Kazakhstan is firmly aimed at strengthening industrial power and innovation. During the large-scale structural reforms completely new high-tech industries have been created: petrochemical, automotive, railway engineering, IT-technologies, production satellites.

At the initiative of the Leader of the nation such programs as «Road Map of Business-2020», «Agribusiness 2020», «Employment Program 2020» have been realized aimed at improving the life of every citizen. In the 25th jubilee year of independence, Kazakhstan took the 35th place in the ranking of Doing Business by the World Bank. The country implemented a number of strategically important infrastructure projects that would make a new economic breakthrough - the program «Nurly Zhol, the West China – Western Europe, the Trans-Caspian international transport route.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What are the implications of the planned economy crisis of the beginning of 1990s?
2. What decisions were taken by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan directed at economic reform and transition to a market economy?
3. What was the need for the introduction of the national currency?
4. List the difficulties of economic transformation.
5. What are the peculiarities of the financial system of the Republic of Kazakhstan?

**Topic 15. Social Policy of Independent Kazakhstan.  
Reform of the Pension System, Development of Health and  
Education Systems**

***Lecture Plan:***

1. *Social policy of independent Kazakhstan.*
2. *Reform of the pension system. Pension funds and their activity.*
3. *Development of Health System.*
4. *Reform of the educational system of the Republic.*

**Summary of the Lecture**

**1. Social Policy of Independent Kazakhstan**

Social protection is an important issue of economic policy. This is even more important for Kazakhstan, ascertaining itself as a social state. Socially oriented market economy presupposes an active role of the state in solving social problems. In the context of the current global economic crisis, it is simply vital. Ultimately everything depends on solving this task: the power and independence of the state, welfare of the people, stability of the political atmosphere in the society.

In the first years of transition to a market economy, there was a significant decline in living standards of the majority of Kazakhstanis, social sphere of society was in crisis. Social polarization took place in the society: people with different incomes turned out to be on different social poles during crisis.

Historically low standard of living, coupled with the difficulties of the transition period, gave rise to legitimate protest potential in society, manifested in the form of dissatisfaction of people which poured into the organization and conduct of strikes.

The situation with working conditions could not stand any criticism. Every fourth or fifth worker in manufacturing worked in hazardous working conditions; sanitary and environmental conditions did not meet the established standards in mining, metallurgical and chemical industries, safety requirements were not observed for every third, in many cases – every second person.

The economic crisis of 1992 was followed by the liberalization of prices and rising inflation. In 1992-1996 prices increased by 35 times. The explosive growth of prices, currency devaluation caused particularly severe

consequences for those who had fixed wages. The development of market relations made money imbalance between specialists with higher and secondary educational levels. In 1991-1996 the number of students reduced in higher education institutions.

Monetary reform of 1991-1993 repeatedly reduced the previously accumulated funds of the population, as the untimely payment of wage and other payments had reduced revenue sources. In the 1990s, delays of wages were commonplace. In 1999, after three years of waiting 24 thousand Karmetkombinat former employees (now JSC «Ispat-Karmet») received salary for the year 1995 only after the needed amount 200 million tenge was allocated by the Government for metallurgists.

In the first half of the 1990s in terms of the potential of the standard of living Kazakhstan was in the top seventy of the 174 countries of the world, it was a member of the group of countries with low human development. Life expectancy decreased by 4.7 year in Kazakhstan as a result of economic and social crisis. The low-income segments of the population were in danger of poverty and hunger.

Thus, economic crisis in the first half of the 1990s was accompanied by a number of negative social phenomena, and in the first place – a sharp decline in the welfare of the majority of the population. The crisis affected the consciousness of people, creating insecurity, social pessimism. Rebuilding its political and economic system, social protection of the population had become one of the most complex and at the same time the most important tasks of the 1990s for independent Kazakhstan.

In the 1990s, the unemployment problem was acute. Wage delays, lack of material resources, difficulties in selling the finished products, the sharp rise in energy sources prices, gasoline were a heavy blow to the production. In 1993, production of 130 enterprises, employing 114 thousand workers was stopped completely or partly (e.g., Karaganda Engineering Plant, Textile Factory in Ust-Kamenogorsk). In addition, many facilities had switched to long working hours, and such enterprises as «Aktjubrentgen» Ferroalloy Plant, Atyrau Chemical Plant, «Khimprom» in Zhambyl, Production Association «Carbide» in Karaganda were regularly forced to suspend production. In 1993, the number of workers sent on leave without pay or on partially paid leave increased by 60%.

According to statistics, more than 500 thousand man-days were lost only in eight regions of the country and Almaty due to the cessation of operation of 78 industrial and 13 construction companies.



Unemployment trends were as follows: in 1991-1992 there was the first observed manifestations of unemployment (it was 0.5% in 1991, in 1992 – 1%). In 1993 there was a steady increase in the number of unemployed. Overall, in 1991-1995 the number of people working in the public sector decreased by 1.7 million. A phenomenon of hidden unemployment appeared. Up to 60-70% of the workers were forced to take forced labor, unpaid leave, work part-time. Hidden unemployment amounted to 4-6% of the working-age population. Unemployment had spread to all sectors of the economy, especially in the construction sector and agriculture.

The difficult situation was observed in the rural areas where, according to statistics, by the end of 1997, 392 thousand unemployed were registered. Causes of unemployment among the rural population were diverse: lack of long-term agricultural policy; poor infrastructure of rural areas; imbalance of demand for agricultural products on domestic and foreign markets; weak development of livestock production etc. In 1991-1996 villagers constitute 40-48% of the total number of unemployed labor population.

In these circumstances, the government was concerned with the search of funds for social support of the population, activities providing a way out of the crisis. In the 1990s it was necessary to create regulations governing employment, new conditions of remuneration, pensions, creating conditions for public and private pension funds of mandatory pension insurance.

Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «**On Labor Protection**» was adopted in 1993. Citizens who had lost their job, young unemployed professionals, women, emerging from maternity leave, received a small allowance, which, however, was insufficient.

One of the most important tasks of the government in the social sphere was the support of small and medium-sized businesses. Drafted by the government program on withdrawal of agriculture from the crisis included transfer from agricultural raw materials to finished products; attraction of investments; development of agricultural businesses; provision of the country with the local agricultural products.

The deterioration of the social situation of the population was contributed by the «optimization» in the social infrastructure, which begun in the mid-1990s: reduced free medical care, education, social services. However, the forms of non-public service were not formed in these industries yet. Painless transition from free to paid services could only occur with an increase in wages, pensions, and other. However, the difficult socio-economic situation in the country did not immediately allowed to privatize the sectors

providing services to the population, which hindered the development of small businesses and therefore – of the social base.

**However, the state did not give up the social policy, so in the new Constitution of 1995 Kazakhstan proclaimed itself as a welfare state.** But the time was required to actually achieve this status.

The state began to consider social policies as an effective protection of the population and creation of conditions for able-bodied people. Since 1996, a gradual economic growth began in Kazakhstan. In order to ensure the social protection of population on December 10, 1997 a national fund to support low-income citizens was created. Over three years it had accumulated 938 mln tenge. More than 240 thousand citizens living below the poverty line received support in the form of products, goods and money.

However, due to the instability of the socio-economic situation in the country the number of people with low incomes continued to grow. If in 1996 the number of citizens with incomes below the subsistence minimum was 34%, in 1998 it reached 43%. The country suffered from foreign economic crises as well, the 1997-1998 financial crises struck the financial system in many countries in Asia and the neighboring Russia. Kazakhstan, unlike Russia, resist and avoided default, but was again on the verge of closing factories and mass unemployment, new problems with inflation of wages and salaries, pensions.

By the end of the 1990s, the situation with creating employment for the population was complex. Out of the 362 thousand citizens requesting a job, only 73 thousand (20%) received employment. The country acutely felt poverty. In different areas, the proportion of people below the poverty line was from 20% to 50%. In 1999 the number of unemployed reached 251 thousand people (3.9%).

However, in 1997-1999 there were positive changes in social policy. The government embarked on long-term reforms in the pension system, education, and health care. Change in the countryside became noticeable. The country was gradually getting out of the crisis and stood on the path of development. Therefore, the second half of 1990 could be called a transition period in the economy and in the social sphere.

**The Development of the Social Sphere in the 2000s.** In 2000-2001 there was a radical change in social policy. At that time it was carried out under the conditions of stabilization of economic development. The main component of the policy was to provide a targeted social assistance to pensioners, veterans of the Great Patriotic War, mothers of large families and others. By 2002, there was a downward trend of inflation, it was

below 7%. It allowed increasing annual wages and pensions. Key strategic objectives were also identified for the next decade: to eradicate poverty, to ensure the priority of the early formation of the middle class.

In 2001 the Law of RK «**On State Social Assistance**» came into force. Now the social policy was aimed at increasing the resources allocated to social protection of workers of education, health care and, in general, the public sector on the legalized basis. The President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in his Address to the Nation continually focused on carrying out an effective social policy, emphasizing that the continuous improvement of the social well-being of Kazakhstanis, all its layers and social groups, was, and would «remain at the forefront of the public policy».

The Government of the Republic prepared a program to combat poverty and unemployment for the period 2000-2002, which included a reduction in the unemployment rate by 9% through the creation of 400 thousand jobs. The program was implemented in each region of Kazakhstan. Families' map of the families with the lowest social level was drawn. Since 2000, 8.8 billion tenge was allocated for people falling into this category, including from the Republican budget – KZT 6.4 billion and 2.4 billion tenge were invested by charities and non-budgetary organizations. The labor employment in Almaty city, Almaty, Aktobe regions was observed at a high level. Regional funds took an active part in creating jobs. They allocated 9.8 thousand microloans totaling more than 300 million tenge.

The potential of agriculture was poorly used by the regions in their development. So, the share of agriculture fell from 11% in 1999 to 8% in 2003 at the Republic level. In order to change this situation, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan made a proposal: to announce the 2003-2005 as the period of recovery of the village (Aul zhyly). Targeted agricultural policy gave a positive effect on the depressive, ecologically complex regions. But at the same time, the situation in the agricultural sector remained grave: growing unemployment, the establishment of private farms was very slow, many villagers migrated en masse to the cities and district centers.

In the mid-2000s, a program of further deepening of social reforms in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2005-2007 was developed and adopted. The program created a three-tier social security system, the main characteristics of which were the financial stability and the allocation of responsibilities between the state, employer and employee. In the mid-2000s pensions, stipends, certain benefits and payments to the population were raised.

Kazakhstan is a country closely linked with the global economy, and this has its pros and cons. Thus, the global financial and then economic crisis of

2007-2009 had a significant impact on the Republic. Since the second half of 2007, the country had begun to feel the negative impact of the global crisis, which again exacerbated the social problems.

Thus, at the end of the first decade of the XXI century the social sphere of the country entered a period of new challenges. Given the interconnection of national and world economy, it was difficult to avoid. However, the situation changed – the gold reserves accumulated in previous favorable years, allowed the state regularly and without delay to fulfill its social obligations and programs.

At that time, there was a mixed social security system, including the pension system, state social benefits, special government allowances, the provision of social services and social assistance. Since 2005, a social insurance system had been introduced, which was more a form of social protection in the event of social risks. It covered formal sector workers for whom employers pay social contributions to the State Social Insurance Fund (hereinafter – the Fund).

In recent years, more than 3.5 million people receive social benefits from the budget. Total expenditure on the payment of state social benefits increased by 6.9 times (from 25.8 billion tenge in 1999 to 177.5 billion tenge in 2015). In general, over the years of independence we have ensured significant advances in the social and labor sphere, which allowed significantly improve the standard of living of the population. **The poverty rate declined from 34.6% in 1996 to 2.7% in 2015.**

## **2. Reform of the Pension System. Pension Funds and their Activities**

Most of the low-income population in the country accounted for pensioners and the disabled. In the period 1990 to 1996, there had been an active population decline observed in the country. In 1990, for every pensioner there were three employed people, then in 1996 this number fell to 1.8 men.

The crisis in social policy affected the situation of pensioners. Pensions were divided according to the following criteria: age, superannuation, disability, loss of breadwinner. The pension system is financed by funds generated by insurance workers. In 1991 there were 9.5 million tenge allocated for the pension provision of the population, in 1992 this number amounted to 72 million tenge, in 1993 – 1.3 billion tenge, in 1994, the amount reached more than 20 billion tenge. In 2016 about 6.2 billion tenge

were spent on social assistance to senior citizens, and about 1.2 billion sent in the framework of corporate social responsibility.

A cumulative pension was paid from the state budget to more than 1.9 million retirees and its payment expenses amounted to 918.4 billion tenge in 2015, the increase was by 9.3 times in comparison with 1999. The average size of pensions increased by 9.4 times (from 4 179 to 39 379 tenge), the minimum pension increased by almost 7.8 times (from 3000 to 23692 tenge), the maximum size of pensions – by 8.4 times (from 7256 to 60947 tenge). A basic pension paid to all pensioners regardless of their length of service amounted to 11 965 tenge in 2016. On January 1, 2016 the number of individual pension accounts amounted to 9.5 million, or more than 3.2 times compared to 1998 (3 million accounts), the amount of pension savings amounted to 5.8 trillion tenge.

In the second half of 1990, taking into account the current economic situation, demographic problems, the Government began to reform a pension system. Not just a simple increase in pensions was needed, but also an urgent reform of the pension system. In March 1997 the Government approved the «Concept of Reforming the Pension System in the Republic of Kazakhstan», and on June 20, 1997 the Law «On Pension Provision in the Republic of Kazakhstan» adopted. The retirement age was revised: for men – 63 years, for women – 58 years. In accordance with the amendments made to the pension legislation of RK of 06.04.2016, starting from 2018 the retirement age for women will rise each year until 2027 with the addition of six months to a threshold of 63 years. For example, women born in 1964 will retire at 63 on a par with men.

To receive a pension from the State Center for Pension Payment (SCPP) starting January 1, 1998 it was required 20 years of service for women and 25 years of services for men. The law approved the regulations and conditions for retirement. Pensions had a double component: first, from a centralized system, ie pensions of the SCPP. It was based on social taxes and other revenues from the national budget. The second, the accumulation of the pension system or pension savings fund.

All those who came out of retirement after 2001, the payments were to be made from two sources: a part – from the budget, and some part – from personal savings in the saving fund. At the same time, since 2001, the share of payments to the budget was to constantly decrease, and the proportion of contributions to savings funds was to increase in the same measure. That is, Kazakhstan had passed through the experience of pension system of countries where there was a saving system focused on private

equity investors, such as Chile, where such a system has been operating since the 1980s.

Development of the system of the country's savings funds passed three stages. During the first stage (1998-2000) the establishment of the system and its participants took place. By the end of 1999 the arrears on the payment of pensions and benefits in the amount of 50 billion tenge was totally closed.

In the 2000s, the pension system improved. New stages in the development of savings funds began: the second stage was the period of 2001-2004, the third stage - 2005-2006. The laws relating to the conservation of the guaranteed level of pension savings taking into account inflation to additional security of the staff working on the most hazardous sites at the employers' account, based on retirement age, savings amount, repayment of the accumulation based on a schedule were amended. The birth of specialized pension funds was a new phenomenon.

In the second half of the 2000s, 14 pension funds operated in the Republic. The State paid to families with a low level of subsistence. In addition, the benefits were given for the birth of a child. The features of other types of benefits were that they were paid without regard to a family income. Benefits were also made available to the population of ecologically complex regions, divided into two categories: «pre-crisis» and «eco-complex». In ecologically complex Semipalatinsk, and Kyzylorda regions the benefit levels were higher than the established norm of by 50%.

Given the complexity and importance of the pension provision, the activities of the pension savings funds were under the constant supervision of the President, and specific responsibility for the preservation of pension savings was entrusted to the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In January 2013, the President of Kazakhstan instructed to make changes to the pension legislation of the country. One of the main stages of the reform of the system was the creation of a **Single Accumulative Pension Fund** (GNPF) and the transfer of all pension assets and obligations under the pensions contract of the private accumulative funds. The leadership of the country decided to create an accumulative pension fund on the basis of GNPF.

On June 21, 2013 Law «On Pension Security of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was adopted in a new version. In accordance with the pension legislation the sole shareholder of the Fund was the Government of RK. Saving and keeping of the GNPF pension assets was carried out by the National Bank of Kazakhstan. Investment management of the GNPF

pension assets also was the responsibility of the National Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In addition, the Law stipulated the establishment of the Council on Management of the GNPF Pension Assets. Members of the Council were approved by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. On August 22, 2013, after the re-registration with the justice authorities, JSC «GNPF» started its work.

### **3. Development of the Health System**

In the Strategy «Kazakhstan-2030» citizens' health was determined as one of the main long-term priorities of the development of Kazakhstan. Public health is the main indicator of social orientation of society and social guarantees, characterizing the degree of responsibility of the state to its citizens.

Due to the extended position in the development of the Strategy at the early stages of its implementation a number of major events were carried out, among them the congresses of doctors of Kazakhstan, which had been held regularly since 1997. Activities of the health care industry during this period were aimed at the implementation of the State program «Health of the Nation», the concept of further development of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 2000-2005.

The year 2002 was a turning point in the healthcare industry as the protection of the health of the population was promoted to the rank of the priorities of the national importance. 2002 went down in history of domestic medicine as the Year of Health. During the year there were mass prophylactic examinations of the population, including those with simultaneous sanitation and about 36% of patients were taken under a clinical account. At the beginning of 2000, 1200 villages had no health professional or medical organization. In 2002, this problem was solved.

In 2004, in order to implement a complete and comprehensive control of the activities on provision of health care services, a Monitoring Committee in the provision of medical services was established. The structure of the Ministry of Health also includes the Pharmaceutical Control Committee and the Committee of the State Sanitary and Epidemiological Supervision.

In general, in the health sector had a number of problems that required a radical revision of approaches in the management of the industry. To solve these problems the State program of reforming and development of the Republic of Kazakhstan health system for 2005-2010 was developed. In February 2005, the National Coordinating Council for Health of the

Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan was established. **In September 2009, the Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On People's Health and the Health Care System» was adopted.**

At present, the national health care was designed to ensure the maintenance of a high level of health, longevity and quality of life of the citizens. To this end, in accordance with the «Strategic Plan of Development of Kazakhstan till 2020», Kazakhstan President's Address of December 14, 2012 «Strategy» Kazakhstan-2050»: a New Policy of the Established State», the Presidential Decree of the 1st of February 2010; «Nurly Zhol – Path to the Future» of November 11, 2014 and the National Plan of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan «100 Concrete Steps to Implement the Five Institutional Reforms», **the State Health Development Program «Densaulyk» for 2016-2020 was adopted.**

It was a logical continuation of the previous government reform programs and the development of public health for 2005-2010, «Salamatty Kazakhstan» for 2011-2015. Its main result was an increase in life expectancy, decrease in total mortality rate of RK, including maternal and infant. For example, **at the end of 2015 life expectancy was 71.95 years and increased by more than 3.5 years** (2010 – 68.4 years). During the implementation of the previous government programs the potential of Kazakhstan health care system had been strengthened, the elements of market mechanisms had been implemented and the transfer of modern medical technology was carried out.

Now, the task of forming a unified national policy of inter-sectoral and inter-agency cooperation on public health has been successfully performed in the course of implementation of the State Program «Densaulyk». The Ministry of Agriculture, for example, continues to implement appropriate policies to ensure drinking water supply; the Ministry of Education and Science implements a project to provide school meals, to inculcate the skills of a healthy lifestyle; the Ministry of the Interior works on a set of measures to reduce mortality from accidents and injuries, providing medical care to patients with tuberculosis in the penitentiary system institutions; the Committee of Emergency Situations takes measures to provide medical and rescue assistance and the development of air ambulance.

The Ministry of Health and Social Development, along with the local executive authorities carried out activities to promote healthy lifestyles and to prevent especially dangerous infections. They jointly take measures to totally ban the advertising and limiting the sale of tobacco and alcohol use, smoking and alcohol consumption in public places in the country. There is



a phased increase in excise duties on alcohol and tobacco products. The age limit on the sale of alcoholic beverages to persons was raised till 21 years and there is a ban on the sale of alcohol at night.

During the period from 2012 to 2014 a complex communication work on obesity prevention was carried out with the purpose to inform people about healthy eating. Kazakhstan is certified by international organizations as a country that solved the problem of iodized salt.

The policy of formation and strengthening of the public health of the population based on the international experience and taking into account the WHO strategy «Health 2020» is aimed at solving the problems of creating optimal conditions for the formation and preservation of public health; the development of public health by upgrading the sanitary-epidemiological service for the prevention of major communicable and non-communicable diseases. In accordance with the international best practice, the basis for further development of the health care system will be the establishment of the public health system (PHS) through the modernization and expansion of the functions of sanitary-epidemiological service.

#### **4. Reform of the Educational System of the Republic**

In the first half of the 1990s, the position of the social sphere of the Republic objectively continued to deteriorate. Every year the state subsidies in the field of education decreased. For example, in 1990 the subsidies were 6%, while in 2000 it fell to 3.5%. Reduced funding, in turn, led to a deterioration of the social status of teachers, and the material and technical base of educational institutions. As a result, there was a downward trend in the quality of education and the number of educational institutions and structures.

In 1998 the number of preschool institutions in the country fell to 70% compared with 1991, the closure of rural schools during the crises had led to a decline in the level of educational and cultural development of the village, as the rural schools had been not only educational institutions, but also the centers of cultural education.

However, despite the crisis, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the Address «Kazakhstan-2030» paid special attention to the educational sphere. The strategy of developing the educational system was developed up to 2030, and prepared plans covering all levels of education.

In order to form the legal basis of the independent education system of Kazakhstan the Law «On Education» of 1992, «On Higher Education»

of 1993 were adopted. In subsequent years, 18 concepts for each area of education were developed. Non-state educational institutions were opened. Education Committee which regulates the state policy in the sphere of education was established to optimize the control system. The Kazakh Academy of Education named after Y. Altynsarin was established, which developed new textbooks and methodological literature. Since May 2000, the Academy started publishing a scientific and pedagogical magazine «Bilim – Obrazovanie».

In the late 1990s, together with the stabilization of the public sector and the economy a certain strengthening of the education system took place. In 1998, the Republican Scientific and Practical Center «Daryn» was created to work with gifted children and the Republican Scientific-Experimental Center of Informatization of Education System. In 1999, the Government approved the rules on the awarding of the medal «Altyn Belgi» for graduates of the secondary schools who have shown excellent results in their studies.

The new structure of the national education system has been established in accordance with Article 30 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the International Standard Classification of Education recommended by UNESCO. New levels of education were formed: pre-school education and training, secondary, higher, post-graduate education, based on the continuity and relationships. Compulsory secondary education in Kazakhstan is 11 years. The students of 6-7 years old are taken to schools, where primary education is given till grade 4. The secondary education finishes when the students reach 17-18 years of age. Already in the mid-1990s, there was a transition to entering high educational institutions by passing the entrance exams using a test method.

Thus, as a result of reforms and transformations of the 1990s in Kazakhstan, there was a general (average) and higher education system, which was comprised of public and private sectors. The main objectives of the system were the further development of quality general and special education, which was necessary for the country's sustainable development in the XXI century.

In the 2000s, great changes occurred in the secondary education system. Since 2003, students began to pass Unified National Testing, which were both a final graduation exam and the exam for admission to university.

In the 2000s, a national system for assessing the quality of education was formed, new information and credit technologies were introduced in the educational process, there was a discussions in the society about the transition to 12-year secondary education. Introduction of the 12-year

education is planned for 2019 in Kazakhstan. This will create zero grade classes in all schools.

Transition of all classes on the updated curriculum will be completed in 2020. This was announced during a briefing in Central Communications Service, held in November 2, 2016 by the deputy director of the Department of Preschool and Secondary education of the MES Zeynep Maksutova. According to her, in September 2015 in the country all first grade classes used the updated educational content. The new system will be implemented in stages: the second, fifth, seventh grades will implement the new program in the 2017-2018th school year, the third, sixth, eighth, tenth grades will go for it in the 2018-2019 school year and the fourth, ninth and 11th grades – in the 2019th. Thus, all stages will switch to the updated curriculum. As for trilingual education in Kazakhstan, it will be introduced in 2018 and only in the higher grades. However, she claims, trilingual education will mean that 10-11-graders will study the subjects that they themselves would choose.

Currently there are 7307 day public schools functioning in the Republic. They trained 2.5 million students, i.e., every 7th inhabitant of the country is a schoolboy. There is nearly 300 thousand teachers work in the schools. One third of the teachers have been working for over 20 years. More than 80% of all school teachers are women. Almost a quarter of all teachers (23.9%) are engaged in teaching languages (Kazakh, Russian, English). About a third of all schools operate in one shift, 68% – in two, and 1.5% – in three shifts. Over 3 thousand schools (45%) operate in the Kazakh language, about 2 thousand schools have mixed instruction in the Kazakh and the Russian languages. In Kazakhstan, there are also three types of national schools: Uzbek, Uyghur and Tajik. Their graduates have the right to choose the language of the final test, but it is either Kazakh or Russian.

In the 2000s, much attention was paid to equipping schools with computer and office equipment. Despite the economic difficulties, all secondary schools were computerized. Thanks to the initiative of the President, the country has consistently implemented an extensive network of smart schools. A real achievement in the field of secondary education was the opening of the Intellectual School of the First President in February 2009 in Astana. It was of the physics and mathematics, and chemical and biological specialization, the graduates of the school are designed to cover the lack of highly qualified engineers and scientists in the future. Total there were 20 Nazarbayev Intellectual Schools with the updated content of education, the experience of which will be gradually extended to the entire education system.

As already noted, Nursultan Nazarbayev has set the main priorities for Kazakhstan in his Strategy «Kazakhstan-2050» – to enter the top 30 developed countries of the world. The objectives defined in the Strategy are relevant to the development of the country and affecting all areas, including social. The level of education and science is one of the major signs of the country's competitiveness. In this regard, a particular attention was paid to raising the level and quality of the secondary schools and colleges in the country.

**Higher Education Institutions.** During the years of independence high school has gone a long and controversial path, where there were numerous twists and turns, the leadership of the Ministry of Education changed repeatedly, there were positive and negative aspects.

The structure of higher education changed significantly in Kazakhstan. If before 1991, there were only two Universities (KSU and the KarSU) in Kazakhstan, later it was allowed to open private universities, an increasing number of universities, academies and institutes appeared at that time. In the 1990s, there was a series of name changes, transformations of educational, technical and other institutions in the universities and academies. As a result, in 1997, in the higher education system of Kazakhstan there were 83 NGOs and 57 public higher education institutions, including 27 universities, 9 training academies, 2 autonomous universities – Kazakh State National University named after Al-Farabi, International Kazakh-Turkish University named after Khodja Ahmed Yasawi.

Thus, the radical changes of the late 1980s and 1990s affected high school institutions not only from the economic side. There were important intellectual, ideological, spiritual circumstances that have had an enormous impact on the evolution of higher education in the first place – the humanitarian sphere.

Already from the times of «perestroika» (second half of 1980) and the first years of independence in higher education there has been a generally positive trend in the scientific, intellectual freedom, emancipation of the scientific and socio-political thought. Notwithstanding all costs and the extremes it had positive value, it contributed to the accelerated development of arts education in view of the achievements of world science, and last but not least – taking into account the achievements of modern foreign historiography.

Many reforms were carried out in the field of educational funding. In 1999, the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan approved crediting

of training in higher educational institutions. Young people have the opportunity to obtain a targeted state educational loan for up to 15 years.

The purpose of the higher education system is to meet the demand of society, the State and every person to receive higher education, to enable the person to choose the content and timing of training. Therefore, the structure of higher and postgraduate education in Kazakhstan has three levels: undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral studies. This structure was made possible by Kazakhstan's accession to the Bologna Process in 1999, by introduction of the unified international standards of education. A normative period of training on a bachelor program is 4 years. Bachelor graduates can continue their education at the master's, education period of which is 1-2 years.

During the 2000s, there was an increase in the number of higher education institutions, but not all of them could give equally good quality education. It was identified during the inspections and appraisals process. In 2008, the results of checks were the following: 24 high schools were deprived of licenses for 112 specialties due to inconsistency with professional requirements. In 2008 the number of universities and institutes decreased to 144, among them 85 universities, 32 Institute, 26 academies, 1 conservatory. 9 of them had the status of national universities and academies.

In the 1990-2000-ies preparation of highly qualified scientific and pedagogical staff was carried out in the post-graduate and doctoral studies. In order to improve the effectiveness of the national postgraduate education, it was transformed into a program corresponding to the Bologna agreement, where the training of doctors of philosophy is carries out at the third level – Ph.D (Doctor of Philosophy).

A transfer to the system of preparation of the teaching staff for Master and Doctorate programs is dictated by the necessity of integration of Kazakhstan into the world of the scientific and educational space. However, this issue had caused heated debates in Kazakhstan's research and education community. There were many adherents of the pre-existing system of education, developed on the basis of classical German model. And if for the defense of a Ph.D scientific degree it is only necessary to solve a research problem, during the master's thesis defense it is required to show the novelty and a problematic character of a research. Thus, both the first and the second education models have both positive and negative aspects that needed to be taken into account when reforming the training of scientific personnel.

The issue of quality of education and training of highly skilled specialists has always been on the agenda of the Kazakh government. In April 2008, in accordance with the Law «On Education» for the first time by the order of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev eight rectors of national universities and academies of the country were appointed: the Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakh National Pedagogical University named after Abay, Eurasian National University L.N.Gumilyov, Kazakh National Agrarian University, the Kazakh National Conservatory named after Kurmangazy, the Kazakh National Academy of Music, the Kazakh National Academy named after T.K.Zhurgenev, Kazakh National Medical University after S.D.Asfendiyarov. At a meeting with the appointed rectors Nazarbayev noted that national universities of the country should raise the quality of the educational process, their own ratings and prestige of Kazakhstan education.

Thus, the experience of the independent development of Kazakhstan demonstrates that the state of education is largely determined by the effectiveness of social and economic development of the country. Today, Kazakhstan is a regional leader in the implementation of the Bologna Convention requirements. Introduction of a new educational model has allowed to implement a multi-level system of training specialists, greatly enhance the level and quality of education in general, to make Kazakhstani diplomas competitive.

**The State Program «Bolashak».** A state program «Bolashak», established November 11, 1993 on the initiative of the President of Kazakhstan was of great importance for the training and development of educational ties with leading foreign universities. In 1994, the first Kazakhstani students were sent to study in higher educational institutions of the USA, the UK, Germany and France. For the first time in the history of the post-Soviet countries there was an opportunity of training of talented youth abroad at public expense. If in 2004, 785 students received the opportunity to study in 13 countries, in 2005 the number of Bolashak scholarship holders increased to 3000, the students had the opportunity to study at the 630 leading universities in 32 countries.

With the establishment of the scholarship «Bolashak» the number of specialists with a modern Western education increased in the country. In 2001, in order to unite the presidential scholarship holders, to address their subsequent employment, housing, and other their interests and rights Association of «Bolashak» holders was founded. The graduates who had studied in the framework of the program «Bolashak» work in the public

service, in the education and health systems, national companies, and implement management standards of the western countries in these areas.

In January 2008, an International forum of «Bolashak» scholarship holders was held with the participation of the President of Kazakhstan. The Head of State, speaking in front of «Bolashak» graduates, made proposals for a qualitative expansion of the scholarship «Bolashak». From that time on the age limit of the applicants for the grant was increased, the quota for civil servants, employees of scientific organizations, residents of rural areas of repatriates was introduced.

In addition to the international scholarship «Bolashak», Kazakh students are studying abroad under a variety of exchange programs at such specialties as economics, international relations, foreign philology, military science, management, computer science, and computer technology.

In June 2009 JSC «New University of Astana» was established on the initiative of President Nursultan Nazarbayev. On June 7, 2010 the University, in accordance with the decision of the Government of Kazakhstan, changed the name to «Nazarbayev University». The first intake of students was launched in September 2010. The university has become a national brand of Kazakhstan higher education, combining the advantages of the national education system and the world's best scientific and educational practice. On January 19, 2011 President of the Republic of Kazakhstan signed the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On the Status of «Nazarbayev University», «Nazarbayev Intellectual Schools» and «Nazarbayev Fund».

On June 15, 2011 the legal status of the university was changed, it was called «Autonomous Educational Organization «Nazarbayev University». The University operates its own educational standards and is not administrated by the Ministry of Education and Science. In 2013, Nazarbayev University opened the master's and doctoral programs of the Higher School of Business and the Graduate School of Education. On August 20, 2014 Nazarbayev University hosted the first graduation of undergraduates, 46 graduates of the Nazarbayev University became the first graduates of the master's program.

Thus, as a result of reforms and transformations the modern general (secondary), special secondary and higher education systems emerged in Kazakhstan, consisting of public and private sectors, corresponding mainly to international standards.

### **Control Questions:**

1. What were the manifestations of the crisis in the social sphere in the 1990s?
2. What was the content of social policy in the 2000s?
3. When did the reform of the pension system begin and what it consisted of?
4. What were the problems in the health system?
5. What measures have been taken by the State to reform the educational system?



## **Topic 16. Spiritual Foundations of Independence, Science, and Culture of Modern Kazakhstan. National Idea «Mengilik El» and Education of Youth in the Spirit of Patriotism**

### **Lecture Plan:**

- 1. New approaches to the development of science.*
- 2. Achievements of the culture of modern Kazakhstan.*
- 3. The National idea «Mangilik El» and education of youth in the spirit of patriotism. Implementation of the state youth policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan.*
- 4. Formation of civic society in the Republic of Kazakhstan.*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. New Approaches to the Development of Science**

The Republic of Kazakhstan has a strong scientific and technical potential created by the alloy of the scientific heritage of the Soviet era and the development of domestic scientific research during the era of independence. During this period, many of the works of Kazakhstan Scientists have received international recognition, including in such sphere as geology, ferrous metallurgy, chemistry, and other fields of science. After gaining of independence in 1991, Kazakhstan faced a task to form its own scientific base. First steps on this path were the creation of a legislative and institutional foundation of Kazakhstan science.

In 1992, the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On Science and Scientific-Technical Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was adopted, and the Ministry of Science and New Technologies of Kazakhstan was created. The Republican targeted scientific and technical program «Development of the State System of the Scientific and Technical Information of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was adopted in 1993.

A number of national research centers were organized during these years: on electronics and communications, on complex processing of mineral raw materials, biotechnology, and the National Nuclear Center. In 1996-1999 a series of organizational changes were made in the management system of the scientific and technical sphere. The changes were related to the definition responsible executive body in charge of the development of the science in RK (such was the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic Kazakhstan), as well as to the reform of the National Academy of Sciences

of RK, the status of which was changed from the state to social. At the same time, the process of withdrawal of academic institutes from the system of the National Academy of Sciences of RK began and their transition to the sectoral departmental control or association with universities.

In 2001 the Law of RK «On Science» was adopted to regulate public relations in the field of science and scientific and technical activities, defining the rights and duties of the subjects of scientific and scientific-and-technical sphere. In the same year the Program on the innovative development of Kazakhstan till 2015 was adopted.

In July 2002, the Law of RK «On Innovation Activities» was adopted. The purpose of the state innovation policy was to create a balanced manufacturing infrastructure, providing prevalence of competitive, high-tech products (works, services) in different areas of production and spheres of society management. A new stage of improving the management of science and scientific-technical sphere began in 2006.

The main feature of the structural reforms of the science, implemented in 2006, was a new system of decision-making, the idea of creation of which was proposed by the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in his lecture at the Eurasian National University on May 26, 2006. The importance of this system is highlighted by the fact that the Prime Minister of the country was headed the Highest Scientific and Technical Commission under the Government (VNTK) created in August 2006.

In 2007, as part of VNTK an International Expert Council was it was created, the main task of which was to analyze global trends in the development of science and the capacity of the country's leading scientific research in specific areas. The Science Committee of RK created in July 2006 within the Ministry of Education and Science, became a single administrator of the research, exercising financing of the research projects including fundamental research and programs of the public value. The Science Committee of Kazakhstan is a working body of VNTK.

Since 2010 the funding of research works conducted by the industry ministries was gradually moved to the Science Committee of RK. The terms of reference of the Science Fund established as joint stock company with 100% state participation under the MES includes funding pilot design projects (R & D), as well as scientific, technical, initiative projects.

At present, in order to preserve the potential of large branches of the research organizations – the leaders in their fields of knowledge, there are 5 national scientific centers operating in the Republic(the National Nuclear

Center, the National Center on Complex mineral processing, biotechnology, electronics and communication).

Thus, since independence the country started to form new approaches to the development of science, that are adequate to the formation of Kazakhstan as a sovereign state.

At the same time, the economic crisis and the transition to market relations the problems in the sphere of science deteriorated. In 1990-1996 – the most difficult years for the scientists of the Republic, their total number decreased by 2.5 times (from 50 thousand to 20 thousand people) that is, every second researcher was forced to change profession and go into other fields (business, trade, etc.). The consequence of this was a trend of aging of scientific personnel. Several conducted surveys recorded that the average age of a Doctor of Science was 56 years, PhD – 46 years, a scientist employed as a teacher without a degree – 39 years.

Despite the economic difficulties, the country's leadership took a number of measures for the development of the science in Kazakhstan and raising it to a new qualitative level. To improve the quality of the theses defended for a degree, the Higher Attestation Commission (HAC) was established by the Presidential Decree of May 17, 1992. In 2001 it was reorganized into the Higher Attestation Committee. In the late 2000s and at the beginning of the new decade attestation of scientific personnel was carried out by the Committee on the control in the sphere of education and science under the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

As already been noted, in October 2003, the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan (NAS) was reorganized into Republican Public Association. According to the Charter, the National Academy of Sciences is a public association of the most advanced Kazakhstan scientists – full members (academicians) and Associate Members of the Academy, who become equal founders and full members of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The reorganization of the NAS in the Republican public association coursed controversial response of the scientific community and the society. According to a survey conducted by the national center of scientific and technical information the vast majority of respondents negatively reacted to this reorganization, to the conversion of the Academy from an institution funded by the State, into a public organization. Only 23% of respondents agreed with this measure, 76% of the respondents took it negatively. Most experts believe that this reorganization has led to loss of effective central coordination of research. These measures undermined, according

to the experts, the authority of science in general and factors stimulating the scientific growth. Only few experts believed that the Academy reorganization was a justified measure, i.e. that Kazakhstan science has moved to a commercial basis, and that the deprivation of the state status should not affect the work and the duties of the NAS.

Some scientific organizations of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan have been transferred from Almaty to Astana. In order to ensure the integration of science the research centers were opened at universities.

In the 2000s, due to the economic growth, the state had more opportunities for funding of science. On October 12, 2004 the President of Kazakhstan said in his speech at the III Congress Education and Science workers: «We firmly believe that only fundamental studies, the components of quality education and advanced science will restore the country and will help to solve difficult Problems of the XXI century».

And thanks to the care of the Head of State, the institutional structure of the Kazakhstan science has been constantly improving. An important event in the field of historical science was the creation of the State Institution «Institute of History of the State» under the Science Committee of the Ministry of Education and Science (Regulation the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated May 5, 2008). The Institute was founded with the aim to comprehensively study of the history of independent Kazakhstan, as well as to develop conceptual proposals for the objective study of the modern history of the country in the context of the long history of Kazakhstan on the basis of the requirements of time and strategic objectives, determined by the President and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

## **2. Achievements of the Culture of Modern Kazakhstan**

One of the main achievements of independence is revival and further development of the Kazakh people culture, and well as the cultures and traditions of other ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan. 1990-2000-ies became undoubtedly a new stage in the history of Kazakh national culture. Were revived the ancient holiday Nauryz and the art of musical and poetic improvisation – aitys akyns. This period was marked by the formation of a new quality of Kazakhstan diverse culture.

With independence, Nauryz started to be celebrated everywhere as a national holiday. At the same time, all nationalities of the country were able

to develop their own traditions and customs. According to the Ministry of Culture and Information, in 1995, cultural educational institutions carried out about 180 thousand various cultural events.

Kazakhstan has become the main theme in the repertoire of musical groups and theater. There were festivals, dedicated to the anniversaries of such artists as Abay, Kurmangazy Sagyrbayuly, Saken Seyfullin, Beimbet Maylin, Zhambyl Zhabayev, Magzhan Zhumabayev and others. Within the celebration of the 150th anniversary of Abay 156 new theater performances were held in the country.

In order to stimulate the further development of the music art and creative growth of the artists international festivals and competitions were held. Almaty hosted the contest «Voice of Asia», «Ukili Dombra», «Zhigit Sultany», «Kyz syny», «Jas kanat» and others cultural events.

With the development of independent Kazakhstan revival and development of cultural heritage became possible. The Government policy in the sphere of culture was reflected in such writings of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev as «In the flow of history», «Strategy of Creating and Development of Kazakhstan as a Sovereign State», «The Future of Kazakhstan is in the Ideological Unity of the Society» and the other, in decisions of National Public Policy Council under the President of RK (1993). The «Concept of Social and Cultural Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan» it is noted: «...Kazakh culture, that is the culture that has given the name to the State, indisputably must be given a primary role, because this culture could prosper and develop in no other place but Kazakhstan».

Development of the Kazakh culture, which suffered from the colonial policies, is conducive to the overall socio-cultural and moral revival of the society and the development of the cultures of the ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan, strengthening of international relationships. In the years of independence dozens of ethno cultural centers, creative teams were created. The Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan established by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan on March 1, 1995, occupies a central place in the system of the national policy. Integrating more than 820 ethno-cultural associations, it has become a key element of the social consensus, combining capabilities of the civil society and the state.

In Kazakhstan, there are 88 ethnic schools, in which the training is conducted in the Uzbek, the Tajik, the Uighur and the Ukrainian languages. 22 ethnic languages are taught in as an independent subject in 108 schools. The 190 specialized Linguistic Centre teach languages of 30 of ethnic groups. Every year the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan is held in the

Palace of Peace and Accord. Centers of ethno-cultural associations are operating in the building. In 2010 Museum national costumes was opened in the Palace of Peace and Accord together with the Assembly.

A sustained economic growth of Kazakhstan allowed carrying out In 108 progressive reforms in the socio-cultural sphere. State program to support culture was developed. **In Kazakhstan year 2000 was declared the Year of Culture.** According to the Agency of the Statistics of RK, at the end of 2000s, 48 theaters, 62 concert organizations, 3,539 libraries, 154 State Museum, 2259 establishments of club type, 8 Cultural and Historical reserve museums, theme park and 42 Luna Park, 4 Zoological parks operated in the country. During the years of independence 25 new theaters and concert halls were opened.

The cultural infrastructure of the capital of Kazakhstan – Astana is expanding. There are the Kazakh Drama Theater named after K. Kuanyshbayev, the Russian Drama Theatre named after M. Gorky, the National Theatre «Astana Opera», the Presidential Cultural Center, the State Circus, the Palace of Peace and Accord, the Central Concert Hall, the National Museum in Astana. In 2016 Academy of Choreography was opened in the capital.

In Kazakhstan there are 9.5 thousand collectives of amateur theaters, 7 thousand of them (75%) are in the countryside. 125 thousand men participate in the amateur theater groups.

The Government of Kazakhstan pays great attention to the promotion of Kazakh culture abroad, for example, Kazakhstan signed an Agreement on cooperation in the sphere of culture with 49 neighboring and far abroad countries. A significant event in the life of the country was the meeting of the Ministers of Culture of the SCO member countries, as well as the meetings of the TURKSOY Permanent Council.

All this indicates that during the period of independence there was a real revival and further development of the Kazakh national culture and the culture of the people of Kazakhstan as a whole.

### *The State Program «Cultural Heritage»*

The cultural sphere received a powerful impulse for the development due to allocation of the financial resources and high-impact creativity. The program «Cultural Heritage», implemented at the initiative of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev (the Decree of 13 January 2004), has become a starting point of a large-scale development and conservation of the works of the national culture. An event of the world importance was the inclusion of unique national monuments in the list of UNESCO «World Heritage» –

the mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yassauï, the archaeological complex «Tamgaly», as well as an object of natural heritage «Saryarka – Steppes and Lakes of Northern Kazakhstan».

Since the adoption of the program «Cultural Heritage» 136 cultural and historical monuments were renovated; 39 seasonal archaeological research were conducted on the ancient sites, and settlements; 15 expeditions to China, Turkey, Russia, Mongolia, Japan, Egypt, Uzbekistan, Armenia, the United States and Western Europe were organized. As a result of the expeditions about 5 thousand earlier unknown manuscripts and editions were found, they enriched the cultural foundation of the countries. Only as a result of expeditions to China there were previously unexplored documents directly related to the history and culture of Kazakhstan found: 3 thousand in the Manchu language, 300 – in Chinese, 60 – in the Chagatai language, 70 – in Oirat. A major achievement was the publishing of several hundred volumes of scientific publications in 16 fields, dedicated to folkloristic, literary criticism, history of art, philosophy, political science, linguistics. During the recent years two state museum-reserve were established: «Issyk» (2010) in Almaty region and «Berel» (2008) in East Kazakhstan.

The program «Cultural Heritage» was accepted by the Kazakhs with a great enthusiasm as a symbolic step in improving not only the spiritual and cultural life, but the whole social life of the country. The state program «Cultural Heritage» was implemented in stages: 2004-2006, 2007-2008, 2009-2016, and a long-term program for the next twenty years is being developed. Significant resources from the state budget are to be allocated for systematization, preservation, and development of the cultural heritage. At the first stage 2, 7 billion tenge were allocated, at the second stage – more than 4 billion, at the third stage – more than 5 billion tenge.

During the years of independence outstanding results in the field of sports and healthy lifestyle was achieved. The successes of our athletes at the major international competitions created a new image of Kazakhstan as a strong and cohesive sporting nation. Today Kazakhstan is among the 30 most sports supporting countries of the world.

### **3. The National Idea «Mangilik El» and Education of Youth in the Spirit of Patriotism. Realization of the State Youth Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan**

In the Address to the Nation of January 17, 2014 «Kazakhstan Path – 2050: a Common Goal, Common Interests, Common Future» the Head

of State Nursultan Nazarbayev stated and substantiated a completely new concept in the country's history – «Mangilik El». Essentially, this national idea and the state ideology of our country which are based not only on the centuries-old dream of our people, but and on specific development results of Kazakhstan achieved during the years of independence. This message consequently is more significance and different from all previous messages – namely, the emergence of a qualitatively new intellectual stage of the mental development, the creation of a patriotic act «Mangilik El». In his message Nazarbayev said: «We, the people of Kazakhstan, are united people! And our common destiny is our Mangilik El, our worthy and great Kazakhstan!». Now, in our firm conviction, «Mangilik El» is this idea of the eternal existence of Kazakhstan on the political map of the world as an independent prosperous state. This is an idea about the values that must be protected and cultivated to ensure the sustainable development of our country and, therefore, a well-being of each of us.

On December 21, 2014 President of Kazakhstan shared his vision to achieve the idea of «Mangilik El». He said about it in an interview to the leading mass media of Kazakhstan. «Eternal people» is a well-known idea from immemorial times, and it is understandable to the Slavs, and Turks and is expressed by our great ancestor Tony Kok», – the President said. Head of State stressed that this concept contains our good wishes about our state, nation, culture, language to be eternal, and to achieve this we must fight. «It won't do to just say about and then to be silent. I appeal to the people and to young people – for this sake we must work for this economy to be strong. For the economy to be strong we should be friends with the world, to trade with the whole world, to have a strong national security system and highly educated people. Then we can say that we shall enter the 30 most developed countries of the world, will complete the program – 2050 and will be follow the path of «Mangilik El», – Nursultan Nazarbayev said.

Many people ask the question, why it was necessary for our country to formulate the national idea at this stage of development?

The fact is that in the context of globalization, the integrating role of the national idea largely affects the competitiveness of the multiethnic state, the entering of the country to thirty most developed countries in the world by 2050. In the globalizing (changing) world the national idea is especially necessary, because it is capable to consolidate ethnic groups, the country. This process has begun from moment finding independence of Kazakhstan. Strategic documents of the subsequent years consider various options for



the future model of Kazakhstan structure and values, necessary for the state ideology.

So, in the Strategy «Kazakhstan-2030», adopted in 1997, it is underlined: «We are a Eurasian country having its own history and future. Therefore, our model will not be like any other. It will absorb the achievements of different civilizations». A decade later the goals change with the change in economic, political, geo-strategic trends. A task is proclaimed to enter the 30 most competitive countries of the world. Ideologies of competitiveness, competition, and victory are actively introduced in the public consciousness.

An important document in the new political environment is the «**Doctrine of National Unity of Kazakhstan**», adopted in 2010. The principles of the national unity, put forward in the doctrine, are also forming the basis for the formation of our national idea. These principles are «one country – one destiny»; «various origin – equal opportunities»; «the development of the national spirit».

Time has shown that the most reasonable way is to combine the interests of all citizens, regardless of their ethnicity. Transition of the country to the civil state of the society, formation of Kazakhstan united people is becoming the core of the national idea. According to the President, in the 25 years of independent development we have established core values that unite all Kazakhs, make up a foundation for the future of our country. They are not taken from the sky-high theories. These values are the experience of the Kazakhstan Way, which went through the test of time. First of all, it is the independence of Kazakhstan and Astana. Secondly, it is the national unity, peace, and harmony in our society. Thirdly, it is a secular society with high spirituality. Fourth, economic growth is based on industrialization and innovation. Fifth, it is the universal labor society. Sixth, there is a common history, culture, and language. Seventh, it is national security and global participation of our country in addressing global and regional problems (EXPO 2017).

Any national idea is a capacious, but at the same time it is an extremely concise formula, from which develops the basic ideological concept that defines the life of the state, society and the citizens in long term. National idea of Kazakhstan was a fruit of the collective efforts of the state, of scientific community and civil society, reflecting the reality; it is not a speculative construction. It has absorbed mentality of the today Kazakhstan, the relationship of ethnic and religious, liberal-democratic elements. It made true the individual character of our country, its strengths, and the best

qualities of Kazakhstanis. At the same time, it is built on real values of the national heritage.

This is the idea that mobilizes the nation, and its individual representatives, it creates a certain «view of the world», gives a sense of psychological comfort and security. Its vitality is determined by a relevancy of the interest of the states to the vector of the world community. For each of us, «Mangilik El» is associated with devotion and love for his country and its people. We all would like to see Kazakhstan as a strong and prosperous state. For that we have a great history of people who had dreamed of freedom for centuries. There are great names of well-known personalities and heroes, who have glorified Kazakhstan. There is also a major achievement – our independence, which we are obliged to keep and cherish as the highest value of the whole society. And we all have one destiny and one dream – it is the greatness of our country.

In order to realize all plans of the Head of State, we have to act as one cohesive team that has a great purpose – to build a society in which every citizen will live a worthy life. Many of the initiatives of our President are focused on the improved quality of life and the provision of all Kazakhstanis with equal rights. The Head of State directs us to create knowledge-based economy, innovation, industrialization, support of small and medium-sized businesses, especially in agriculture.

Today Kazakhstan is the established state, a country with a great geopolitical importance. But most importantly there is a huge potential and prospects for development. What will happen in Kazakhstan in 10 or 15 years depends largely on our students, young people who are educated in a completely new environment today. The Head of State pays a special, priority attention to the youth of Kazakhstan. It is our generation that will live and work in the new Kazakhstan. In the address to the People of Kazakhstan «Kazakhstan's Way-2050: Common Goal, Common Interests, Common Future» the President proposed a concrete action plan in which the youth has a special role. How does the President see the young people of Kazakhstan? First of all he sees Kazakhstan as a competitive and professional country. Today the mastery of new knowledge and getting a good profession comes at the forefront.

To become competitive, it is not enough to have a university degree, you need to learn how to develop yourself, how to be in their environment of like-minded people, to have good teachers. In recent years the educational system has changed dramatically. Our training institutions have become

more modern and equipped, the students themselves choose the subjects that want to learn.

We all want to see a strong and prosperous Kazakhstan. To do this, we have the main achievement – our independence, which we are obliged to keep and cherish as the highest value of the whole society. Whatever we have managed to do for country, the values that have been preserve and enhanced by the representatives of the older generation, allow our country to keep the peace. And therefore, it is extremely important that these values are also organically accepted by the youth community, that they are adopted as their own.

In the context of the expansion of the information space and the entry into the global educational community, of strengthening of the role of education in the formation of human resources as criteria of the level of social and economic development of the country, it is important to match the new requirements of the education system to the global standards. Today, education is recognized as one of the most important priorities of the long-term Strategy «Kazakhstan 2050». The President has set the task of joining the 30 most competitive countries in the world. Education plays a significant role in achieving this task. One of the main priorities of education is an educational work. In the Message to the People of Kazakhstan «Strategy «Kazakhstan-2050»: New Political Course of the Established Stated” the Leader of the Nation Nursultan Nazarbayev said:» Bringing up children is a huge investment in the future. We have approached this question in such a way and strive as to give our children the best education».

The most important task facing the people of Kazakhstan is the embodiment of the national idea «Mangilik El». Its foundation is to be laid in schools. Studying by the students of the subject «Modern History of Kazakhstan» should be directed at the formation of spiritual and moral qualities and patriotic feelings, civic responsibility of the students, the development of the national identity and tolerance, strengthening the secular values and the formation of a conscious rejection of the idea of terrorism and extremism by young people, the ability to communicate with each other in multiethnic Kazakhstan. Putting forward a national idea «Mangilik El «, the Head of State gave us a great credit of trust, to justify it is a matter of honor for every citizen. A matter of honor of each of us is to participate actively in the implementation of the Strategy «Kazakhstan-2050» and to reap the fruits of its success.

## *Implementation of the State Youth Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan*

In today's society a problem of self-determination and affirmation of the young person's identity is relevant and of great priority for the state. Youth of Kazakhstan need help to clearly define the space for the application of their intellectual and innovation capital.

Today's youth of the Kazakhstan society has formed a completely new intellectual layer, significantly different from the previous generations: a layer of young people with new guidelines, values for success, rational economic behavior has been formed. In this regard, at the numerous meetings with the youth of the Republic Nursultan Nazarbayev stresses: «Every man must inculcate an ability to act, the skills of learning, an ability to live, an ability to live together in the modern world».

In particular, speaking at a forum of youth «With the Leader of the Nation – to New Victories!» on April 10, 2015 in Astana the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev said: «You are the first generation of Independence, which does not know the Soviet economic system and the difficult start from where we started our development. You are also the first generation, who lives in a global world. Therefore, you need to very clearly understand the terms of our growth. «Developing this idea, the Leader reminded the young people as follows: «Today, many Kazakhstan parameters already among the top-30 developed countries. In fact, we are among these countries, including by the dynamics of economic development, by a number of industrial plants, agriculture, education, health and other aspects. Now we need to compare with the world's leading economies on the actual level and quality of life. To this end, the volume of GDP on every citizen of Kazakhstan should exceed analogue of the developed countries by 2 times».

At the same forum, Nursultan Nazarbayev directed the attention of the youth at the following: in the century of global competition there is a hard principle – «change or disappear!» And it puts the most important task in front of the youth, as a young man is easier to adjust to new conditions. According to his firm assertion, global history is a combination of tradition and innovation. There is such a joke about it: «An old and respected economics professor asked students the same questions in the exams each year. His young student once asked: – Professor, do not you see that from year to year, you specify one the same question that we all know? The professor replied: – Do not forget that we are dealing with the economy. And the economy issues are always the same, but the answers are different

every year». Therefore everything is changing: there are eternal questions, but no permanent answers. This applies not only the economy but also in all spheres of life.

Once again drawing attention of young people to the fact that today all Kazakhstan share common values – creative work, the world harmony, national unity and pride for their homeland, involvement with its great destiny, the President urged the younger generation to learn for life: «Today, I see that the next generation of patriots is growing and maturing. You are brought up on the ideals of modern Kazakhstan. By your work, thirst for knowledge and concrete deeds you praises our eternal homeland – Mangilik El. I am convinced that the young citizens will follow the ideals of independence with honor, will continue the baton of the success of our homeland».

Today, key documents defining the state vision of the implementation of youth policy is the concept of the state youth policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan till 2020 «Kazakhstan 2020: The Path to the Future» and the Law of RK «On the State Youth Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan», which are accepted by the initiative of the Head of State. These regulations clearly determine the legal basis for the formation and implementation of the State Youth Policy at the present stage of the development of the state.

The main feature of the concept is a targeted approach and coverage of all the youth categories, whereas the previous government acts and programs were mainly focused on the training of the youth. For the first time, specially directions have been chosen, taking into account the important interests and needs of the young people (Creation of conditions for employment, development of affordable system of housing for young people, support for young families, and others.).

Pursuant to the instructions of the President of Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan has created a new institutional model of the managing of the processes in the youth environment. The Committee for Youth was established in 2012 within the structure of the Ministry of Education, and at the regional level – Departments on the Youth Policy. An important step in the development of the state youth policy was the established in March 2013 Scientific and Research Center «Youth», its mission is scientific analytical, information and consultation of the institutions of the state youth policy in order to ensure the competitiveness of young people and their involvement in the process of modernization of Kazakhstan.

An event of historic importance was the next Forum Youth held on the Day of the First President of Kazakhstan December 1, 2016, in Astana with

the participation of the Leader of the Nation Nursultan Nazarbayev. The Forum was attended by over 1000 people from all regions of Kazakhstan, including entrepreneurs, professionals of various fields industry, scientists, students, famous athletes and leaders the largest youth organizations.

In his speech at the forum the Head of State spoke about the difficult period of the state formation in the early days of gaining independence, drew attention to the unique opportunities created for the youth self-realization in the Republic, the importance of a quality education that meets the modern requirements and challenges of the rapidly changing world.

The President of Kazakhstan noted that the history of the country's success is, first of all, the story of the youth's success. «Caring for young generation, for your present and future, has always been the main meaning of my politics. Every young citizen of Kazakhstan has the ability to get a good education, a job, a family, to find his own housing», – said Nursultan Nazarbayev.

**The head of state also pointed to a program «Vocational Education for All».** «The state gives an opportunity for everyone to get the first work profession in life for free, a guaranteed job at the production enterprises», – said the President of Kazakhstan.

Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed that a great attention is paid to support of the youth entrepreneurship in the framework of **the «Road Map of the Business 2020».** «Just in the first half of the 2016, the financial support in the form of state subsidies of the interest rate on bank loans has been provided to 55 projects of young businessmen. Our goal is to make small and medium businesses produce more than half of Kazakhstan's goods», – said the Head state.

**The President of Kazakhstan expressed a special word of thanks to participants in the student and youth groups «Zhasyl El».** «More than 250 thousand young people took part in the work of this labor groups. They planted almost 50 million trees on 150 thousand hectares. They have a noble purpose – to make our country green and clean», – Nursultan Nazarbayev said.

**The Head of State pointed out during the years of independence the number of young researchers and scientists have increased.** «Our young people have an opportunity to receive a world-class education in Nazarbayev University. Today, the whole world is open to the youth. You live at the interesting times and grow together with the country going by leaps steps in the future. The rules are such that everywhere – domestically

or around the world, including in the relations between the states, – eternal mechanism of competition works», – Nursultan Nazarbayev concluded.

**The Head of States drew attention of the youth to new technologies of the era, which are challenges to society.** «The major social challenge that are behind these innovations is the mass extinction of many professions, massive job cuts, which means that the global shortage of employment is coming. In this context, the idea of the Society of Universal Labor which I have put forward earlier is of great importance. It is naturally associated with innovative programs of industrialization, «Nurly Zhol», the Plan of the Nation «100 Concrete Steps», – said The President of Kazakhstan.

**At the same time, Nursultan Nazarbayev emphasized the youth innovation, gaining strength in the university medium of the developed countries.** «I consider it is important to create in the Kazakhstan the same favorable environment for the growth of student's startups. We already have the first successful examples of the leading universities of the countries. It is necessary to expand the experience. And it is the task of leadership of the Ministry of Education and Science, leaders of universities, the National Chamber of Entrepreneurs», - said the Head of State.

In addition, the President of Kazakhstan pointed to opportunities of employment and development in the tourism business, construction, public services, light industry and agriculture.

**At the same time, Nursultan Nazarbayev welcomed athletes and creative young people, all young workers of Arts, participated in the Forum.** «I wish you worthily represent Kazakhstan in the framework of the cultural program and volunteers work at the international exhibition EXPO-2017 «Energy of Future», – said the Head of State.

Thus, in his speech at the forum the President set clear and precise objectives before the young people for the near-term, shared his thoughts with the participants. He talked about the destiny of the country and its place in the developing, changing global world. At the same time he expressed confidence that it will help our young people to make the right decisions in their life and work.

He also reminded the audience the following words of the famous French philosopher Albert Camus: «Each generation is peculiar considering itself to be called upon to remake the world». The Head of State added this idea in the following consideration: «Over the years of independence we all have changed. But it is young people who could judge how our world has changed».

#### **4. Formation of a Civic Society in the Republic of Kazakhstan**

Civic Society in modern Kazakhstan has a long history and deep roots. Ever since the ancient times, we known for such institutions of civic society that were successfully functioning and ensuring the consolidation of the society as the court of biys, creativity of akyns-zhyrau, nomination and self-nomination to important roles of warriors and others. The colonization of Kazakh lands, subsequent steps associated with the operation of a single Soviet state interrupted historical continuity in the formation of a sense of civil freedom, significantly changing psychology and understanding of the role of society and the individual in the destiny of the state. Many prominent political figures of the early XX century laid their heads in the struggle for the awakening of the civic consciousness. Therefore, the formation of the civil society in Kazakhstan will undoubtedly be complex, contradictory, but, at the same time, of conscious character.

One of the first manifestations of civil society in Kazakhstan is the emergence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). They act as intermediaries between the state and citizens, taking the many features of social change in the community, making significant contribution to the solution of various issues: the environment, improvement of the role of women in society, consumer rights, youth, single mothers and mothers with large number of children, orphans, disabled, victims of illegal repression and others. To date, the country has about 3,500 non-governmental organizations solving socio-economic issues, contributing actively to the involvement of citizens in the processes of democratization of the society.

They are about 35 thousand people employed on a permanent basis, 50 thousand consultants and experts and more than 100 thousand volunteers working in NGOs. Initially, NGOs worked by foreign grants. Thus, in basically, their activity was mainly of protecting the human right, which is associated with the period of formation of Kazakhstan's independence and the beginning of the process of the democratic reforms.

Adopted in 1998, the country's democratization program enhanced the role of non-governmental organizations as key members of the governing of Kazakhstan society. So, today the situation related to the development of the non-governmental sector, has dramatically improved. Gradually, the process of public awareness of the significant role of this social institution increased. Therefore, a particularly important is given to the improvement of the quality of work and to the state support of non-governmental organizations.



In Kazakhstan's development strategy an important place is given to the problems of formation and strengthening of the rule of law and civil society. Since independence significant results in the construction of the legal states and economic, political and social life society were achieved.

For the first time in the modern history of the Kazakh the term «legal state» has been used in the Constitution of 1993. A keyword importance to the establishment of the rule of law was the Constitution of 1995. Article 1 of the Basic Law states: «The Republic Kazakhstan proclaims itself as a democratic, secular, legal and social state whose highest values are man, his life, rights and freedom». Laws adopted on the basis of the Constitution contributed to the formation of the legal state and civil society in Kazakhstan. The current level of social and political development presupposes not only a strong state, but also the development of the civil society.

Civil society is a composite element of the social and political system. The structure of the civil society includes unions and associations, association by the spheres of activity and interests, community of associations, non-governmental organizations, national and cultural centers, foundations, non-profit institutions, associations of legal persons, political parties, professional unions, religious organizations and non-state media. The basis civil society is participation of the citizens in public affairs. Civil society complements the representational democracy.

The initial stage of the formation of a modern civil society refers to the end of the 1980s – beginning of the 1990s, when in the conditions of reforms, transparency and at the same time of a crisis the precondition for citizens associations into the various public structures arose. A clear manifestation of civic consciousness was the formation of the social movement «Nevada - Semipalatinsk» in 1989 under the guidance of a well-known poet and public figure O. Suleymenov, who took on the task of closing the nuclear landfill.

The law «On Public Associations in the Kazakh SSR» was adopted in 1991. As a result, the following organization came out on the arena of the Kazakhstan society: the People's Congress of Kazakhstan, «Alash», the Social Democratic Party of Kazakhstan, the Socialist Party of Kazakhstan, the Republican Party of Kazakhstan, the Republican Slavic movement «Lad», the Civic Movement of Kazakhstan «Azat», the Public Educational Society «Memorial», the movement «Unity», the group «Almaty-Helsinki», the historic and educational society «Adilet», etc., the movement of pensioners «Generation» and others.

In Kazakhstan, the work of civil society organizations was provided by the laws «On Public Associations» (1996), «On non-profit organizations» (2001), «On political parties» (2002) and others.

The state marked its readiness to long-term cooperation with the civil society institutions, in particular, with non-governmental organizations. Already in 1999, virtually in all regions the «Info NGOs Centers» were opened in the regional Akimats', which main task was the interaction with regional non-governmental organizations providing advice, assistance, information and technical support.

In the 2000s, cooperation between NGOs and governmental bodies gradually began to unfold. In 2003, with the participation of the Head of State, the first Civil Forum was held. Announcing of political recognition of non-governmental organizations at the forum, the Head of State identified the mechanisms of interaction in relationships between the civil society institutions and non-governmental organizations. The forum put a start to the development of the non-governmental sector.

In 2003, the Government approved the State Program to support non-governmental organizations for 2003-2005, which had been developed based on the regional programs. The work to create long-term sustainable partnerships «Authority-society» was launched.

The Second Civil Forum of 2005 created conditions for participation of professional associations in public life. After a number of political forums held in the regions cooperation between the authorities and society was intensified. As a result, in May 2005, the Law «On State Social Order» was adopted, which introduced a new system of interaction between the legislative bodies and non-governmental organizations. The National Commission on democratic issues and the Council on the development of the civil society began to function in 2003-2005, they were preparing recommendations for further democratization of the society.

There were also changes in the relationship between NGOs and the state in the financial issues introduced. If at the end of 1990, 90% NGOs were financed by foreign funds. In the mid-2000s the picture changed, and NGOs of the social orientation started to receive grants from the government agencies. They were also supported without the provision of financial services (free allocation of equipment, facilities, etc.). NGOs were involved in the drafting regional programs, charity events on a par with international organizations.

In the socio-political life of the country a prominent place was held by such NGO as «Til Tagdyry», a Civic Alliance, «Adil soz», the International

Bureau for Human Rights and others. The reverse side of the work of NGOs should be noted. It is characterized by lobbying the interests of certain political forces, the presence of corrupt practices by the management of some of them and other.

Civil society institutions are public structures, which change with the state imperious authorities. Non-governmental sector, as the main institution of civil society, can have a beneficial effect on political processes in Kazakhstan. Conducting elections by party lists have accelerated the process of party building.

By 2006, more than 5 thousand non-governmental organizations were registered in Kazakhstan, there were more than 3 thousand public funds, more than 1 thousand associations, 471 national-cultural associations, more than 3 thousand, religious associations, more than 6.5 thousand of independent mass media. Public associations made their contribution to the reform of the society. In particular, the multi-party system, as an indicator of political freedom in the society, was a mediator in the establishment of political cooperation between the state and the society.

**The Mass Media.** Modern State and civil society is closely linked to the mass media (the media). Development of the Media is a definite indicator of the democratization of a society. Before independence, Kazakhstan had only 10 national newspapers and magazines, 21 TV and radio broadcasting station. As of July 2016, the country has had 2,695 media units. The vast majority of the general structure (90%) is newspaper (1619) and magazines (808), 9.5% are electronic media (63 television, 42 radio and 146 cable operators, 6 satellite broadcasting station) and 0.5% – information Agency (11). Out of 2695 media there are 436 (16%) state owned, and 2 259 (84%) are non-governmental.

**Today's life is unimaginable without mass media. Often they are an indicator of the state of society, determine the nature of the development of the history.**

Classification of the media required a full understanding of their activities, working within the state, identifying features in working with them. In the CIS countries the media is traditionally divided into print publishing, broadcasting, digital media and information Agency as a separate type.

At the turn of 1980-1990-ies Media development was controversial. The first informal publications appeared in Kazakhstan in the years of perestroika, more precisely, at the end of 1988, and got widely developed in 1989. The following publications were among the first informal publications

of Kazakhstan: magazines «Alternative», «Almaty Herald», «Herald», a newspaper «Opinion» and others.

The law «On Media», adopted on 23 July 1999 (with amendments and additions as of 03.29.2016), has contributed to the development of media during independence.

Presidential Elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan, election of the deputies of the Parliament and other political events of the 2000s accelerated the process of the media activation. Most of the publications did not have so far any political orientation; however they started to make changes in their topics, focusing on the provision of information services.

The general development of the sphere of mass media during the 2000s, of course, was positive. The Kazakhstan media have become important channels for broadcasting of public policy and the formation of public opinion. Kazakhstan has taken its place in the global information space. Of particular importance in this respect was the traditional **Eurasian Media Forum**, which has been held annually since 2002 in Almaty. This International Forum has become an important factor in strengthening of the Informational position of Kazakhstan in the world.

**Religious Relationship.** In accordance with the Constitution, Kazakhstan proclaims itself a secular state. According to Article 3 of the Law «On Religious Activity and Religious Associations» the state is separated from religion and religious associations, religious associations and citizens regardless of their attitude to religions are equal before the law. The state does not interfere with activities of religious organizations if they do not contradict legislation. Kazakhstan, as a member of the UN Declaration of support of the principles of tolerance, approved and signed on November 16, 1995 at the 28th session of the UNESCO General Conference, so religious tolerance and principles of the world occupy the main place in the religious policy of the country.

To understand the significance of changes occurred during the last 25 years in the religious sphere, it should be noted that during the Soviet era confessions were under severe pressure of the atheist ideology. The official line was the policy to oust religion of social life. However, religion has resisted in the XX century and, at the end, it was more viable than atheistic political institutions.

Kazakhstan is a predominantly Muslim country with a religious point of view. According to UN data, in 2016 the number of Muslims in the world reached 1 billion 757 million people. The percentage ratio shows that almost one of four persons living in the world is a follower of Islam, 57 are

members of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which is the largest and the most influential Muslim official international organization.

In 1990, an independent institution was created in Kazakhstan – Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Kazakhstan (SAMK), which organizes the activities of religious associations, mosques and enters into external relationship with foreign Muslim organizations. In 2000 scientist-linguist, Professor Absattar Derbisali was elected the chairman at the SAMK congress. According to Yerzhan Mayamerova – the current Supreme Mufti, SAMK confesses traditional values of Muslims of Kazakhstan, it is Sunni, in legal matters it follows Hanafi Mazkhabu, and in matters of creed it is maturidi. The main aim of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Kazakhstan is to strengthen the faith of the people, to make their contribution to the preservation of stability in society, and ethnic interfaith harmony, to call people to goodness, unity, the faithful service to the Fatherland.

According to the estimates, Islamic religion is now professed by about 70% of the population in Kazakhstan. First of all, it is the Kazakhs, and some other ethnic groups – the Uyghurs, Tatars, Uzbeks, Turks, Dungan, Chechens, Azeris, Bashkirs, the Ingush, the Kurds. The vast majority of Muslims of Kazakhstan make up Sunnis, and only a small portion of the faithful adhere Shiite. The second in dissemination religion of Kazakhstan is Orthodox Christianity, which is mainly professed by Russian, Ukrainians, Belarusians, and a number of other ethnic groups.

Now the relations between the state and religious organizations are adjusted by **the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Civil society**, the central executive body of which is formed by the Presidential Decree of 13 September 2016. According to this Ministry the number of religious associations in 2016 is **3621**, including representing Islam – 2517, Orthodoxy – 329, Pentecostal Church – 217, Evangelical Christian Baptist – 181, Catholicism – 84.

One form of organized religious travel is Hajj and pilgrimage. The number of Hajj pilgrims is increasing every year. If in 2000, 80 people made a pilgrimage, in 2009 the number reach 4000, in 2015 it was 4600 people.

Today in the Republic there are more than 3,300 religious facilities, including 2500 mosques, 300 Orthodox churches, 90 Catholic churches, 6 synagogues.

Thus, over the years of independence Kazakhstan has become not only a major political and social, but also a spiritual center. One of the main

factors of sustainable development of society is interfaith dialogue that is the dialogue based on the provisions of the Constitution of Kazakhstan, which established the equality of its citizens regardless of national and religious affiliation. The country's citizens have the right to defend and implement their ethno-cultural interests. During the years of independence essentially all ethnic groups of Kazakhstan returned to religious faith in varying degrees.

One of the most significant events in the history of Kazakhstan was the holding of the Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions, the first Congress of Leaders of World and traditional Religions, convened on the initiative of the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev. It was held on the 23-24 of September 2003 in Astana. The Congress was attended by 17 delegations of such world religions as Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism, Shinto and others. The outcome document of the First Congress of Kazakhstan reflected the highest honor – to organize and to hold the Second Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions in the capital of the Republic of Kazakhstan Astana. In the context of this decision it was also requested to develop all aspects of the creation of the Secretariat of the Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religious - a constantly international interdenominational institute for inter-religious dialogue and consistent decision-making.

On the 12-13 of September 2006 in Astana the Second Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions took place. The second forum was attended by 29 delegations. The congress was held in a new, building specially built to holding the Astana interfaith summits. It is a unique architectural building - the Palace of Peace and Accord. The congress was held under the general

Theme «Religion, Society and International Security». The Congress adopted the final document of the Summit in the Declaration format confirming the ideas about the role of religion in the modern world. The Declaration embodies the agreements reached during the period of three years of dialogue and mutual work to strengthen the role and the mission of the world religious leaders in the process of establishing the global world order.

The third Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions was held on the 1-2 of July 2009 in Astana. It was attended by over 400 delegates consisting of 77 delegations from 35 countries of Europe, Asia, Middle East and America. The central theme of the Congress was «The role of religious leaders in building peace, based on tolerance, mutual respect,

and cooperation». At the end of the Third Congress, the participants adopted a joint Declaration, which called on the world community to constantly support and promote the efforts of religious leaders and organizations towards genuine inter-religious dialogue, to contribute to maintaining the dialogue of religions and civilizations aimed at improving mutual understanding and respect in States and societies.

In his report, the Head of State, Nursultan Nazarbayev noted the role of the Third Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions with the following words: «I am confident that the results of the III Congress will play a very important conceptual role in the promotion of dialogue between the civilizations, cultures and religions. They, of course, will continue to increase communication between people, to strengthen inter-religious understanding in the world. I want to emphasize that an open inter-cultural and inter-religious dialogue is one of the key issues of the domestic and foreign policy of Kazakhstan».

On the 30-31 of May 2012 at Astana hosted the Fourth Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions. The Congress was attended by 85 delegations from 40 countries. The central theme of the Fourth Congress was the «Peace and Harmony as Choice of Mankind». The sessions were devoted to such contemporary issues as: «The Role of Religious Leaders at Reaching Sustainable Development», «Religion and Multiculturalism», «Religion and Woman: Spiritual Values and Current Challenges» and «Religion and the Youth».

Within the framework of the Fourth congress a famous historical event took place – the first meeting of the Council of Religious Leaders, created at the suggestion of the President of Kazakhstan and unanimously supported by the leaders of world and traditional religions. The Council includes 15 prominent religious leaders of the world. Creation of the Council of Religious Leaders marked a new milestone in the history of Astana interfaith summit of religious leaders as a respected international institution. The purpose of the activity of the Council is to define the priorities and mechanisms ensuring dialogue and cooperation with other forums and international organizations which work is focused on dialogue, cultures and economic interaction.

On the 10-11 of June 2015 Astana hosted the V The Congress of Leaders of World and traditional religions on the subject: «The Dialogue of Religious Leaders and Politicians in The Name of Peace and Development». The venue of the forum was the Palace of Peace and Accord and the Palace of Independence. The congress was attended by 80 delegations from

42 countries. On the first day of the conference there were the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev and UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. The Topics of the V Session of the Congress were «Religious and Political Leaders: Responsibility to Humanity», «Religion Influences on the Youth: Education, Science, Culture and the Media», «Religion and Politics: New Trends and Prospects», «Dialogue based on Mutual Respect and Understanding between the Leaders of the world and Traditional Religions for the Sake of Peace, Security and Harmony». The declaration was signed at the end of the congress. It says that participants understand the importance of the contribution of the Congress of World and Traditional Religions to the development of human civilization and recognize the importance of the role of religion in the formation of the atmosphere of mutual respect. They expressed concern about the increase of inter-religious and inter-ethnic tensions, political instability and military clashes in different parts of the world, condemn manifestations of all kinds of intolerance, stressing that extremism and terrorism have nothing to do with the true vocation of all religions.

Thus, for independent Kazakhstan, «religious relations are an important area to develop civil society, because Kazakhstan is not only a multi-national, but also a multi-confessional state. Therefore, to maintain internal stability it is necessary to strictly adhere to the policy of interfaith harmony. The sovereign Republic Kazakhstan takes this way, showing an example for many other countries».

### **Control Questions:**

1. What are the problems and prospects of the development of Kazakhstan science?
2. What measures have been taken by the State for the development of the cultural sphere?
3. What is the content of the national idea «Mangilik El» and its role in education of youth in the spirit of patriotism?
4. What is the place and the role of media in modern civil society?
5. How do interfaith relations develop in Kazakhstan?



## **Topic 17. The Republic of Kazakhstan and Modern Global Community**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

- 1. Independent Kazakhstan as part of the international relationship system.*
- 2. Kazakhstan – an initiator of a new model of Eurasian integration.*
- 3. Strategic partnership with the world countries.*
- 4. International organizations. Strengthening of the positions of Kazakhstan in the global world.*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Independent Kazakhstan as Part of the International Relations System**

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of new sovereign states the international system underwent profound changes. Independent Kazakhstan faced a task of creating favorable conditions for independent existence, maintaining stability, finding an optimal place of the Republic in the international community to achieve the international authority and respect for the country and people from other states and peoples of the world.

In order to implement the above mission, Kazakhstan external policy is based on the doctrine of building good-neighborly relations with neighboring countries along the perimeter of the state border as a super-priority and as a constant of our behavior in long-term perspective. Wherein, it should be noted that the multi-vector nature of our international relations enshrined in the Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Republic Kazakhstan for 2014-2020, which was approved by the Presidential Decree of January 21, 2014.

Kazakhstan's foreign policy concept was developed in accordance with the provisions set out in the address of the President of Kazakhstan – the Leader of the Nation «Strategy» Kazakhstan-2050: «New Political Course of the Established State»; it is a system of fundamental views on principles and approaches, goals, priorities and objectives of the foreign policy activity of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

As noted in the Concept, Kazakhstan had entered the third decade of its independence as an established, stable state with a dynamic economy and clear foreign policy priorities. However, taking into account the modern realities, the country's foreign policy requires modernization and promotion

of the national interests on the principles of pragmatism. This process affects a number of internal and external factors.

Among the important internal factors we should note the cardinal changes in the political and socio-economic development of Kazakhstan, completion of the transformation period and the transition of the country to a new long-term strategy and sustainable development until 2050.

External factors are presented with the need to overcome negative consequences of the global financial and economic crisis, exacerbation of conflicts and contemporary problems of mankind, occurrence of qualitatively new geopolitical and geo-economic situation at the regional and global levels.

Today, the effectiveness of Kazakhstan's role in the world politics, in global division of labor, in global relations largely depend on the quality of its involvement in the global processes, from the multi-pronged collaboration and cooperation with Russia, China, the countries of the Central Asia, the US and Europe, the countries of the Asian-Pacific region. The reality of the situation is that major players and forces of the world arena are not only states, but also cross-border structures and unions: united Europe, WTO, regional international organization. Their influence is immense. Therefore, Kazakhstan has been consistently leading its strategic course for an in-depth and effective participation in the existing integration structures – the UN, the CIS, EAEC, SCO, CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organization), OSCE, OEC, develops bilateral cooperation with European countries and Asia and America. This gives the freedom to maneuver and opens an ability to integrate into the world economy and political relations.

**The Republic of Kazakhstan, as well as all former Soviet Republics, became a party of the Meeting for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) of January 30, 1992.** This automatically meant a recognition of Kazakhstan by all 48 members of the the international organization of that time. During 1992, Kazakhstan signed the fundamental CSCE documents, first of all, Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and the Charter of Paris for a New Europe and thus took over all the obligations of the member of the meeting. In 1994, on the Budapest Summit of the CSCE was renamed into the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). From the early days of participation in this organization Kazakhstan started to actively stand for strengthening of the security in the CSCE / OSCE. Thus, even at Helsinki Summit of 1992, the President Nursultan Nazarbayev proposed CSCE to establish Special Forces to prevent regional conflicts and peacekeeping in Eurasia. At the same time the Kazakhstan Leader was

the first to propose the idea of creating an Asian analogue of the CSCE (**CICA – Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia**).

Kazakhstan's cooperation with the OSCE was important to strengthen its position in the international arena as a whole. **In the autumn 2007 at the Madrid meeting of foreign ministers of the OSCE, Kazakhstan was selected as the Chairman of the Organization for 2010** and we witnessed the success of Kazakhstan's chairmanship in the OSCE, and of the Astana Summit of Heads of State and Governments of the 56 countries – members of this authoritative international organization.

An example of fruitful cooperation is rapidly developing Kazakh-Russian economic relations. The country's leadership is constantly talking about the priority of Kazakh-Russian relations and their mutually beneficial and friendly character. Indirect proves are more than 600 documents signed by Kazakhstan and Russia on the CIS, Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation of 1992, Treaty of Eternal Friendship and Cooperation of 1998 etc. Russia continues to be a major economic partner of Kazakhstan both in imports, and exports. China is an active Eastern partner of Kazakhstan. Stable communication is a characteristic of the relations with the states Central Asia, the Caspian region.

The Head of State Nursultan Nazarbayev emphasizes the importance of friendship and cooperation of Kazakhstan with its neighbors in Central Asia – Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. This was not only a tribute to the respect of historical traditions of the peoples of the region. The regional foreign policy concept of Kazakhstan is based on various criteria. For example, geographic proximity, military safety, economic ties and the common Soviet past – all of it appears in Kazakhstan's foreign policy concept in the post-Soviet space, or, as it was said, in the «near abroad».

Kazakhstan has always been a strong supporter of the integration processes in the CIS in various forms. In security system of Kazakhstan an important role is given to the Collective Security Treaty (CST), which was signed in Tashkent on May 15, 1992. At the anniversary summit of the Collective Security Treaty in Moscow in May 2002, Kazakhstan supported the idea of the Russian President Vladimir Putin on the transformation of the CST in the **Collective Agreement Security Organization (CSTO)**.

**In October 1992 at the 47th UN General Assembly, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev was the first to introduce the idea of convening a Conference on Interaction and Confidence-**

**Building Measures in Asia (CICA).** The essence of the initiative is to create the idea of comprehensive and universal Asian security system. The idea of convening the CICA was supported by 16 Asian countries. From 1992 to 2008 the CICA process went through several stages. Initially the meetings of foreign experts by the Asian countries (the Ad Hoc Working Group - AWG) were held. According to the results of the Summit in June 2002, two documents were signed in Almaty: Almaty Act and CICA Declaration on Eliminating Terrorism and the promotion of dialogue between civilizations. For Kazakhstan and its leader Nursultan Nazarbayev an international forum of this scale helped to strengthen the position of the country and to raise the prestige of the Republic in the international arena.

It was already observed, that Russia is a primary Foreign partner of Kazakhstan. Russia and Kazakhstan are co-founders of the CIS, EurAsEC, they interact within CSTO, SCO and CICA, participate in the multilateral negotiations on the legal status of the Caspian Sea. Thus, Kazakh-Russian relations have a noticeably multilateral character.

Participation of Kazakhstan in the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) has its roots in the first half of the 1990s, when our Republic made efforts to intensify integration processes in the CIS. The initiative of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev to establish a Eurasian Union should be considered in this vein, he put it forward at the end of March 1994 during his visit to Moscow.

## **2. Kazakhstan – an Initiator of a New Model of Eurasian Integration**

In his speech at the solemn meeting dedicated to the 25 anniversary of Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Head of State Nursultan Nazarbayev noted: «Kazakhstan has pioneered a new integration model. I have persistently sought to implement the idea Eurasian integration for twenty years, which was mentioned as early as in 1994. Today we, together with Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan and Russia are engaged in the Eurasian Economic Union. Dozens of countries in the world expressed willingness to cooperate with the Eurasian Economic Union, including through the establishment of free trade zones. And South Korea, and the State of Israel also want to create a free trade zone with our union. Important aspects of the idea of Eurasian integration were embodied in the work of such organizations as the CICA and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which were started at the initiative of Kazakhstan. Integration is trust,

friendship, stability in the region. Therefore, I invite all the countries of Eurasia to integration and partnership!».

In our opinion, all-round deepening of integration within the integrated regional space will contribute to the growth of economy and greatly contribute to the implementation of the strategic task of Kazakhstan to enter the 30 most developed countries of the world.

**This was the purpose of the Agreement on Eurasian Economic Union (EAEC) that came into force on January 1, 2015.** The agreement approved the creation of an economic union within which freedom of movement of goods, services, capital and labor is provided, a coordinated, coherent, and unified policy in the sectors of the economy is held, defined by this document and the international agreements in the framework of the Union, reported the Press services of EEC (Eurasian Economic Commission).

The EAEC Agreement was signed by the Presidents of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation on May 29, 2014 in Astana. In addition to these three countries the Republic of Armenia, the Kyrgyz Republic became members of the Union. Armenia signed the Agreement of Accession to the Union on October 10, 2014, and Kyrgystan – on December 23, 2014. Eurasian economic union is an international organization of the regional economic integration, which has an international character. The Union aims to create conditions for the stable development of the economies of the Member States in order to improve the living standards of their populations, as well as a comprehensive modernization, cooperation and competitiveness of the national economies in the global economy.

EAEC operates within the competence provided to it by the Member States in accordance the Agreement on the Union on the basis of universally recognized principles of respect of the international law, including the principles of sovereign equality of the Member States and their territorial integrity; on the base of respect for the peculiarities of the political system of the Member States; on the basis of the provision of mutually beneficial cooperation, equality and taking into account the national interests of the members; on the basis of respect for the principles of the market economy and fair competition.

The main body of the Union is the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council (SEEC), which includes the Heads of the Member States. SEEC Meetings are held at least once a year. The structure of EAEC also include

the Intergovernmental Council of the Heads of the Governments, Eurasian Economic Commission and the Court of the Union.

### **3. Strategic partnerships with the world countries**

**The basis for the Kazakh-German cooperation** was founded in September 1992 during the first visit of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev to Germany and the signing of the Joint Declaration on main relations and a number of treaties and agreements in various fields. A feature of the German policy towards Kazakhstan is regional approach. Berlin considers Kazakhstan as part of the Central Asia and conducts its policy in the context of the Central Asian region. Another feature of the German policy is its close alignment and coordination with the policy of the European Union as a whole.

In 2001, the relations between Kazakhstan and Germany were raised to a new level, important event was the official visit of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev to Berlin in October 2001. During the visit the parties signed six agreements in the field of military cooperation, economy, cultural and humanitarian cooperation. During this visit, and subsequent summits in 2002-07 the main focus of Nursultan Nazarbayev and the Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and Angela Merkel was put on security and stability in Central Asia.

Germany was one of the first European Union countries, recognized the independence of Kazakhstan. For more than 24 years since the establishment of the diplomatic relations strong intergovernmental and inter-parliamentary and inter-party ties were established. At the same time, the basis of the Kazakh-German cooperation is mutual respect, trust and openness.

In 2010, Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel visited Kazakhstan twice, in particular, to participate in the OSCE summit in Astana.

On February 7-8, 2012 a regular visit of the President of RK Nursultan Nazarbayev to Germany took place, during which he met with the German leadership, a number of activities of political and economic character were carried out, and a large package intergovernmental, interdepartmental and commercial documents were signed. The main leitmotif of the visit of the Head of State was the 20th anniversary the establishment of the diplomatic relations between Kazakhstan and Germany, as well as the provision of «breakthrough» in the trade and economic cooperation on the basis of the formula «raw materials in exchange for technology».

In 2009 the Year of Kazakhstan in Germany was successfully held, within the framework of which more than 100 events political, economic and cultural nature took place on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany. It was the first large-scale event that Kazakhstan ever held in Europe. The year 2010 was declared the Year of Germany in Kazakhstan. At a joint basis, we pay a great attention to meeting the cultural and linguistic needs of the German Diaspora in Kazakhstan (about 200 thousand people) and German-migrants from Kazakhstan to Germany (over 900 thousand.).

**Diplomatic relations between Kazakhstan and Great Britain were established on January 19, 1992.** Kazakh-British relations are based on three parameters: oil, culture and education. British investors do not only participate in the development of large oil and gas fields in Kazakhstan, but also are the most active intermediaries in the relations between the Kazakh government and the Western business.

In 2000, Kazakhstan's leader twice visited the British Isles: in September for a short unofficial visit, during which he met with Margaret Thatcher, and in November, when he arrived on official visit. This visit was of a great political and international resonance due to awarding of the highest Great Britain award to the head of our State. This gesture symbolized the great interest of the UK in continuation of economic cooperation with Kazakhstan, in the first place, in the development of the Caspian oil resources, and it was a big emphasis of the highest authority of Nursultan Nazarbayev in the world political circles.

In the course of the next official visit to the UK on November 4, 2015 the Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev held a meeting with the Prime Minister David Cameron, which resulted in the signing of the Treaty between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on Legal Assistance. In addition, the result of the talks was mutual investments of Kazakhstan and the UK, in particular, the UK investments totaled \$12 billion dollars. Currently there are 500 companies with the participation of British companies in Kazakhstan.

**The French Republic recognized the Republic of Kazakhstan on the 7 of January 1992.** An important event in bilateral relations was the visit of the President Francois Mitterrand' to Kazakhstan on the 16-17 of September 1993 and his meeting with our leader Nursultan Nazarbayev. This visit stimulated the development of political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries.

In June 1995, Nursultan Nazarbayev personally met with the President France's Jacques Chirac during his brief stop in Paris, and in November of

the same year the President of Kazakhstan arrived to France with an official visit. In June 2008, Nursultan Nazarbayev met with the new president of France, Nicolas Sarkozy, and the Kazakh-French relations have reached a new stage of development. In 2009, President France Sarkozy had an official visit to Astana during which a number of bilateral agreements was signed.

On November 5, 2016 the meeting of Nursultan Nazarbayev with the current President of France F. Olland took place. The Leaders of both countries meet for the fifth time in the last three years. Kazakhstan is interested in the vast experience of the French economy. Close cooperation of Astana and Paris is evidenced by 130 enterprises working in our country. But this is not the limit, further cooperation will only deepen. The cooperation will be strengthened in various fields. France officially confirmed its participation in the international exhibition EXPO-2017. We agreed on cooperation in Aerospace Committee of Kazakhstan and the National Centre for Space Research of France.

**Diplomatic and foreign policy talent of Nursultan Nazarbayev is fully manifested in the relationships between Kazakhstan and the United States of America.** The history of relations of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the United States fully meet the famous aphorism that says, «to be a friend of America is harder than to be its enemy». The Kazakh leader met often with all four recent America's presidents – George Bush Sr. (1991, 1992, 2006), W.Clinton (1993, 1997, 1999, 2005), George Bush Jr., (2001, 2005, 2006) and Barack Obama (2010, 2015, 2016).

In September 2015, Nursultan Nazarbayev and Barack Obama discussed the ways of strengthening cooperation in trade and economic, investment and the energy sector. Besides, the leaders of Kazakhstan and the United States exchanged views on topical international issues of the day. The meeting of the two leaders was held in the framework of Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev's participation in the 70<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly in New York. The experts pointed out that this time the Leader made a speech in which he emphasized the main achievements of our country in the first place, concerning the implementation of the eight Millennium Development Goals. Kazakhstani experts also commented the speech of Nursultan Nazarbayev at the 70<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly session in New York. The Experts paid attention that for the first time the President spoke to the heads of the states and the governments in the Kazakh language.

It appears that the main event in bilateral relations during the recent years was the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev's visit to the



US in 2006. A positive aspect of cooperation was the fact that the United States virtually recognized the leadership of Kazakhstan (the reform and economic sphere) in Central Asia and, to a certain extent – in CIS. Washington came to the conclusion that it is necessary for Astana to take on a leadership role in the region, which will contribute to the development of energy infrastructure and the creation of additional transit routes for energy resources. Kazakhstan was the first officially recognized by the United States market economy country among the CIS Republics.

In December 2016 it was exactly 25 years of cooperation of Kazakhstan and the United States. One reason for this fruitful cooperation is certainly a community of interests: in economic, political cooperation, security and more. Kazakh-US relations can be divided into several stages. If the first of these is associated with the policy of nuclear disarmament in Kazakhstan, where the United States provided to Kazakhstan a tremendous help, then the next stage are more of economic nature. For example, last year the bilateral trade turnover between the countries exceeded \$ 1.7 billion. And in 1993 the inflow of direct investments into the economy of Kazakhstan from the United States amounted to \$26 billion dollars More recently, America chose the 45<sup>th</sup> President – Donald Trump, with whom the head of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has already discussed the new horizons of mutual cooperation. In addition to early personal meeting, the colleagues agreed to not only maintain but also to raise bilateral partnership in various sectors to a new level.

**Kazakhstan's relations with China**, the second largest neighbor, occupies an important place in the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. They affect wide range of issues in the political, economic, trade, ethnic, border and military fields. The Chinese factor is standing in the Republic of Kazakhstan's foreign policy. Diplomatic relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and Chinese People's Republic were established on January 3, 1992 by signing a Memorandum of Understanding between Kazakhstan and China. In October 1993, during the first official visit of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev in the PRC the sides signed a set of documents and a Joint Declaration on Principles of Friendly Relations. Therefore, our relationship with china took a dynamic character, and was supported by a solid legal base. In September 1995, during his second visit to China, Nazarbayev and the Chinese President Jiang Zemin signed a joint declaration on the further development and deepening of friendly relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the PRC.

In July 1996, the first official visit of Jiang Zemin in Kazakhstan took place. During this visit, which bore a purely political character, a joint declaration adopted.

Since 1996, a new direction of economic cooperation between Kazakhstan and China has been oil. In 1997, Kazakhstan and China signed an agreement to build the pipeline West Kazakhstan – Xinjiang, China, which was completed in 2006. Under the threat of worsening of the situation due to terrorism and extremism in 2000-02, Kazakhstan and China continued actively contact on a bilaterally and multilateral level – in the framework of the SCO and the CICA. Beijing provided a substantial political support to the first summit of CICA in June 2002. The onward march of the Kazakh-Chinese relations became possible largely due to the personal respect of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev among the Chinese leaders of the third and fourth generations. Thus, in the period 1992-2008 the main directions of mutual Cooperation between Kazakhstan and China and concerns, representing mutual interest were fully determined: border question, transboundary rivers, economic and trade cooperation, position of the Kazakh Diaspora in Xinjiang and cooperation in the oil sphere, as well as in transport.

The further development of the Kazakh-Chinese relations was discussed during the visit of N.A.Nazarbayev to China in April 2009. On April 16, Beijing agreement was signed between the two countries, according to which China provided Kazakhstan with a loan of 10 billion dollars. According to the data of the Eurasian Development Bank (EDB), up to 2015 China conducted very selective policy in respect to investment in the post-Soviet space. However, the amount of China's accumulated foreign direct investment (FDI) into CIS countries reached \$ 27 billion, of which: \$ 23.6 billion falls on Kazakhstan, while the share of Russia is only \$ 3.4 billion that is almost 7 times less.

Kazakhstan is actively involved in the construction of the road highway «**Western Europe – Western China**», which is a new Great Silk Road of today.

A new reaffirmation of the fruitful Kazakh-Chinese cooperation took place during the visit of our President to the PRC in 2015. Thus, the meeting of the leaders of Kazakhstan and China t, held on August 31 – September 3, 2015 was the third during the year. Prior to the visit the Head of State to China, Nursultan Nazarbayev and Xi Jinping held bilateral talks in Ufa on the sidelines of the BRICS and the SCO summits held there. And earlier the Chairman of China was on an official visit to Astana, who became

the first head of a foreign state visiting Kazakhstan after the country held presidential elections.

**The State visit of the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev to China in 2015 was the beginning of a new stage of development of bilateral relations between the two countries.** The concrete result of the visit was the signing of a significant package of documents (more than 30). Among them – a Joint Declaration of the Heads of State of Kazakhstan and China on a new stage of comprehensive strategic partnership, an agreement between the two governments in the field of industrialization, investment, cultural and humanitarian cooperation. A big share of the agreements had commercial character.

Separate agreements confirmed in the framework of the visit, addressed the issues related to EXPO-2017 in Astana. Specifically, they touched the issue of the most complete implementation of tourism potential.

**In September 2016 the Chinese Hangzhou hosted the Summit of G-20 (twenty). At the invitation of the President Xi China Jinping Nazarbayev attended the Summit.** By agreement reached in Hangzhou, in the course of the upcoming 5 years in Kazakhstan there will be built 51 production facilities worth 26 bln. dollars with the participation of China.

**Kazakhstan's relations with Japan over the past 25 years have been developing unevenly** but generally progressively. Japan has not become a major investor as was expected by Kazakhstan but has provided regular financial and technical assistance to Kazakhstan. In December 1999 the President Nursultan Nazarbayev visited Japan. In August 2006, Prime Minister Koizumi visited Kazakhstan.

In the course of the next official visit to Japan in November 2016 the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev had a meeting with Prime Japan Minister Shinzo Abe in an expanded format. During the meeting the sides discussed a wide range of issues of cooperation between the two countries, trade and economic and political cooperation including cultural and humanitarian relations.

Following the talks, the parties had agreed to continue the active political dialogue, to develop contacts at all levels, in every way to ensure security in the region, to stimulate trade and economic, cultural and humanitarian ties, to work together against challenges of the modern world.

«Today, Japan is one of the main participants of the process of forming adequate architecture of interstate relationship, including in Central Asia. Together we are non-permanent UN Security Council members and agreed

that our work will be devoted to the struggle for a nuclear-free world. It is a common human problem», – said Nursultan Nazarbayev.

In turn, the Prime Minister of Japan said that he welcomes the visit of the Head of State on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries, further strengthening of which is very important for Tokyo.

Within the framework of the official visit of the head of state to Japan the following documents were signed:

- Joint Statement of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Japan «On Special Strategic Partnership between the Republic of Kazakhstan and Japan in the century of Asian prosperity».
- Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Investment and Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism of Japan.
- Agreement on the participation of Japan in EXPO 2017 between JSC «NC «Astana EXPO-2017» and the Japanese Organization for the development of foreign trade (JETRO).
- Memorandum of Cooperation between the International Financial center «Astana» and the Japanese Association of Securities Dealers.

They also exchanged notes on the exemption from visa requirements of holders of diplomatic and service passports of the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Japan starting January 1, 2017.

**Relations of Kazakhstan and Turkey** takes a special place in external politics RK. Turkey was the country that specifically advocated for the independence of all the Turkic peoples, and the world's first country to recognize the sovereignty of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Wide range of relations with the Republic of Turkey includes a range of issues - from the traditions of the peoples to the level of modern political contacts. In accordance with the agreements, since 1992 the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan are trained in higher education institutions in Turkey, and receive the scholarship of the government of the Republic of Turkey. More than 2.5 thousand students were sent to the universities of Turkey over the years.

Turkey's policy towards Kazakhstan is based not only on the reasons of political and economic cooperation, but also on the principle of the so-called single community of all tyurko-fonnyh peoples. The factor had a strong impact on the bilateral relationship in the first half of the 1990s. Ankara's foreign policy strategy towards Kazakhstan was based on ASAP integration of Kazakhstan into the world community. The basis for a

multilateral Cooperation was reinforced during the official visit of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev to Turkey in October 1992. Thus, in the first half of the 1990s a tradition of regular meetings between Kazakhstan and Turkey at the highest level was established, and such meetings were held not only in a bilateral format, but in multilateral – at the summit of the heads of Turkic states, OSCE and ECO. This political tradition was continued in the second half of the 1990s and in the 2000s. It is based on the essential foundation of economic and cultural cooperation.

**Diplomatic relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of India** were established at the end of February 1992 during the official visit of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev. During the visit, several documents were signed, which ushered in cooperation between the two countries in political, trade-economic, financial, scientific and cultural fields.

**Iran occupies a special place in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan.** Both States are neighbors on the Caspian Sea and participate in the negotiations on the legal status of the Caspian Sea for many years. Iran is also the nearest exit for Kazakhstan to the sea ports. Thus, the relations between Kazakhstan and Iran are influenced primarily by such factors as the Caspian and transport.

The first contact of independent Kazakhstan with the Arab world refers to the end of December 1991, when Palestine leader Yasser Arafat visited Alma-Ata. This visit did not pursue any specific objectives in politics, economy and culture, but demonstrated an interest on the part of the Arab world to Kazakhstan as a state possessing nuclear weapons as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union. 1992 was the year of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Kazakhstan and the Arab countries. The Leader of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev made Hajj to Mecca as a symbolic gesture. For Kazakhstan, cooperation with Arab countries was of interest primarily in terms of the big experience of these states in oil production. In the early years of relations with Kazakhstan the Arab countries identified the areas to which the ruling circles of these States have a special interest - the strengthening and promotion of Islamic values. The Republican leadership sympathetically treats the concern of the Arab leaders for the fate of Islam in Kazakhstan, as Islam is part of the historical and cultural heritage of the Kazakh people. In addition to Egypt and Saudi Arabia, Kazakhstan maintained relations with other Arab countries.

The support of the Arab world of the initiative on convocation of the CICA was of great importance for Kazakhstan from a political perspective.

A new direction in cooperation with the Arab countries at the end of the 1990s was a possibility to attract Arab investments in the construction of infrastructure of the new capital of Kazakhstan Astana, first of all – from the UAE and Saudi Arabia. In general, the relationship of Kazakhstan and the Arab world have evolved in several planes: economic and trade cooperation, investment, oil and gas sector, cultural relations. Kazakhstan gave a priority importance to the developing of trade and economic relations and to the attraction of the Arab investment; the Arab countries have shown interest to strengthen the spiritual and cultural relations based on Islamic community.

In the coming years the foreign policy of Kazakhstan under the leadership of President Nursultan Nazarbayev will not undergo abrupt changes in its course. RK Interests, as before, are aimed at ensuring stability and security in national, regional and international context. Kazakhstan is interested in maintaining friendship and partnership relations not only with its immediate neighbors, but also with the majority of the states of the West and East, Europe and Asia in the spirit of his doctrine of multi-vector diplomacy. Kazakhstan is interested in preservation of equal political and mutually beneficial economic relations with its partners.

Multi-vector of Kazakhstan's foreign policy was based on such factors as the emergence of China as a major player in Central Asia, carrying out an independent policy in relation to other great and regional powers in the second half of the 1990s. But the real multi-vector foreign policy began in the 2000s by strengthening statehood, economic growth and the conquering by Astana a leading position in Central Asia and, in general, the post-Soviet space. The events of the recent years have shown that Kazakhstan is really capable to carry a real multi directional and independent policy on different levels of the global arena.

Kazakhstan's relations with such countries as Russia, China, with Central Asian countries, the United States, are the European Union is of strategic nature, which can not objectively be questioned. In the future, the foreign policy of Kazakhstan, as during the previous years, will be directed to security of the Republic and its population, ensuring economic progress and progressing development of the country.

Here we can not omit the role of the personal factor which has had a decisive influence on the methods of implementation of the foreign policy of in Kazakhstan. It is better to resort again to the opinion of independent foreign experts. A well-known Moscow scholar A.Terentev, appreciating the role of Nursultan Nazarbayev, wrote, that the Kazakh leader «is not fixated on the problems of the region, and because favorably differs from

the neighbors who are perceived as backward and oppressive khans, devoid of ideas about the modern world. Nazarbayev, on the contrary, is considered as a civilized ruler, possessing his own philosophy of international relations. His «Multi-vector policy» is not mindless repetition of Sino-Russian formula. In its diplomacy the Kazakhstan leader is able to use completely different methods. He has not forgotten yet the Soviet past and can talk with the representatives of the old nomenclature in their language. He knows a pragmatic language of American businessmen, is able to acquire a poetic style of Chinese mandarins and is not like a black sheep even among his Muslim brothers».

Apart from Russia, the US, China and the Muslim south, Nazarbayev attaches a huge importance to strategic, political and economic relations with the European Union as a new political center of global proportions. He constantly stresses that the CIS countries should follow the example of the European Union, which is based on the four freedoms: free movement of goods, labor, services, and capital. «We see the European Union, he said, as a worthy example for others to follow, a model of the main, the most promising and effective direction of economic and political integration, facing to the XXI century».

Over the years of its independence, Kazakhstan has been actively cooperating with all European countries, and Europe is considering our Republic as a very promising partner.

In this regard, it should be noted that the developed by the initiative of Nursultan Nazarbayev program «Way to Europe» is based on importance of the solutions of the current problems of internal development of Kazakhstan, determination new priorities in European direction, strengthening historically established relationships, familiarizing with the European integration experience.

In this regard, it is noteworthy to us that 2010 was marked for Kazakhstan by the chairmanship in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. OSCE summit in Astana, held on December 1-2, was attended by about 2500 delegates from 56 Member States and the organization of 12 partner countries, including UN, NATO, the CIS and others. Over 1500 representatives of the world media were present at the summit.

Assessing the main outcomes of the summit and, in general, the Chairmanship of Kazakhstan in the OSCE, it should be noted that the chairmanship of our country in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe became a major diplomatic victory. It demonstrated

the recognition of the success of Kazakhstan years of independence, and significantly enhanced its international authority.

Kazakhstan's interests as a major Eurasian state are versatile in nature and are not determined by an unambiguously geo-referenced.

The value of multi-vector and balance – the two pillars of the foreign policy of Kazakhstan is increased in particularly under these conditions of the need of protection of its national interests. Multi-vectorness became a conscious doctrine of the Republic in the field international relationship. Years of independent development of Kazakhstan have shown that such approach to foreign policy is well-founded.

At present time, the Republic Kazakhstan is recognized by numerous countries on all continents of our planet. It is a full member of the UN and its structures. A professional diplomat Tokaev, a former head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a former and the current speaker of the Senate, worked for several years as a UN Deputy Secretary General. He rightly pointed out, more than 10 years ago that «Kazakhstan is becoming a famous country in the world, and it was felt as a country with a large future».

And now it can be said without exaggeration that a rapid entry of Kazakhstan into the world community, its fast recognition around the world, gaining political weight in the international arena - all this is largely due to the active foreign activities of the Head of State Nursultan Nazarbayev.

#### **4. International Organizations. Strengthening of Kazakhstan's Position in the Globalized World**

On March 2, 1992 Kazakhstan became the 168th member of the UN. Today it includes 193 states. A representative of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the United Nations A.Kh.Arystanbekova recalls this historic day, «... probably in everyone's life there are moments when you experience extraordinary excitement, special fullness by a high meaning of the existence, when you feel an integral part of your Country, your people. This historic day of acceptance of Kazakhstan to the United Nations gave me such moments of extraordinary excitement and joy. Standing on the highest podium of the world at the moment in the most authoritative international organization, and later seeing the national flag of our country raising over the Headquarters of the United Nations, I have experienced the highest sense of pride for their country, their people which can not be described by any words ...».



In June of the same year a permanent Representative office of Kazakhstan to the United Nations was opened by the Presidential Decree. On February 16, 1993 UN representative office was opened in Kazakhstan. Norimasa Shimomura (Japan) has been UN Resident Coordinator in Kazakhstan since December 2015.

On October 5, 1992, the President Nursultan Nazarbayev gave his first historical speech at the UN. In total, during the 1992-2016 the Head of State visited the UN headquarters in New York 11 times and has participated in the work of the General UN General Assembly.

Important milestones in the development of cooperation between Kazakhstan and the UN were the official visit to Kazakhstan of Secretaries General Kofi Annan in 2002 and Ban Ki-moon in 2010. Besides, Ban Ki-moon as UN Secretary General represented the organization at the OSCE summit and the V Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions in Astana.

**On June 28, 2016 Kazakhstan was elected a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for 2017-2018 years.**

The UN is presented by 18 organizations in Kazakhstan, including: the Development Program, the Children's Fund, the Office on Drugs and Crime, the International Labor Organization, the Organization for Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and others.

Historically the tribune of the United Nations was place where the President Nursultan Nazarbayev initiated the most important global projects: the renunciation of nuclear weapons and the closure of the landfill, the call for universal nuclear disarmament, the establishment of the CICA (Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia), the development of the Manifesto «Peace. XXI Century», the salvation of the Aral Sea, the implementation of partnership programs «Green Bridge» and many others. The UN has become a platform where Kazakhstan has been able to declare to the whole world and to ensure that other State listened to its opinion. One of the significant new achievements, as already noted, is the recognition of Kazakhstan as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council on the 2017- 2018.

January 10, 2017, for the first time as a non-permanent UN Security Council members our country participated in the open debate on «Conflict Prevention and Peace» during which the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan Kairat Abdrakhmanov presented the political appeal of

President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A.Nazarbayev «Kazakhstan's Conceptual Vision on Consolidation of Global Partnership to Build a Safe, Just and Prosperous World».

The event in New York was attended by General UN Secretary Antonio Guterres, head of the foreign policy departments and substitutes of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Italy, Latvia, Netherlands, Poland, France, Ukraine, Sweden, Ethiopia, Great Britain and Japan, the Permanent Representatives to the United Nations Russia, China, the United States and other countries – members of the UN.

During the debate, the Foreign Minister Kairat Abdrakhmanov underlined that the Statement of the President on the occasion of the start of the authority of Kazakhstan as a non-permanent member of the Council Security for the period 2017-2018 years is based on the principles of Manifesto of the Head of the «World State. XXI Century» of 31 March 2016 and he creatively developed it. It is known that the policy document the submitted by Nursultan Nazarbayev on the sidelines of the IV Nuclear Security Summit emphasizes the need for synergies and cooperation in strengthening international peace and security and seeks to build a world without nuclear weapons by the 100-year anniversary of the United Nations. We are talking about ridding the world from wars and conflicts, ensuring inextricable link between peace, security and development.

The priorities of the work of Kazakhstan as a non-permanent UN Security Council member were identified. Among them are approximation of the world without nuclear weapons, the prevention of threats of the global war, promotion of peace in Afghanistan and the formation of regional peace zone in Central Asia, the development of Astana Code of Conduct for the anti-terrorist operations in the framework of the efforts to create a global coalition against terrorism (network) under the auspices of the UN, to promote the peaceful and stable development of Africa, advancing the goals of sustainable development and the UN inextricable link between peace, security and development, UN adaptation to the requirements of the XXI century and the coordination of mechanism of regular meetings of the states - members of the Security Council at the level of the Heads of State and Government to strengthen collective political will to address global challenges.

The Kazakh side also drew attention of the debaters to the importance of joint efforts in preventive diplomacy, promoting and strengthening the confidence-building measures, non-proliferation of weapons of mass

destruction, settlement of conflicts and combating international terrorism. Once again Kazakhstan confirmed its readiness to provide a leadership platform for negotiations in Astana to establish peace in Syria.

The political address of the President of Kazakhstan N.A.Nazarbayev was highly evaluated by the participants of the meeting. Furthermore, it was decided to register it as an official document of the UN Security Council.

During its membership in the UN, our country has put forward a number of key initiatives that were executed or are at the implementation stage. Thus, Kazakhstan proposed the establishment of the Meeting on Cooperation and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA, the UN Special program for Economies of Central Asia (SPECA), rehabilitation of the area of ecological disaster of the Aral Sea and Semipalatinsk, running of the Partnership Program «Green Bridge», to declare August 29 as an International Day against Nuclear Tests, as 2010 and 2013-2022 years – the International Year and the International Decade of Rapprochement of Cultures.

Kazakhstan enjoys great prestige in the world as a country, voluntarily renounced the world's fourth nuclear arsenal in the world. On December 2, 2009, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted by consensus the put forward by our country Resolution «On the International Day against Nuclear Action», which marked the 29 of August – the date of closing of Semipalatinsk test site – as historic for the entire planet.

On December 7, 2015 in New York at the plenary session of the 70th session of the UN General Assembly the initiated by Kazakhstan Universal Declaration on the Construction of the World free of Weapons was approved. Co-authors of the resolution were 35 states, representing different continents and regional groups.

Kazakhstan is an active party of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and supports the early its entry into force.

Within the framework of the UN Commission on disarmament (CR) **Kazakhstan will chairs the Working group on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation for the period of three-year (2015-2017)**. During the session of 2016 the members of CR were introduced with the new policy document – **manifesto «Peace. XXI Century»**, the author of which is our President.

Thanks to the vigorous activity of Kazakhstan in May 2014 in New York, United Kingdom, China, Russia, US and France, having the status of nuclear-weapon States, signed the Protocol on Security Guarantees to Countries – participants of the Semipalatinsk Treaty. According to this

protocol «nuclear five» took over legal obligation to respect the nuclear free status of the countries of Central Asia, and also not to apply to them nuclear weapons.

Kazakhstan attaches a big importance to cooperation with UNESCO. A National Commission of RK on UNESCO Affairs operates at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which defines priorities in the relationship with this respected organization.

Financial funds for the solution to ecological, education and health problems were allocated to Kazakhstan in the framework of the UN program. In addition, at the 27<sup>th</sup> session on Education, Science and Culture a decision was made about the celebration of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Abay that contributed to the international community to get acquainted with Kazakh culture.

The objectives of cooperation across structures of international organizations is the promotion of the interests of Kazakhstan, global and regional security, assistance in the formation of a fair world order in politics and economics, coordination of relations between the countries and regions.

As have already been noted, a historic event for the Republic of Kazakhstan was the chairmanship in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 2010. This event showed the desire of Kazakhstan, in the spirit of the Helsinki Act of 1975, to address current international issues, to free participate in the European processes, to exchange experiences. For the first time, the country, located mainly in Asia, performed the function of the chairmanship in the European organization.

The country has taken another major step in its development. At the beginning of 2008, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in his Message to the people initiated the program «Path to Europe», the purpose of which is the cooperation with the European countries and the achievement of high European standards. As the Head of State pointed, Kazakhstan is considering the presidency at OSCE not only as a «strategic national project» but «as an opportunity to give to the Organization a new breath, a new pulse», to revive and strengthen «spirit of Helsinki».

The Head of State underlined that «the OSCE have turned from a continental European organizations to an organization that by an area of responsibility and site-specific work is of transcontinental character». Therefore, «today it would be more correct to speak not only of European, but also of Eurasian security», without which it is impossible to provide a solid European security in principle. It is especially significant that

Kazakhstan proposed an up-to-date and real agenda for the summit: creation of a unified security architecture, rehabilitation, and aid to Afghanistan, the development of the Program of Action ensuring inter-ethnic and inter-confessional accord. The chairmanship in the OSCE is certainly indicative to the growth of the international authority of Kazakhstan and its national leader. The President of Kazakhstan's initiative to hold an OSCE summit in Astana in 2010 caused a particularly wide resonance in the international community.

Thus, the chairmanship in the OSCE has strengthened the position of Kazakhstan as a major Eurasian country. At the turn of the first and second decades of the XXI century Kazakhstan, an active participant in international and regional relations, is conducting effective and efficient work in the development of cooperation with Europe, in cooperation and the establishment of effective confidence-building measures in Asia, in deepening of integration in Eurasia, in constructive dialogue of civilizations, cultures and religions of East and West, in the formation of the system of regional and global security. **Kazakhstan has occupied a decent place in the world community, has significantly strengthened and reinforced its position in the international arena due to its historical, geographical, economic, social and intellectual potential.**

Thus, over the past 25 years of independence, young Kazakhstan's foreign policy has come a long way in which it is growing up together with the whole country, with the people. And it was a rapid maturation, during which every year was equal to a decade.

### **Control questions:**

1. What are the place and role of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the world community?
2. What is the essence of the Kazakh model of Eurasian integration?
3. What are the features of relations of Kazakhstan with the leading countries of the world?
4. What role does the cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia and China play?
5. What is the relationship of Kazakhstan with the Turkic countries and the Arab world?

## **Topic 18. Role of N.A. Nazarbayev in the Formation and the Development of the Independent Republic of Kazakhstan**

### ***Lecture Plan:***

- 1. Nursultan Nazarbayev – the founder of independent Kazakhstan, a genuine national leader.*
- 2. Nursultan Nazarbayev is the first President of the Republic- the leader of the Nation according to the constitutional status.*
- 3. Initiative of the Head of State on transfer of the capital.*
- 4. Address of the President of RK to the Nation - strategic development programs of the countries.*

### **Summary of the Lecture**

#### **1. Nursultan Nazarbayev – the Founder of Independent Kazakhstan, a Genuine National Leader**

In the history of modern Kazakhstan the event of exceptional importance was the celebration of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Independence of our Republic on December 16, 2016, and in the 1st day of the month Kazakhstan celebrated the Day of the First President. These two holidays are closely linked, as the concept of «independence» and «Nazarbayev» are inseparable and figuratively were turned into synonyms.

Noting the outstanding achievements of N.A.Nazarbayev as the founder of the independent state, we have linked them to specific achievements in all spheres of socio-political and socio-economic life of the country.

Today, Kazakhstan has a strong position in the world political space. The Republic entered the international arena with its own agenda, which includes a number of important projects.

Kazakhstan has built a successful modern economy based on market principles which is called in the world as «Nazarbayev's Model». Kazakhstan has entered the top three most dynamically developing countries of the world by the pace of economic development. The process of rapid industrialization and priority development of innovations was initiated that will strengthen the national sovereignty and economic security of the country.

A fundamentally new political system is formed. A strong and successful developing country is built, it created new capital – Astana: modern and beautiful. A well-being and quality of life of Kazakhstan citizens is steadily

growing. A strong course to social modernization and development of the human capital of the nation has been laid out.

Kazakhstan tolerance has been fostered, and the unity of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious nation was reached – a priceless pledge of the irreversibility of Kazakhstan's progress.

These and many other achievements of Kazakhstan are connected with the named of the First President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev. His strategic talent, foresight and perseverance in achieving goals became the backbone of the formation of Kazakhstan statehood and its self-development. Due to the strong political will of the leader of the nation, its ability to deep scientific analysis and forecasting, and the ability to achieve a steady implementation of these plans the Republic have become a bulwark of peace, harmony and stability.

On the eve of independence in 1990-1991, persevering activity of N.Nazarbayev on securing sovereignty, territorial integrity, strengthening the authority of Kazakhstan in the international area laid the foundation and created favorable conditions for the country's real freedom of action. A landmark event that became a kind of symbol on this way, was the closure of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site on August 29, 1991, the flight in the space of the first Kazakh astronaut Tokhtar Aubakirova on October 2, 1991 and the first national elections of the President of Kazakhstan of December 1, 1991, the results of which Nursultan Nazarbayev was elected by an absolute majority of votes.

On December 10, 1991 in his inaugural speech, Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed that «not every generation can witness and participate in such a grandiose historical change», he also outlined the priority tasks facing the young state.

The role of the personality in history is perhaps one of the most interesting and, at the same time, complex. During the past decade, during the development of the new states in the the former Soviet Union, the phenomenon of national leadership was increasingly discussed by prominent scientists and public figures. Essentially, this is a completely new type of political leadership for the mentality and the political culture of the new independent states. Therefore, the value of the national phenomenon should be defined more clearly not only in the context of politics, but in the historical aspect.

First of all, it is necessary to determine the categories a «leader» and a «nation», because in many cases the discussion about the leader is directly concerned with the historical and political concepts of a «nation» (not to be

confused with his nationality). By themselves, the terms «nation», «national state», «civil society» in their traditional European understanding are the fundamental concepts of the theory of International Relations: because there is no state without a nation, and accordingly, there is no international relations.

Historically, the term «nation» became popular in the literature after formation of the US, the French Revolution of the XVIII century, Revolutionary Wars of Napoleonic era. Fundamentally political scientists began using this concept after the formation of modern states and nations in the XIX century. In 1920 the League of Nations was created – The first global organization the purpose of which was to preserve peace and development of international cooperation. From the 1930s till now in the basic international legal instruments, and particularly in the UN resolutions, a political understanding the term «nation» was affirmed as a «civil state community». A nation can integrate a variety of nationalities. But all of them identify themselves, such as the Americans, the British, the Russians or Kazakhstan – ie the representatives of a particular country and a civil community, not united by nationality, but belonging to one nation.

That is why in European civil consciousness the concept of «Nation-state» and «a national leader» was a natural continuation of each other. It was in the XX century, when the two fundamental concept of «nation» and «personality» were united in one thing – a «leader of the nation» or a «national leader». Of course, not every head of State may remain so in history. The essence of the national Leadership is the ability to offer the nation a promising and convincing the country's course of development. The true leader of the nation, which has become a head of state, steadily directs activity public institutions to ensure the main national interests – protection, welfare, and free, comfortable life of the peoples inhabiting the country.

In the XX century there are many examples of recognized national leaders. Their names are on our minds from the school: Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Mahatma Gandhi, Charles de Gaulle, Deng Xiaoping, Franklin Roosevelt, Lee Kuan Yew, Mahathir Mohammad. Not accidentally they are talked about in the context of the role of personality in history, as these people have acted in the interests of their nations, and most importantly of states. They not only raised the status and the global role of their countries, providing them with strategic breakthrough in the economy, politics and culture. What is particularly important is that they were able to offer society a right way in the difficult period of development, they were an



acting factor in the consolidation and unity of their nation around positive ideas that are close and understandable to majority. As a result, they would forever remain in the memory of their peoples.

All the historical leaders of nations had common features. This is complex initial conditions, critical, turning moment in history. For example, in the United States there was the Great Depression under Franklin Roosevelt, China overcome the consequences of «Cultural Revolution» under Deng Xiaoping, Singapore was freed from the colonial past under Lee Kuan Yew.

The second factor in common is the need to modernize the existing or to form a new state. For example, after independence, Singapore required a tough, efficient and professional management of the state. Often during such periods tough unpopular decisions have to be made.

In the US, under George Washington there was a war for independence, in India with Mahatma Gandhi - the anti-colonial resistance, in France under Charles de Gaulle the consequences of the fascist occupation had to be overcome.

A third common feature of national leaders is an absolute support of a majority of citizens. That is why a national leader, for example, can never be called Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and other dictators, even if under some of them (for example, when Augusto Pinochet in Chile) their State achieved some economic success. Although Dictators often remain in power for decades, presenting it as a will of their people, the difference is obvious: the leader is this one who is actually supported by the nation via the democratic will.

Mustafa Kemal was elected as the first president of Turkey in 1923 and was re-elected in 1927, 1931 and 1935. Mahathir Mohammad was and remained the undisputed leader of Malaysia since 1981. Kuan Yew was Singapore's Prime Minister from 1959 to 1990. If a control regime of a country is inherently rigid, and democratic principles of expression are difficult, then an attitude to the head as a national leader of the area is shown in history. Forty years later China remembers Deng Xiaoping as a great economic reformer, which provided a sustained country's market development path.

The fourth thing that brings together leaders from different times and countries, is the presence of each of these strategic national idea for the future development, which showed its effectiveness. For example one can recall the plan «Perspective-2020» (Vision 2020) in Malaysia,

«New Deal» of Roosevelt's, a policy of «Great Leap Forward» of Dan Xiaoping, Singapore's industrialization plan of Lee Kuan Yew. Of course, not only the idea is important, but also the presence of the leader's political will, that will allow the country to successfully implement it.

Finally, the fifth is the international authority. The scale of activity of all national leaders tends to go beyond their home countries. Their initiatives, active foreign policy has an impact on international development.

For Kazakhstan, which has successfully built a new state, recognized in the world, having one of the most successful economy of the region and a unique experience of ethnic unity, the nation-state topic is very relevant. It is closely linked with the question of our identity, of Kazakhstani patriotism, and this question is not theoretical. Experience in the construction of a new state in many post-Soviet countries has shown how important it is for a society to ensure internal balance based on the supranational interests of the conservative majority.

In any society, especially in a multi-ethnic, at all times there are individual leaders and politicians for whom the interests of the one or another nationality, ethnic group are above the interests of the nation as a whole. And, as shown by the recent history such politicians at a certain balance of power, ensuring their access to power, are capable of destroy statehood and bring immense suffering to society. The mission of a national leader, in particular, is there there is no ground for the development of such politicians and their ideas, that is, to form a sort of immunity in the community to similar effects.

Some political analysts define the current stage of development of our country as an effective multi-ethnic state. We have a civil community, a state forming nation. It is vital to keep this community based on a simple and clear to very people benefits. The question who should be the leader of the nation today, who sent Kazakhstan along this vector of development and who, ultimately, society can trust as to a national leader, appeared not from scratch. This is not a subject for abstract discussions of political scientists, it is more a real political issue on which the conservative the majority of Kazakhstanis have should their own opinion.

This is important for us because the society is interested in predictability of the development and the preservation of its course. Consideration of the role in the history of the first President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has meaning for us now, as society because we need to understand the future prospects of the development. What did Nazarbayev do? In what direction

does Kazakhstan develop under his leadership? Is Nazarbayev a recognized national leader? These questions are actually not so difficult.

**Our first president led the country in difficult times. Kazakhstan's independence is firmly linked to his activity.** During implementation of his proposed long-term strategy «Kazakhstan-2030» the country has achieved a recognized success in building cost-effective and at the same time socially comfortable state, becoming an example for many other countries in the region.

**The president of RK is an author of many meaningful international initiatives.** Today, in our country we hold major international forums, summits of the CIS, SCO, EAEC and CSTO. The five Congresses of Leaders of World and Traditional religions took place. Now these international organizations are recognized, respected and effective enough. It is worth remembering that all of these organizations were created on the initiative and with the active participation of Nursultan Nazarbayev. Chairmanship of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the OSCE in 2010 year and in the Organization of the Islamic Conference in 2011, the year the election of Kazakhstan as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for 2017-2018, holding the international exhibition EXPO-2017 in Astana also look like unconditional recognition by the international community of the real progress of the Kazakh foreign policy, which is formed under the leadership of the national leader Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Finally, and most importantly – **the leader of Kazakhstan nation throughout our history has been and remains a unifying factor in all Kazakhstan's society.** The results of the presidential elections held in the country indicate that the rate of Nazarbayev supported by the overwhelming majority of the population.

Another factor is also interesting. **Looking at the historical parallels certain feature of Nazarbayev are manifested as the features of a national leader.** All outstanding leaders of the XX century, each in time, were designed to solve a particular strategic problem for a nation and a country. For example, Roosevelt took the US out of the Great Depression, Atatürk created the basic Turkey's future development direction, Lee Kuan Yew realized a program of modernization of a breakthrough of Singapore, Deng Xiaoping decided a problem of China's revival after the time of «the Troubles».

We see the same parallels in the activity of Nursultan Nazarbayev and Kazakhstan's development – solving complex strategic tasks, relevant to the future development of the entire country and its people: purely economic,

and political, social and cultural and moral. That is why in the 1990s a term «Nazarbayev phenomenon» was common which meant dynamism, commitment to reform, holding centric policies without «Right» and «Left», a flexible philosophy of absence of extremes, a unique combination of pragmatism and high efficiency control – all that eventually led to the formation of a strong economy and the appearance of Kazakh identity.

The conclusion is simple: the phenomenon of the leader of the nation is not so much a subject for theoretical discussions, but a fact of the latest history of modern Kazakhstan. The following observation is also significant. If we trace the genesis of the development of the relations of Kazakhstan society and the personality of its leader, we can see that in the late 1980s and at the dawn of independence, personality of Nursultan Nazarbayev was associated primarily only with the image of a reformer, of the first president, the head of a young independent state. Now, after 25 years, from the height of the plurality of the tests which the country has passed and the development steps, evaluation of Nazarbayev by public qualitatively changed.

In the 1990s, the «phenomenon of Nazarbayev» formed dynamism, a commitment to economic reforms and at the same time it was a call build internal policy without the «right» and «left» (ie, policy without extremes), rationality and with good judgment. Today the associative array is extended. Now it is also about solidity and reliability, about public stability and the welfare, the success of the reform, the implementation of regional interests in global politics, innovation. This is not just a success of Kazakhstan as a nation-state, but striving to be ahead.

The basis of the phenomenon is that he has not just created a general course of the development of the country. Most importantly, those simple and natural values, which he proclaimed over the years, were formed into independent values and priorities of the Kazakhstan

Society, into Kazakhstan identity factors. They became foundation of social ideology. **Nazarbayev phenomenon is a sustainable development, inter-ethnic and inter-confessional harmony, national unity.** The society has absorbed these values, it lives with them. Commitment to these core values became the rallying point of the Kazakhstan society.

Therefore **Nazarbayev for Kazakhstan is the leader needed to his nation, especially as its unifying principle.** This public status of the first president can hardly be questioned, but there are many other issues around it. Can we say that in Kazakhstan there is a political management model based on activity a national leader? Or the national leadership phenomenon of our

country is linked only to the phenomenon of Nazarbayev as a person and a politician? Is it possible to build long-term forecasts of the development of Kazakhstan society, taking into account the impact that has Nazarbayev had on it, or same with his departure from politics things can change? In our view today it is important to find an answer to these questions, especially for Kazakhstani people themselves, and not for historians or political scientists.

## **2. Nursultan Nazarbayev – the First President of the Republic – the leader of the Nation according to the Constitutional Status**

Today we can say with confidence that one of the fundamental factors of political stability along Kazakhstan ways of comprehensive social transformation was the establishment of the post of President and the election of Nursultan Nazarbayev to this post. «The peculiarity of the political systems in the catch-up modernization, in addition to strengthening the role of presidency, stands a high degree of personalization power – emphasizes M.B.Kasymbekov – Practice shows that the modernization challenge are most successfully meet by the nations, united to achieve a common goal around their leader. It is therefore extremely important for the transition countries to have unification of the institution of the Head of State and a National leader. This situation brings to life a strong institution of the presidential power».

In fact, the constitutional position of the President of the Republic, diverse and productive activities of Nursultan Nazarbayev, maximum use of all the political and legal tools in his work, organizational, ideological forms and methods, and a direct communication, very frank and convincing conversation with various actors of civil society, trade unions, political parties, the media, citizens have led to the logical outcome – **declaration of a special status of Nursultan Nazarbayev – the First President – the Leader of the Nation in the constitutional law.**

In 2007, in a speech at a joint session of the Chambers of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan «A New Stage of Democratization of Kazakhstan – the Accelerated Development of Free and Democratic Society», Nursultan Nazarbayev marked the following stages of public development of the country in the evolutionary development of Kazakhstan for years of independence: the first stage – from 1991 to 1995, the second stage – 1995 to 2000, and a third – from 2001 to 2006. The Head of State presented the summary of all the work achieved by Kazakhstan in the economic, social and political areas.

The state is, first and foremost, a certain community of people, aware of themselves as citizens of the state. In the early years the foundation of the state independence a basis for Integration of the Republic of Kazakhstan became the **political self-determination of people** in their effort to join their fate with the fate of the Kazakh statehood.

In March 1998, N.A. Nazarbayev said: «All the years of independence, since 1991, I was specifically keeping track of one index – a very simple, at first glance, but perhaps the most important for understanding the historical essence of what is happening in the country – how many people in Kazakhstan consider themselves citizens of Kazakhstan. ... in the early 1990s, approximately half of the population did not associate themselves with the citizenship of Kazakhstan. In the middle of the 1990 two-thirds of the population considered themselves as its citizens, and according to 1998 already 85 percent of the country considered only Kazakhstan as their homeland and connected their future fate solely with the prospects of the development of their homeland.

This huge shift in the consciousness of millions of people is the most vital to ensure that the main task of the construction of the nation-state is solved, because the state can take place only if its residents identify their fate with that state».

Actually, the entire policy in the activities of N.A.Nazarbayev was aimed at **consolidation of the people in the Kazakh society** through ensuring the unity of the people in the main, not limiting or infringing diversity of personalities, attitudes and beliefs, ideological and political preferences. The contents, forms and methods of implementation of the state power regardless of the affiliation to its branches, as well as each action inside the country and in the international arena were filled with the ideas of ensuring the interests of individuals.

The development of the market economy has led to the formation of a sufficiently representative, previously unknown class of owners in Kazakhstan. A new social structure has gradually become crystallized in a political context. This resulted in a institutionalization of specific interests of different social groups in the form of public associations and consultation and advisory structures at state bodies. Ideally the emerged new class of owners is gradually becoming a social base for anchoring new values in the political spectrum in Kazakhstan.

Speaking at the I Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan on 24 March 1995, Nazarbayev said: «There are three approaches to solving the national question. The first is when some countries carry out a policy of «squeezing»

of non-indigenous population, which has never been inherent in the Kazakh people, who accept migrants as brothers. Second, do not attach importance to the national issue and hope that the problems will disappear by themselves. But this is not an option. So, only the third remains, the only true path along which we go, which requires time and laborious work. It is a search for the contact, expand consensus and zones of trust between peoples. We will not be able to solve any problem without a sound national strategy policy».

One of the main functions of the young state which was highlighted and actively carried by the first President of the Republic- Leader of the Nation Nursultan Nazarbayev, is a stable and multifaceted policy of inter-ethnic relations.

In 2009, returning to a difficult period in the life of the country at the turn of the century, Nursultan Nazarbayev focused on the main thing: «Then, 10 years ago, notwithstanding the trials we faced, we did not panic or broke, we became stronger and went out to a new level. Our time-tested unity helped us. Unity of all 130 nations and peoples who live in our country. I think that it is the most valuable resource, through which we will be able to overcome our present difficulties!»

The search for options of representation of the interests of the ethnic groups in the state bodies was complete by the creation of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan in 1995 (May 21, 2007. the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan). Led personally by Nursultan Nazarbayev – the First President of the Republic – the leader of the Nation, the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan is a unique public institution, it acts as an effective channel of detection of the pressing needs, transforming the will of the various ethnic groups in public policy, preventing or eliminating of national, racial and religious contradictions between people.

The elevation of the Assembly the level of the Basic Law during the constitutional reform of 2007, giving it the right to vote via the 9 Majilis deputies, approval of its status by the special Law dated October 20, 2008 «On the Assembly of the People Kazakhstan», the development and approval of the Assembly's «Doctrine of the National Unity» are a vivid confirmation of the strategy of the Head of State in the most sensitive area of life of the Kazakh society.

A unique Kazakhstan model of interfaith cooperation was founded on liberal legislation, verified intentions and actions of the supreme power, on practices of tolerance by the representatives of different religions. At the same time, taking into account the geopolitical position of Kazakhstan,

which is in the zone of active spreading of religious extremism, certain legal mechanisms to protect the individual's freedom of conscience and to carry out the forms of the state control are provided.

These positions have found their successive consolidation in RK Law dated October 11, 2011. «On Religious Activities and Religious Associations». Such element of the social system as a political system is very important for state-power relationship. It is constitute of the following political institutions: political parties and other public associations and movements, the media, and to a large extent NGOs, as well as political procedures: elections, referendum, opinion polls, reporting of meeting of akims with the population All these have found a new life thanks to the Presidential initiatives.

As the data of modern sociological surveys and the results of public support to the Leader of the Nation Nursultan Nazarbayev in the presidential election confirm, during the last decades the Kazakh society has overcome the majority of the deviant and archaic political, economic, social, cultural and ethnic stereotypes.

Thanks to the targeted efforts of the supreme authorities the process of **consolidation of the Kazakh society and its gradual transformation into a single nation** continues. A necessary attribute of any state is its territory, that is, the spatial limits of implementation of the state authorities. Gaining state independence the Republic of Kazakhstan put forward the territorial issues with neighboring countries - China, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, as one of the legal registration priorities. The methodological basis during the delimitation of the state border was a requirement of the First President of the Republic – the Leader of the Nation Nursultan Nazarbayev, to resolve all contentious issues arising on the basis of international law, on the one hand, in the spirit of friendship and confidence – on the other.

Internal political and territorial organization of the state is the basis of economic development, construction of the system of the state bodies, ensuring the relationship of the state and its citizens, participation of citizens in shaping and the administration of public authority. Kazakhstan's entry into the Age of the State independence claimed the change of the administrative-territorial structure of the country.

Another essential attribute of an independent state is the developed legal system of the country. Changing public lifestyle in Kazakhstan claimed a new law based on completely different principles and methods of legal regulation. Stringent conditions of the transitional period literally shook



all side of legal sphere, law-making and law enforcement. It led to the adoption of non-traditional approaches to sustainable development. The first President of the Republic – the Leader of the Nation Nursultan Nazarbayev led constitutional process, thus making contribution to the general theory of constitution and constitutionalism in terms of transitional society, ensuring the implementation of the guarantor function of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, its stability and dynamism, repeatedly personally taught the examples of service to the letter and the spirit of the Basic Law.

### **3. The Initiative of the Head of State on the Transfer of Capital**

In the XX century several cities of Kazakhstan were its capital: Orenburg, Qyzylorda, Almaty and Akmola (Astana). In Almaty was the capital of independent Kazakhstan until 1997.

In 1997, the country's capital was moved from Almaty to Astana. The initiator of this transfer was the first President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev.

In the first years of independence of Kazakhstan there was a question about the transfer of the capital from Astana in Akmola. The Head of State in the book «Kazakhstan Zholy» writes that the idea of transfer of the capital from Almaty originated in 1992. But at that time it was too early to raise this issue: the country's economy would not sustain such step.

The President of our country, as the main proponent of this idea, had to convince those who doubt the necessity of this step. Indeed, for the transfer of the capital to a new location had a good base.

Firstly, the movement of capital to the north was dictated by geopolitical reasons: in order to ensure the conservation and the independence the capital should be the geographic center of a country. As the Head of State N.A. Nazarbayev underlined in his book «The Heart of Eurasia»: «Kazakhstan could emphasize by this act its openness to equal cooperation with the North and the South, East and West».

Secondly, the need for capital transfer was due to the tasks of strengthening the industrial and innovation development of the country.

Third, Almaty had already exhausted its territorial resource for its development. The city could no longer grow in breadth as practically on all sides was surrounded by the mountains. The city was designed only for 400 thousand inhabitants, and its population to mid 90-ies of the XX century has exceeded one million people. In addition, there were problems with the water supply of the southern part of metropolis.

Fourth, ecological Almaty situation has deteriorated. The city is poorly ventilated. A question of the state sewer system arose. There were difficulties with the provision of the city with drinking water and heat. Gaining momentum illegal and chaotic buildings around the capital could further exacerbate the already difficult position. There were problems of seismological character.

Fifth, in the new conditions of Almaty had no convenient transport communications, while being not at the intersection of the airways, railways and highways and more.

The leadership of a young and independent country could leave without consideration the fact that it was easier to carry out urgent reforms in a new place, avoiding the enemy's resistance to changes, stationed mainly in the southern capital.

From today's perspective, we cannot fail to note one of the constituting parts of the transfer of the capital from the south to the center of Sary-Arka: south had become a region with a high population density, mostly indigenous. Therefore, the new leadership of the Republic had to change the trajectory of the demographic and national policies.

Last but not least was consideration of the «Eurasian factor» of which the Head of State Nursultan Nazarbayev had told literally as follows: «Kazakhstan is a Eurasian country. Akmola is one of the geographic center of the Eurasian continent. In conflicts history of the XX century, we take an independent decision about the capital of the state for the first time».

Akmola, as a new capital, virtually met all 32 parameters of the international standards: the socio-economic indicators, climate, landscape, seismic conditions, environment, engineering and transport infrastructure, construction complex, human resources and more.

The considerable success of the reforms in the new independent Kazakhstan could now directly depend on the solution of the problem, associated with the transfer of the capital to a new location. The sane part of the Kazakhstani society began to realize that the new Kazakhstan should be built in the new capital. This idea gradually took hold of the population. Back in late 1993, the Head of State Nursultan Nazarbayev for the first time publicly announced the need for capital transfer from Almaty in any other city of the Republic. We offer the different cities: Ulytau, Karaganda, Pavlodar, Kokshetau, etc. But the Head State chose Akmola.

**The Implemented Idea.** At the official level, this initiative sounded on July 6, 1994 in the speech of the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the ninth convocation.

Deputies supported this initiative by their Resolution on the birthday of the President of Kazakhstan.

Further the events unfolded rapidly: on September 15, 1995 the Head of State issued a decree to transfer the capital to Astana, on the 28 of September of the same year, the Government established a Commission on relocation of its public institutions.

On October 20, 1997 an important historic event occurred in the life of independent Kazakhstan: the Decree of the Head States Nursultan Nazarbayev that the capital of the country would be Akmola.

On November 8, 1997 attributes State power – the flag, the coat of arms and the presidential standard, were transferred to the capital. At the joint session of the both chambers of the Parliament of Kazakhstan the President Nazarbayev said: «Today, we – the highest authorities Republic of Kazakhstan, solemnly declare that from December 10, 1997 Akmola is the capital of our state».

On May 6, 1998 according to the Decree of the President of the Republic Kazakhstan Akmola was renamed to Astana. International presentation of the new capital of Kazakhstan - Astana was held on June 10, 1998. The city with a population of about 300 thousand people became a new capital of Kazakhstan. Today it is a home to three times as much population than in previous years. The first mayor of the new capital was a famous statesman Adilbek Dzhaksybekov.

Thus, the transfer of the capital was initiated by the Head of State N.A.Nazarbayev. Time has shown that the Leader of Kazakhstan foresaw the usefulness and a necessity of such a strategically important step. Now our capital is one of the best young CIS capitals and even Eurasia. In 1998, by UNESCO's decision the capital of Kazakhstan was awarded the medal and the title of «City of Peace». In 2010 Astana hosted the OSCE summit. In 2012, Astana was recognized as the best CIS capital. And in 2017 EXPO 2017 under the motto «Energy of the Future» will be held. Azerbaijani President Ilkham Aliyev said the following about the role of our President in the creation of our capital: «I saw a new capital. And I was very impressed with the pace of construction, of the beauty, that is created. This is a huge achievement of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who mobilized the efforts of the Kazakh people, and created, in essence, a new city, a new capital».

Our young people must apply big efforts to do our beautiful capital city even more beautiful. We must in all respects correspond to the high level

of image and to build the best capital in the world: study hard, be a good specialist in their field and educate themselves as highly cultured men.

#### **4. Addresses of the President of Kazakhstan – Programs of Strategic Development of the Country**

According to the adopted on August 30, 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan the Head of State gives annual Address to the Nation on the situation in the country and the main directions of domestic and foreign Republicopolitics. The first official message of the president was made in October 1997. Since that time this tradition, typical for many presidential Republics, has been started in Kazakhstan.

In 1997, the Address of the President was devoted to the strategic development of Kazakhstan till 2030. It was called «Prosperity, Safety and Improvement of the Welfare all Kazakhstan».

It was included in the recent history as a document, where for the first time the perspective, long-term, for three decades ahead, direction of the development of the country were justified and presented in the expanded form.

The Message of 1997 covered the basic goals that had been defined in the early days of the independence: ensuring political and ethnic stability, social partnership, establishment of market relations, strengthening patriotism. The message of 1997 gave the name to the most State strategy, which is necessary for consistent guaranteed achievement of the objectives - Strategy «Kazakhstan-2030».

Focusing on the success of a number of Asian countries, well-known in the world as «Asian Tigers» (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand), the President Nursultan Nazarbayev raised the question: «Are there reasons for Kazakhstan, with all its possibilities, not to achieve the same?» and expressed confidence that there is no reasons, therefore, in 2030, Kazakhstan has every reason to become a «Central Asian leopard» and to «serve as an example for other developing countries». This was the mission of the XXI century that the head of State saw for Kazakhstan.

The specific content of the Strategy is disclosed through formulation of the long-term priorities. The first priority identified is national security, because the prosperity of the citizens of a sovereign state, the success of reforms is possible only in the secure situation. The main factors are its

social cohesion, political stability, as well as partnership, a friendly foreign policy.

Priorities of the economic strategy are based on the open market, focused on the maximum involvement of domestic and foreign investment, efficient use of energy sources and the rebuilding of infrastructure, raising the level of prosperity, health, and education of citizens. The image of Kazakhstan 2000-2010-ies is shaped through these priorities.

Aimed for the future the priorities of the Strategy (national security, political stability, economic growth, social development, infrastructure, transport, communications, energy, professional state) came together as the counterweight to the challenges of globalization, allowed to use fully its contradictory consequences. In the late 1990s – early 2000s Kazakhstan was actively involved in the rapidly developing global and regional processes, became an active participant in international and regional organizations such as the UN, OSCE, SCO, EueAeEC.

In 2000 we should talk about the the beginning of the phased implementation of the strategic, long-term goals which are prosperity, security, increasing well-being of the citizens. According to some Russian analysts in 2000s (before the crisis) Kazakhstan was ahead of Russia on many areas of economic reforms.

Kazakhstan was the first among the post-Soviet countries that in 2003 restored the level of production of 1991. It was also the first in the CIS received a high evaluation of the international rating agencies as a country with a market economy. According to the World Bank estimates, Kazakhstan is the leader among the CIS countries in implementing reforms. In March 2002, the US Department of Commerce assigned Kazakhstan the status of a country with «market economies».

The historical way, passed by Kazakhstan during the years of Independence, presented the Republic to the world community as a brand new country – not just as a potential but the established state. However, these results have been achieved in hard way. The success was the result of a great effort of the political elite, who managed to unite both the Kazakhs, and all the people in the name of high goals.

The main parameters of the development of the contemporary Kazakhstan are determined by the Head of State in the annual addresses to the people of Kazakhstan.

In the Address to the People of 1997 the Head of State pointed out that annuities messages would follow this fundamental document, which would define «new challenges for the next year to move on to our strategic

objectives». It was also stated that: «Nothing is done immediately. A successful and stable development is objectively reached by certain steps that can not be made in one big swoop».

This is exactly what had happened. The President annually gives meaningful messages, which disclose specific tasks, their solutions for the coming year and the total strategic line.

Subsequent messages of the Head of State were formulated in line with the implementation of the priorities of the Strategy. They were a logical continuation of the first public concept predicting the future of Kazakhstan.

In the Address of 16 September 1998, the President spoke about the situation in the country and the main directions of domestic and foreign policy: democratization, economic and political reform in the New Century. The Message of the President of September 16, 1999 was called **«The Country's Stability and Security in the New Century»**.

The Address of the President of October 16, 2000 – **«Towards a Free, Efficient and Safe Society»**. On September 16, 2001 the President announced the main directions of the domestic and foreign policy for the year 2002. On April 16, 2002, Nursultan Nazarbayev announced objectives for 2003. In 2003, the President spoke about the main directions of the domestic and foreign policy for 2004.

The Message of March 14, 2004 was the named **«Towards Competitive Kazakhstan, Competitive Economy, Competitive Nation»**. In this message, the President spoke about the industrial and innovative development, human resources development, and other. On the 16th of February 2005 the President announced the message, which was called **«Kazakhstan on the Way of Rapid, Economic, Social and Political Modernization»**. The President recalled what we began with, what we have reached and what lies ahead of us. He told how he saw the future of Kazakhstan. This and financial issues, housing, and agricultural issues, issues of family, motherhood, childhood and other were covered by the President on the 1st of March 2006. The President also announced a very important document **«The Strategy of Kazakhstan's entry into the 50 Most Competitive Countries of the World. Kazakhstan on the Threshold of a New Leap Forward in its Development»**. The President's message speaks about the successful integration into the world economy, breakthrough projects and government support, the development of democracy and modernization of the political system, the country strategy in security, adequate to modern threats and challenges.

Message of February 28, 2007 – «**New Kazakhstan in the New World**». The task was set to continue the work on improving the well-being of our people, relying on the growth of the economy and our financial opportunities. In 2008 the President said about the need to strengthen domestic investment resources with the growing role of the state holdings, development institutions, social entrepreneur corporations in the face of deteriorating of the world economic conditions. On March 6, 2009 the President called on Kazakhstan to go through the crisis to renewal and development.

The Message of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan of January 29, 2010 «**New Decade – New Economic Growth – New Opportunities for Kazakhstan**» is devoted to the implementation of the Kazakhstan Development Strategy up to 2020.

The Message of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated January 28, 2011 – in the year of the 20th anniversary of the Independence of the country, was called «**Building the Future Together!**». The president announced the plans of modernization education, health, development of the language, modernization of housing and communal services and others. In the address of 14 December 2012, on the eve of the Day of Independence, the Nation's Leader announced a new program: **Strategy «Kazakhstan 2050» – New Political Course of the Established State.**

As already had been noted by the President, in 1997 we faced a giant task – to turn the tide, to build a new country. Today Kazakhstan is a strong successful state, the task of building a new country has been accomplished early. Now we need to solve new global challenges of the time and set new goals. «... Our task now is keeping everything we have achieved over the years of sovereignty, to continue sustainable development in the XXI century. Our main goal is by 2050 to create a society of prosperity based on a strong state, developed economy and universal labor opportunities. A strong state is especially important to ensure the conditions of accelerated economic growth. A strong state is not engaged in politics survival, but into a planning policy, sustainable development and economic growth ...», – the President said.

The Message of the President of Kazakhstan of January 17, 2014 «**Kazakhstan Way-2050: Common Goal, Common Interests, Common Future**» presented a plan to become one of the 30 developed countries of the world and was marked as long-term priorities. On November 11, 2014 the Message of President of Kazakhstan announced the New Economic Policy

of Kazakhstan «Nurly Zhol», the core of which is the Plan of Infrastructural Development.

The main message of the address of the President of Kazakhstan of November 30, 2015 «**Kazakhstan in the New Global Reality: Growth, Reform and Development**» is based on the following sentence:»We must oppose to the new challenges of the global reality with the integral strategy for action on the basis of our real possibilities». That is the Head of State proposes to apply a proactive crisis strategy and to implement a universal saving mode and rationalization of available resources.

In the Message it is mentioned that «our main anti-crisis stratagem is identical to three simple but important concepts: growth, reform, development».

Here are the three «Ps»:

«The first one is growth. It is primarily a question of economic growth. With respect to the current problems we must restore such economic growth that Kazakhstan will ensure its entry to the thirty most developed countries of the world. We must find new domestic sources of growth through disclosure of private initiative.

The second are the reforms. They offer stability of the economy, society and the state. Now we realize the «Plan of the Nation. 100 Concrete Steps». In their scale they are comparable with the large-scale reforms, which we conducted in 90s. We vitally need a deeper reform of the public and corporate management, financial and fiscal sectors.

The third is development. In the twenty-first century, the main development factor is the continuous modernization of all spheres of society. We are working on a large-scale transformation of all state, public and private institutions on the principles of «Society of Universal Labor», high social responsibility, targeted assistance to the most vulnerable population. «Three «Ps» mentioned in the Address of the Head of States is a cardinal positive answer to modern risks, challenges & threat. After all, growth, reform and development are aimed at the progressive future of the country.

The message has articulated fundamentally new approaches to economy and financial system of the country.

Among the complex crisis and structural transforms, the first place is occupied by the problem of stabilization the country's financial system. The whole budget policy, the system of the state income from the budget programs are subject to fiscal optimization. In order to ensure sustained economic growth it is necessary to ensure a maximum release of internal



resources. Two effective tools are proposed to be used for these purposes – a large-scale privatization and the expansion of the competition.

In the social sphere the new social policy lies in the fact that the state's role in the social sphere should be limited to only supporting socially vulnerable citizens. The State support will address only the needy citizens on the basis of an assessment of their real incomes and living conditions, all the rest will have to earn themselves by their own efforts.

Thus, the ideological mobilization and promise of the President's Address to the people of Kazakhstan lies in the fact that «The global crisis is not only a danger, but also new capabilities».

In the **«Plan of the Nation – 100 Steps to Implement the Institutional Reforms»** the 85<sup>th</sup> and the 89<sup>th</sup> steps are devoted to the idea of «Mangilik El» as the task of creating a patriotic act and the task of implementation of «Mangilik El» values in the existing training school education program. The idea of «Mangilik El» was sufficiently explained by the President Nursultan Nazarbayev in his Message to the people of Kazakhstan «Strategy» Kazakhstan-2050». New Political Course of the Established State» in December 2012. This idea excited the President in the earlier period of time. He appealed to it at the meeting dedicated to the Independence Day of the Republic of Kazakhstan on December 15, 2010, it was reflected in the eponymous Arc de Triumph, called a «new symbol of modern Kazakhstan and a triumph of Kazakhstan people, realizing the centuries-old dream of independence and sovereignty of the country», which was opened on the 16<sup>th</sup> of December 2011.

Return to the idea of «Mangilik El» occurred on December 14, 2013, when the solemn meeting devoted to the Independence Day of the Republic of Kazakhstan was held with the participation of President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Addressing the meeting, the President noted that on 16 December 1991 a new star was lit in the constellation of nations of the world – the Republic of Kazakhstan and he named the seven priceless possessions, the first of which is «our sacred and worthy country «Mangilik El». More than fourteen thousand kilometers of undisputed soldered borders collected our country into a single monolith. They have become borders of neighborliness with all neighboring countries».

The idea of «Mangilik El» was described in the most complete form in the President's Address «Nurly Zhol – Path to the Future» on January 17, 2014: «Mangilik El» is our national idea of our Kazakhstan home, the dream of our ancestors. During the years of sovereign development core values that

unite all Kazakhs have been established, they make up the foundation of our country's future. They were taken not from the transcendental theories. These values are the experience of Kazakhstan Way which stood up the test of time.

Firstly, it is independence of Kazakhstan and Astana. Secondly, it is national unity, peace and harmony in our society. Third, it is a secular society and high spirituality. Fourth, it is economic growth based on industrialization and innovation. And fifth, it is the Universal Labor Society. Sixth, it is a common history, culture and language. Seventh, it is national security and global participation of our country in addressing global and regional problems. Thanks to these values we have always won, strengthened our country, multiplied our great successes. These constituent, nationwide values are the ideological foundation of the New Kazakhstani patriotism».

In the same message the President instructed to organize the development and adoption of the Patriot Act «Mangilik El», calling all political and social forces in the country not to be indifferent and to join the work.

As it is known, in the Message of 2012 the idea of «Mangilik El» was announced in the Kazakh language, the Russian version of the text was missing. From a historical point of view, «Kazakh Eli» is an evolutionary result of the term «Mangi El». The word «El» is perceived as a statehood, as a state, which is created by the union of tribes. During the period of Turkish Kaganates the formation of these alliances and the emergence of a new phase of the state was called «el». «Mangi El» sounds like the dream of the Turks. During the period of Turkish Kaganates Turks believed that their statehood Khanate is an eternal, everlasting state ... In the middle of the 15th century in connection with the formation of the Kazakh Khanate under the guidance of Zhanibek Khan and Kerey Khan instead of the Turkic definition of statehood Mangi el became to form of the new state Kazakh Eli which is synonymous with Kazakh Khandygy» – the Kazakh Khanate.

In 2015, the work on the design of the idea of «Mangilik El» was activated. First of all, it outlines a clearer equality of all citizens of Kazakhstan, as the main component of the idea of «Mangilik El». It should be based on the principle of citizenship. All citizens must use a set of rights, carrying one load of responsibilities and have access to equal opportunities. Consolidating the values based on the idea of «Mangilik El» are civil equality; hard work; honesty; cult of learning and education; secular country – a country of tolerance.

On January 31, 2017 the next regular annual Message of the Head of State to people of Kazakhstan «**The Third Modernization of Kazakhstan: Global Competitiveness**» was published.

Under the current legislation the President has the right to present the Message orally or in writing. This year he chose the second method. This strategic document set out a vision of further development of the country. In the introductory part of this historic document Elbasy noted that in the framework of the celebration of the 25th anniversary of Independence we celebrate the achievements and successes of Kazakhstan, which are well known and highly regarded by the worldwide community. The country started the new 2017 year successfully. From the beginning, Kazakhstan has become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. This year the international exhibition «EXPO-2017» will be held in Astana. We were the first among the CIS and Central Asian countries holding such a significant a global event. In Almaty sports competitions within the Universiade-2017 started, which involved more than 2,000 athletes and members delegations from 57 countries.

All of this, as noted in the message, is the result of correct political path and a high prestige of Kazakhstan in the international arena. Now Kazakhstan will enter the top 30 developed countries in the world by 2050. We confidently go towards this goal. In the context of increased competition and increasing instability in the world the special relevance of «Strategy-2050» is recognized proposed by the President to the people of Kazakhstan in 2012. Based on this program, and through Economic Policy «Nurly Zhol» and the Plan of the Nation «100 Concrete Steps» Kazakhstan adequately is passing the initial phase of a complex global transformation.

Only in the years 2014-2016 the State allocated an additional 1.7 trillion tenge to support the economy. This provided an opportunity for economic and business growth and supported the creation of more than 200 thousand new work places. As a result, in 2016 the growth of the gross domestic product by 1% is ensured. This is particularly important in the current difficult conditions.

Nursultan Nazarbayev noted that during a quarter of century we had implemented two modernizations. The first is the creation of an entirely new state on the principles of a market economy. The second is implementation of the Strategy-2030 and the formation of the capital of our Motherland - Astana. Kazakhstan has developed rapidly and ranked among the 50 most successful countries.

According to Elbasy opinion, a radical change in the technological structure of the modern world requires a transition to a new model of economic growth. In this regard, the current the current address was dedicated to the third modernization of Kazakhstan.

To reach this goal the global competitiveness of the country is required. At the same time the basis of our actions is, as it has been before, the Nation Plan for implementation of the Five institutional reforms.

The President points out that one of the key priorities of the third modernization would be an accelerated technological renewal of the economy, which means the creation of new promising sectors on the basis of digital technologies. This is fundamentally important for the expansion of the business environment and improvement of the conditions for mass business. To do this, the participation of the state in economy must be minimized. It is necessary to reduce costs for all businesses and to develop a public-private partnership.

As indicated in the message, agriculture, transport, and logistics are among the units of the future model growth. The message separately underlines the development of the housing market and the measures of the state support.

**The Message gives special attention to the further development of education, health and social protection of the population, which remain important priorities of the state.** In this regard, the role of the education system should be changed. Our task, noted Elbasy, is to make education a central element of the new model of economic growth. Learning programs should focus on the development of critical skills of thinking and skills of independent search for information. Thus, it is necessary to reduce the gap between urban educational institutions and rural schools.

The message reads as follows on the issue of a gradual transition to the trilingual Education: the Kazakh language maintain its dominant position. However, a big attention will be given to its further development. At the same time today, English is the language of new technologies, new industries, new economy. Currently, 90% of information is created in the English language in the world. Every two years its volume is doubled. Without mastering the English language Kazakhstan will not reach the national progress.

**Since 2017 on the initiative of the President implementation of the project «Free Vocational Technical Education for All»** has began. In this regard, the first who should get the free education are unemployed and

self-employed youth, as well as people of the working age who have no professional education.

**Along with the education system, Elbasy is indicating, the health care system must change.** Since July 1 of this year a system of compulsory social health insurance will begin to be implemented on the bases on joint responsibility of the state, employers and the citizens. The effectiveness of this system is proved by the world practice.

In the field of social security on behalf of the President, pensions will be increased by up to 20% compared to 2016 for 2.1 million pensioners from July 1, 2017, and starting July 1, 2018 the appointment of the basic pension will be carried out on the basis of a new technique. Its size will depend on the length of the participation in the pension system. All of these measures will provide an increase of the size of the new pension's base by 1.8 compared to 2017 year.

On behalf of the President from July 1, 2017 the size of a lump sum at birth of a child will be increased by 20%. The goal is also to review the cost of living of the population. It must match a real consumer spending in Kazakhstan. It will allow to increase the basic pension, benefits for the disabled, for families without breadwinners, targeted assistance and grants for disabled children for 3 million person starting January 01, 2018.

In conclusions of this document it is mentioned that through this message the President would like to convey to each citizen his vision of the development trends in the new reality. The Head of State instructed the government to develop a strategic plan for the development until 2025 related to the third modernization of the country under the name «National Technology Initiative of Kazakhstan».

As it is noted in the message of Elbasy, this is the only way we can achieve the main objectives of the Strategy-2050 – the entry of Kazakhstan in the 30 most developed countries of the world. These are the key areas of technological modernization of Kazakhstan.

The annual message of the Head of State (from 1997 to 2017) became symbolic in the history of independent Kazakhstan. The objectives stated in the messages are deep and consistent, they are focused on the holistic development of the states, its way to a new level, they are characterized by a systemic purposefulness. Step-by-step the stages of the modern history of the country, social, economic, and political priorities are revealed through the messages. It should be noted that the message to the people of Kazakhstan in the 2000s became the subject of careful analysis in the CIS countries. It

is recognition of the results of the development of independent Kazakhstan, of the significance of its experience in strategic planning.

Thus, the annual messages of the President Kazakhstan and their implementation are, in general, a guarantee to the consistent development and overcoming of possible crisis events, the growth of the people's welfare.

### **Control Questions:**

1. Which documents do legally establish the status of the First President – the Leader of the Nation of the Republic of Kazakhstan?
2. Whose idea was to transfer the capital from Almaty to the center of the Republic?
3. Why did Almaty exhaust its possibilities as a capital of independent Kazakhstan?
4. Expand the essence and content of the annual messages of the President to the people of Kazakhstan.
5. What is the meaning of messages as the next stage of the development and implementation of the state strategy?

## LIST OF SEMINAR SUBJECTS

1. Introduction to the History of Kazakhstan. Subject and Objectives of the Course «Modern History of Kazakhstan.»
2. Nursultan Nazarbayev on the Celebration of the 550 Anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate. Formation of the Kazakh Khanate – An Important Historical Milestone on the Road to Independence
3. National Liberation Struggle of the Kazakh People during the Period of Accession of Kazakhstan to Russia.
4. Origins, Continuity, and Evolution of the Kazakh Statehood.
5. Kazakhstan in the Beginning of the XX Century: the Struggle for Independence.
6. New Attitudes in Evaluation of the 1916 Uprising in Modern Kazakhstan Historiography.
7. Relationships of the Representatives of the Alash Movement and Bolsheviks during the Civil War.
8. Formation of the Soviet Totalitarian Regime in Kazakhstan: Character, Action, Lessons.
9. Contradictions of the Soviet Reforms of the Second Half of the XX Century In Kazakhstan, their Consequences.
10. Political and Socio-Economic Crisis of the Soviet Society.
11. Social and Political Transformation of Independent Kazakhstan.
12. Kazakhstan's Model of Economic Development of Independent Kazakhstan.
13. Historical Continuity of the President's Addresses to the People of Kazakhstan.
14. Strategy «Kazakhstan 2050» – Definition of Democratization of the Social and Political Life and Renewal.
15. Youth Policies and Measures on Education by History.
16. National Idea «Mangilik El» – the Basis of Consolidation of the Society.
17. Kazakhstan and the World Community.

## **SAMPLE TOPICS FOR INDEPENDENT STUDIES**

1. Historical Evolution of the Idea of Independence of Kazakhstan.
2. Works of the Scholars and Thinkers of the Turkic Period (Abu Nasir Al Farabi, A.Yassawi, M.Kashgari, Yusup Balasaguni, Ibn Sina, R.Biruni).
3. Archaeological and Written Evidence, Oral Folklore Monuments of Turkic Peoples as Sources for Study of Material and Spiritual Culture.
4. Boom of Intellectual Culture and Formation of Literary Traditions of the Central Asian Peoples in the Turkic Period.
5. Ethnic Processes on the Territory Of Kazakhstan and Stages of Formation of the Kazakh Nation.
6. Historiography of the Study of the Alash Movement in Modern Historical Science of Kazakhstan.
7. Historical Studies on Tragic Consequences of the Soviet Reforms of 1920-1930.
8. The Mass Political Repressions in Kazakhstan in 1937-1938: A Tragic Destiny of the Intelligentsia.
9. Modern Political Parties, Social Movements and Organizations in the Republic of Kazakhstan.
10. Status of the Kazakh Language in the Republic of Kazakhstan.
11. Activities and the Role of the First President of Kazakhstan in the Creation and the Development of Independent Kazakhstan.
12. Government Programs – the Main Basis of the Development of Kazakhstan.
13. Significance of the Program «Nurly Zhol» for a Stable Economic Growth of Kazakhstan.
14. Priority Areas for the Development of Education, Science, and Culture.
15. Preservation of Stability in Inter-ethnic and Interfaith Relations.



## GLOSSARY

**Akim** (from Arabic, Hakim – deciding arbitrator) – a head of local authorities in the countries of Central Asia, including Kazakhstan. Akims of oblasts, cities of the Republican significance are appointed by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Akims of other administrative – territorial units are appointed by the superior to them akims/

**Alternative elections** (from Latin alter – other) – a democratic form of election of certain persons to representative bodies and control that allows voters to exercise a right of choice and express a preference for a particular program and a candidate.

**Anarchy** – 1) a socio-political ideal, assuming organization of a society without state power on principle of self-government of communities, societies, families; 2) in ordinary consciousness – disorder, lawlessness, disorganization.

**Andronov's culture** (a cultural-historical community) – a common name of a group of close archaeological cultures of the Bronze Ages covering Western Siberia, the western part of Central Asia, the South Urals in the II millennium BC. The name comes from Andronov village near Achinsk where the first burial was discovered in 1914.

**Animal style** – a code name widely common in ancient art style, the hallmark which was a picture of animals, parts of their bodies, as well as complex compositions of several animals.

**Annexation** (Latin annexio – attaching) – capture and forcible retention of all or part of the territory of another state, or other people.

**Anthropogenesis** – studies an origin and stages of human development; based on the natural sciences and the humanities.

**Associated membership** – a membership of an organization (or a State) in a union of organizations (states) under special conditions.

**Autarky** (from Greek – self-reliance, self-sufficiency) – an economic regime of the self-sufficiency of the country in which external trade turnover is minimized.

**Autonomy** (Greek autonomia – self-government, independence) – a special status of the territory or organization in the state, providing the right to more or less decide local issues within the limits established by the central power. A form of government of a territory of a unitary and, sometimes, of a federal state. There are territorial, political, cultural autonomy of a state.

**Border Demarcation** (Latin demarcation-distinction) – implementation of the state border line in the terrain, designation of its special border signs.

Demarcation of the border is carried out on the basis of documents on delimitation of border.

**Boycott** – 1) a method of the political and economic fight, consisting in full or partial termination of relationship with an individual, an organization, a company or a State to force them to perform certain political or economic requirements; 2) termination of relations with anyone in a protest against something.

**Budget deficit** – the excess of the cost of a public Budget over income; it is one of the factors of the development of the inflationary process, an indicator of a crisis situation of public finance.

**Capitalism** – the stage in the development of human society, replacing feudalism. The main features of capitalism is the commodity production, commodity-money relations, the cult of entrepreneurship and individualism, the high level of development of productive forces, rational forms of work organization. Contrary to Karl Marx, diseases of primitive capitalist accumulated in the XX century have been overcome during evolution and combating social forces. A number of other contradictions that existed before and were considered antagonistic were loose and removed.

**Card system** – the system of public procurement of Consumer goods in the deficit. To purchase an item one should submit a one-time ticket entitles its acquisition.

**Charisma** – a special type of legitimacy, authority and organization of leadership based on the exceptional properties of an individual, enabling him to carry out the function of a prophet, or a leader, a reformer. Charisma is associated with a period of rapid social changes - revolutions, wars, major social reforms, with growth suggestibility of the masses. **Civil society** – a society of citizens of high social, economic, political and moral status, relationship of which in the fields of industrial, social, etc. life are built independently of the state, but in effective interaction with it.

**Civil War** – an organized armed struggle for State power between classes and social groups inside a country, the most severe form of the class struggle. Civil War occurs on the basis of the social crisis and the real anarchy. Types and forms of civil war are the uprising of slaves, peasants war, guerrilla war, the armed struggle of the people against the ruling elite.

**Classes** – social groups that in the attached laws differ in their relation to the means of production, public role in labor organizations, according to the methods of obtaining and dimensions of the share of the social wealth of which they dispose, prestige and access to power.

**Clericalism** (from clericalis – church, spiritual) – public political movement aimed at strengthening the position, the role of the church and the

clergy in the political, social, spiritual and cultural society. To do this, the unit involved in the church, clerical political parties and other organizations.

**Cluster** (from the English cluster – Cluster) – a union of several homogeneous components which can be regarded as an independent unit, which has certain properties.

**Coalition** (Latin *coalitus* – combined) – a temporary alliance of individuals, groups, parties, organizations, countries, etc. for achieving common goals.

**Collapse** (from the Latin *collapses* – fallen– in a figurative sense a severe crisis in the economy and social life of the country; socio-economic disaster.

**Collectivization** – a process of uniting single farms into collective farms (collective farms in the USSR).

**Communism** (from *communis* – common, universal) – theoretical Utopian system of a perfect society, inevitably coming in the place of capitalism in a socialist revolution. The ideas of communism were formed with period the class stratification of a society. Supporters of Utopian socialism proclaimed the creation of a classless and stateless society based on social ownership of the means production, socio-economic equality, and freedom of development of individuals. Marxism considered these ideas as a theoretical source of its understanding of capitalism, they became the basis of a failed social experiment, which lasted more than 70 years.

**Compromise** (from the Latin – conciliation agreement) – a constructive method of conflict resolution, to achieve agreement by reciprocal concessions of the parties involved. Implemented through a clear definition of an object or objects of dispute outside the concessions, the formation of a reputable groups that are entrusted with the negotiation and execution of agreements.

**Concept** (from the Latin *conception* – connect, a set of system) – A set of logically consistent provisions giving the interpretation of any article, the guiding idea. Political concept has a certain way of understanding, interpretation of a political phenomenon or process, the basic point of view on one or the other issue of public life.

**Confederation** – a form of government, voluntary union of independent states or Republics to achieve specific purposes, which will unite the country and the Republic, maintaining sovereignty in full and considerable independence, transfer of some of its powers to joint bodies of power to coordinate certain actions.

**Confession** (Latin *confession* – recognition, confession) – particular religion, a particular religion, a separate Faith.

**Confrontation** (French confrontation – opposition) – the term is used in the international lexicon to denote confrontation between countries, countries with different social systems, as well as between the different ideological political principles.

**Consensus** – in politics, indicating broad agreement on a discussion, reached in a discussion process without a voting procedures.

**Conservatism** (fr. conservatisme, from the Latin conservo – save) – ideological commitment to traditional values and orders, social or religious doctrines.

**Consolidation** (lat. consolidation, from consolidare – strengthened) – union, unite individuals, groups, organizations, social forces to intensify the struggle for common goals.

**Corruption** (from Lat Corruptere – Defile– bribery, payment of bribes, corruption of officials, politicians, official, the use by an official of the authority entrusted to him and rights for personal gain.

**Cost accounting** – planned management of enterprise-based economy, self-sufficiency, without the help of the state budget.

**Coup** (it putsch.) – Coup, initiated by a small group of conspirators; a successful coup d'état remains coupe only in the characterization of its defeated opponents (temporarily or permanently).

**Cult of personality** (from the Latin cultus – Veneration worship) – exaltation of a role of one man, empowerment to him supernatural qualities, attributing influence on the course of the historical process. Most often found in totalitarian and authoritarian states. Its development in society promote patriarchal and political subordinate culture.

**Declaration** – a formal statement or a normative document containing the fundamental principles of the external or internal policy, the foundations of international activities organizations or expresses their position on any issue.

**Delimitation of border** – (Latin delimitatio – demarcation– definition of the general terms and directions of a state border between neighboring countries through negotiations. During the delimitation the contracting parties make up a map without any terrain work, by the description of the passing border line, which can be a self Article in the treaty or in an annex thereto.

**Democracy** (the Greek demos – People and Cratos – power, democracy) – one of the main forms of political and social organization of the society, government and the state; developing progressive political regime, usually is associated with a Republican form of state; a kind of democracy

in the country, the features of which are: the recognition of the people, of the supreme source of power, election of bodies of the state, equality of citizens and equality voting rights, respect for human rights and minorities.

**Democratization** – the formation of a democratic society, covering all aspects of social life: social, economic, political, cultural, etc., the creation of civil society, democratic political system and the rule of law.

**Demographics** – a science of the laws of human reproduction, his character, depending on the socio-economic, natural environment, migration, population studies, territorial location and composition of the population, its change, cause and effect of these changes and gives recommendations for their improvement.

**Denunciation** (from Fr. *denoncer* – To dissolve) – claiming of invalidity, termination of contract.

**Deposit or bank deposit** – an amount of money placed by a contributor to a bank for a definite or indefinite period of time. Bank let the money in circulation, and in return pays an interest to the depositor.

**Despotism** (Greek *despotes* – the lord, lord) – 1) a form of unlimited, absolute, autocratic power, characterized by an arbitrary ruler and a complete lack of rights of the people; 2) autocracy, harsh suppression of personal freedom.

**Devaluation** (from the Latin *de* – cancellation + Fr. *evaluation* – rating) – decline of the national currency content in the relation to the currency of other countries, or gold, carried out by the decisions of the government authorities.

**«Developed socialism»** – conventional socio-political term and the range of power of some misguided representatives of the Soviet people applied for political slogans and illusory desires of deceit «transition moment from socialism to communism «in order to» indisputably and inevitably achieve well-being, equality and brotherhood in the world» (But not in their own country) «imminent proximity and the victory of communism».

**Diaspora** (from the Greek *diaspora* – scattering) – a stable group of people of single ethnic origin living outside their historical homeland.

**Dictator** (Latin *dictare* – To order) – a governor having unlimited power, which is carried out by means of violence, a sole control of the state.

**Dictatorship** (Latin *dictatura* – unlimited power) – the power, not limited by any law or by any other institutions and their actions directly relying on armed violence. Dictatorship is conceived at conditions of destabilization of public life. The main forms of dictatorship are tyranny, oligarchy and despotism, authoritarianism and totalitarianism.

**Discrimination** (Latin *diskriminatio* – distinction) – intentional restriction or deprivation of the rights of citizens, social groups, organizations or states on the grounds of racial, ethnic or nationality, social origin and property status, political and religious beliefs. One of the most extreme forms of racial discrimination is the segregation (Department), forced reservation; regarding to a colored population – apartheid (separation). Modern forms of social and political discrimination are very diverse – disenfranchisement, denial or complication in the presentation of citizenship, women’s unemployment, etc.

**Dissident** – a man whose political views are essentially differ from the official point of view in the country where he lives, a dissident.

**Diversification** (Latin *diversificare* – diversity – diversity of approaches, styles, political activity suggesting the alternation of political parties in power.

**Diversion** (from the Latin *diversion* – deviation, distraction) – actions of subversive groups (units) or individual in the rear of an enemy to withdraw military, industrial and other objects from the system, disturbing the control of troops, destruction of communications nodes and links, destruction of manpower and military equipment, effects on the moral and psychological state of the enemy.

**Dividend** (from the Latin *divendus* – Subject to section) – income received by a shareholder.

**Doctrine** (Latin: *doctrina* – Teaching) – a doctrine, philosophical, political, ideological theory; Steering theoretical or political principle that expresses the economic, military and other benchmarks and goals, as well as the forms of their implementation.

**Domestic policy** – a set of economic trends, demographic, social and integration, socio-cultural, repressive, etc. state activities, its structures and institutions are aimed at preserving or strengthening the existing social and political order.

**Dumping** (English *dumping* – reset) – carried out for displacing of competitors and capturing external markets for the export of goods from the country at lower prices than domestic prices.

**Emigration** (from the Latin *emigro* – Evict) – relocation from one country to another on economic, political, personal circumstances.

**Ethnicity** – (from the Greek *ethnos* – Tribe, people) – a set of people, which share a common culture, speak generally the same language and aware of their community, and their difference from the member of other similar human groups.

**Ethnic processes** – processes that lead to change of ethnic communities. Lead mainly to a change in elements of the culture and way of life, leading to a change in the ethnic self-awareness, inclusion of groups of people in other ethnic communities, and often – to the termination of the existence of one and the appearance of other ethnic communities.

**Ethnogenesis** – the process of formation of an ethnic community (ethnic group) on the basis of various ethnic components. Ethnogenesis is the initial stage of the ethnic history. Upon its completion, inclusion of other assimilated group in the prevailing ethnic group, as well as selection of new ethnic groups can take place.

**Eurasianism** – philosophical and political direction of the subject which is the historical, civilizational, economic, political, cultural study of the Eurasian continent, its countries, and peoples.

**Eurocentrism** – a characteristic of scientific and political trend of ideology, explicitly or implicitly, proclaiming superiority of European nations and Western European civilization over other peoples and civilizations in the cultural sphere, superior way of life of the European peoples, as well as their special role in world history.

**Evolution** (Latin evolution – development) – one of the forms of motion in nature and society; gradual quantitative change to a new quality, resulting under certain circumstances.

**Executive power** – one of the branches of government. Is a set of powers for the management of the state, including powers of sub legislative regulation, powers of foreign policy representation, powers for the implementation of various kinds of administrative control, sometimes legislative powers, as well as government agencies, exercising the powers above. The regional and the executive power is carried out by various local authorities and local self-government (akims regions, cities of Republican significance, other administrative territorial units

**Expropriation** – compulsory uncompensated or compensated alienation of property by state. Depending on whether the remuneration is paid or not, there are two types of expropriation: requisition and confiscation.

**External policy** – a policy, regulating interstate and international relations based on international law, international treaties and agreements. Foreign policy is based on economic, demographic, military, scientific-technical and cultural potentials of the state; the combination of the latter determines a possibility of foreign activity of a state in different directions, hierarchy priorities and goals.

**Extremism** (from Fr. *extremisme*, from the Latin *extremus* – extreme) – in policy commitment to extreme views, to the use of extreme measures (including acts of terrorism and hostage-taking) in order to achieve goals.

**Fascism** – open terrorist dictatorship of the most, relying on the power of the totalitarian state, militarization society, the cult of force and leader; one kind of ideology.

**Federation** – 1) a form of government in which several government entities have legal and some political autonomy, form a single union or State; 2) organizational and political form of several public organizations, associations, political parties. Federation - stable union of states, independent within distributed competences having its own Constitution, branches and often – dual citizenship.

**Feminism** (Latin *femina* – A woman) – intellectual and social and political movement for expansion of rights and the role of women in society, including for equal representation in management and policy.

**Genocide** (Greek *genos* – clan, tribe, and the Latin *gaedo* – kill) – one of the types of international crimes. The physical destruction of large groups of people on racial, national, ethnic, religious bases.

**Geopolitics** – a theory, which studies the relationship of government actions arising from the influence of geographical factors on the state and the evolution of economic, political and social systems of a society. Geopolitics has an international character and is one of the theoretical bases of State policy within a country and in the international arena. The focus of geopolitics are issues of regional cooperation, international integration and disintegration, cooperation in crisis areas, and inside – electoral policy, taking into account regional peculiarities in the spread of religions and cultures, administrative structure of ethnic minorities, etc.

**Globalization** – the process of global economic, political and cultural integration and unification. As a result of globalization the world becomes more connected and more dependent on dominant subjects.

**History** – 1) reality in its development, the movement; 2) the science of the development of society and nature.

**Historical memory** – a set of transmission from generation to generation of historical messages, myths subjectively refracted reflections about past events, especially negative experience of oppression and injustice against people.

**Human rights** – the principles, norms and relationships between people State, providing the opportunity to act on their discretion (this part is called freedom rights) or receive certain benefits (this property. Man is endowed



with natural rights (from birth), which are protected and guaranteed by the State and those who represent the State – economic, social, cultural, political, personal, environmental. Compliance with and enforcement of human rights characterizes Humanism domestic and international policies.

**Hyperinflation** – inflation of extremely high rate. Hyperinflation, according to various definitions, is a recognized annual growth of prices of the order of 900% a year or greater than 50% per month.

**Ideology** (from the Greek, idea – the prototype of the idea, and logos – word, mind, teaching) – a doctrine of ideas. In general terms, ideology is a concept indicating a system of specific (usually political, social or social well-articulated positions and ideas.

**Image-maker** – professionals involved in designing an image of a leader (a doctrinal construction, political solitaire, electoral mood, enclaves of image capital). It provides a breakthrough in the public political space. Tasks of an image maker: consultation on the basis of the behavior laws, the person's identification and forecasting of possible trends fostering mutual respect and social responsibility, harmonization of personal and public interests, policy adjustment.

**Immigration** (from the Latin immigro – Instal) – entrance to the country on permanent or temporary residence of citizens of another country for a number of reasons. Immigration in Kazakhstan is governed by the laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On Immigration», On Citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan».

**Impeachment** – is a special procedure for the prosecution of an officer in the civil service with Parliament. The main thing in the process is involvement of the Parliament. Overall, impeachment is the procedure of the democratic character, but it almost does not apply abroad. In the Republic of Kazakhstan investigating the impeachment of the President may be taken by a majority (two-thirds of deputies of Majilis and finally approved by the decision of at least three quarters of the members of both Houses of Parliament.

**Inauguration** (Latin inauguration – the beginning.): 1) a solemn act when coronation, an opening of an educational institution, a monument, etc.; 2) the solemn inauguration of the President.

**Individual rights** – inherent and inalienable rights and freedoms: right on a life, freedom, physical integrity and integrity; the right to freedom of thought and conscience; the right to privacy, private life and communications, on the inviolability of the home; on freedom of movement and settlement. All these mentioned natural the rights given to man by birth.

**Industrial society** – a complex type of a developed society with the central role of science and technology activities by machine production, high labor organization and discipline, national market, etc. A developed and progressive industrial society is opposed to sedentary types of companies (the traditional, agrarian Industrial society is dynamic, open and flexible in the organization of the entire social and political system. Regulated by regulations. In political science an industrial society is a state, its agencies, political parties, interest groups and so on.

**Infrastructure** – a complex of interconnected service structures, components and/or providing a basis for decisions problems (tasks). Infrastructure is a complex of branches of national economy, provides general operating conditions for economy: roads, communications, transportation, education, etc. There are industrial and social infrastructures.

**Investments** (Latin investio – dress) – long-term investments of capital to generate income. Investment are different from loans by the degree of risk for the investor (lender) and credit interest must be repaid within a specified period regardless of profitability of the project, investment returns and generate income in winning projects.

**Innovation** (from the Latin Innovation – dress and novatio – updating) – innovation in engineering, technology, labor organization, or management is based on the use of science and excellence, providing quality improving the efficiency of the production system and product quality.

**Institution of presidency** – a political institution, based on the authority (supreme of an official in the state, powers and responsibilities which are governed by the laws of ( Constitution) of the country.

**Integration** (from the Latin integrum – whole; Lat integration – restoration) – in the broad sense refers to an association, interpenetration. An association of any components (parts) to the whole. The process of mutual rapprochement and the formation of linkages.

**Intellectuals** (Latin intelligens – knowing, thinking, knowledgeable, sensible) – social stratum of people professionally engaged in mental, primarily creative work, the development and dissemination of culture. The notion of the «intelligentsia» is often give a moral sense, considering it the epitome of high morality and democracy. Modern intellectuals depending on the production activities and functions is divided into scientific and technical, scientific and humanitarian and others.

**Internationalism** – the views and politics, expressing coincidence fundamental interests and the desire to bring together different States, nations, peoples or their individual parts – classes, social strata and groups.

The objective basis of internationalism is a process of internationalization of production, information exchange, scientific and technological revolution. Internationalism as the ideological political basis of interaction is essential for survival of Humanity requires achieving a balance of interests of the nation, class, groups, etc.

**Internment** (Latin *internus* – domestic.): 1) deprivation of liberty of movement and exit of the limits of state (foreign citizens belligerent country until the end of the war), as well as the detention and disarmament of troops entered the territory of a neutral state; 2) the temporary arrest of anyone, insulation.

**Irredentism** (Italian *irredentismo* – exemption under alien domination, from *irredento* – letters. unreleased) – an ethnic socio-political movement for joining all groups of the so-called divided nation around a unified national state, ie the reunion all the neighboring lands of ethnic people.

**Kazakhstan patriotism** – the fundamental principle of the existence and development of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the deep social and physiological sense of citizens of Kazakhstan, due to genetic, historical and legal ties with Kazakhstan, the feeling, expressing their attitude towards Kazakhstan as their homeland, respect and love to which they directly manifest in their affairs and actions for the benefit of its development and growth of its authority in the world community.

**Kurultai** – a body of popular representation, a national congress of nobility to address critical national issues.

**Leaderism** – 1) a type of power relations based on personal devotion to a person, which has supreme authority. Occurs in ideological rigidly centralized societies; 2) Institute of power of patriarchal-clan and feudal East and Africa.

**Legitimacy** (from the Latin *legitimus* – Act– a justification of power, recognition of its right to rule and agreement to obey it. Legitimacy due to the ability to form and maintain power, belief in fairness and optimality of the existing of political institutions of a society. Legitimacy is evaluative, the cultural aspect of power: it cannot be imposed by the ruling regime, and arises from the organic nature of policies and trust in the government.

«**Leningrad Affair**» – a series of trials in the late 1940s in the early 1950s against the party and state Leaders of the RSFSR and the USSR, mainly in Leningrad – an origin or the start of working of the investigation in Leningrad.

**Liberalization of prices, or the release of prices** – an element of economic policy, comprising of easing of governmental pricing regulation.

**Liberalism** (Latin liberalis – Free) – 1) worldview, installation, emanating from the priority of individualism, tolerance, humanism, the enduring value of an individual; 2) an ideology and policies of liberal parties focused on «Saving mechanisms of the market economy and free competition at the lowest regulatory role of the state; moderate social reformism, international security and integration development processes.

**Lobbying** (from the English lobby – Lobby– a specific political activities of private and public organizations, aimed at helping with certain tools and techniques to provide pressure on legislators and government officials to adopt laws or solutions that meet the interests of individual parties, corporations, movements, organizations and individuals. Lobby is a powerful mechanism of influence on the bodies of state authorities. There is direct, indirect, «the government» lobbying.

**Logistics** – part of the economic science and the field of activity, the object of which is to organize and regulate processes, promotion of goods from producers to consumers, functioning of the spheres of circulation products, creation of goods movement infrastructure.

**Machiavellianism** (on behalf of the Italian historian N. Machiavelli) – an image of politics, do not neglect any means (violence, treachery, deceit) to achieve goals. Politics, neglecting the rules, laws and morality.

**Mankurtism** (from mankurt – a prisoner, a man turned into soulless slave being completely subordinate to the owner and not who remember anything of the previous life) – forgetfulness, not remembering successive historical ties with the people, the loss of moral guidelines.

**Margin** – a certain category of people who have lost due to various reasons the traditional norms, values, ideas and adapted and did not take socio-cultural values the dominant group. This is an intermediate social group, often serving mass base and antisocial, anti-state associations and movements.

**Marginality** (Region) – intermediate, border the situation of people (individuals and layers) in relation to large social groups affects their psyche and political behavior.

**Mentality** – a way of thinking and psychology of social groups, nation and society. The mentality is reflected especially in spiritual life, the type of social structure, the level of social differentiation, values and norms.

**Meritocracy** (lat. Meritus – A decent + Greek kratos – power) – a special form of government under which the power belongs to the people, and elected on the basis of their merit and abilities.

**Migration balance** – the difference between the number of persons attending any territory among persons who have left it during one and the same time interval.

**Militarization** (Latin *militaris* – Military) – application of forms and methods of military organization in different areas of public, economic life.

**Military democracy** – a form of political organization of a society in terms of decomposition of a primitive communal system, and formation of state. The essence of MD is manifested in the strengthening of military power of leaders elected democratically.

**Military regime** – a form of authoritarian government under which economic and political power is exercised by military means. The most common form of military regime is when the power is directly owned by the military.

**Modernization** – an improvement that meets modern requirements.

**Monarchy** (Greek *monarchia* – Undivided) – a form of government, in which power is vested in one person – hereditary monarchy. Historically, the first form of the monarchy was absolute (monarchy. Modern Monarchy is largely constitutional, (ie the rights and powers of the monarch are limited by Constitution) and parliamentary (ie Parliament).

**Monitoring** – continuous monitoring and collection of information data by means of modern technology in various fields of human activity. Forecasting a situation.

**Monetarism** – macroeconomic theory, one of the main directions of neoconservative economic thought. It appeared in 1950 as a series of empirical studies in the field of monetary treatment.

**Multinational state** – a state, on the territory of which different nations, nationalities, national or ethnic groups live. Multinational states were formed as a result of intensive migration, conquest, colonial expansion or commonality of historical destinies of living people. In a democratic state, there are expressed and «deprived of the interests» of not only the «title», but also other nationalities, due to guaranteed fair representation of all nationalities.

**National idea** (from the Greek *idea* – concept, idea) – a belief system based on the principles of unity of the nation and the priority of its interests in all spheres of public life. At certain conditions may contribute to the consolidation of the nation struggle for an independent economic and political development, for sovereignty and the revival of the national culture.

**National identity** – a sense of belonging to the particular ethnic group (nation); presentation about the human community origin, historical destiny,

language, religion, territory, expressed in its relation to the history, culture, traditions, to other nations. National identity can be of ethnic groups with a territorial, economic, cultural, apart from the nucleus of the main ethnic group. Ethnic intelligentsia plays an important role in the development and strengthening of national identity.

**National independence** – the status and development of national identity without the intervention of other states. The main features of national independence – full rights. The rule of the nation in all matters of development, expression which speaks of national sovereignty. National security involves countering any form of military expansion and aggression, the willingness of the state to oppose to political, economic, informational diktat from outside. The state (national) independence of Kazakhstan has been declared by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan December 21, 1991 of the year.

**Nationality** – historical community of people, arising from individual tribes in the decay of tribal relations, early stage of feudalism, based on subsistence agriculture, the emergence of strong economic ties and a single economy. It is characterized by the unity of language, territory, customs and culture.

**Nationalism** – ideology, psychology and real policy founded on opposition nations recognition exclusivity and superiority of their own nation over others and bid to secure its privileges at the expense of non-indigenous groups. Nationalism – a kind of group of selfishness, not recognizing equality of nations and their representatives. In this it differs from patriotism, combining a love for their own nation with the recognition of equal rights of all other peoples.

**National policy** – an integral part of government policy, political parties, organizations and associations, indicating strategic course in the ethnic (national) issue in the development of Interethnic relations in the cultural and linguistic development of ethnic groups and, as a rule, has found anchorage in specific national programs and the relevant sections of the Constitution states.

**Nazism** – an extremely reactionary form of nationalism.

**Neolithic Revolution** – the transition of human communities from primitive economy of hunting and gathering to agriculture economy based on agriculture and animal husbandry.

**Neutrality** (from the Latin *neutralis* – neither one nor the other) – Policy of non-interference, non-participation associated with a special legal status of the state. There is permanent, contract, traditional, positive neutrality.

**Oligarchy** (Greek oligarchia – government by the few) – the power of a narrow group of people in the state, received not for their outstanding ability, but on the basis of their origin or wealth, belonging to the ruling elite. The power of the few in the country or in the financial world.

**Opposition** (Latin oppositio – opposition) – 1) grouping or the party opposing the policy of the majority or the government; 2) sustainable employment of opposite positions on some important issue.

**Oralmans** (Kaz shouted – Return) – migrants returned on historical homeland, displaced people, refugees from restoration of citizenship rights.

**Pan-Islamism** – the religious-political ideology, in the basis of which are representations of the spiritual unity of all Muslims of the world, regardless of social, ethnic or nationality and the need for their political associations under the authority of the supreme spiritual head – the Caliph. arose in the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor of the XIX century. Now Pan-Islamism is held in the form of a call for Islamic solidarity, the creation of the popular Muslim organizations that are able to withstand the impact of non-Muslim countries of the world.

**Panslavism** – social and political thought in Slavic countries, striving to unite the Slavic peoples on the ethnic basis in order to address its socio-political problems arising in one of the Slavic countries, originated in the end of the XVIII century.

**Parliamentarism** – a system of political organization of the state, in which the functions of the legislative and executive authorities clearly set by the privileged position of Parliament. Under parliamentarism, a government is formed by Parliament from among members of the party having a majority in the Parliament and responsible to him.

**Passionarnost** (from the Latin passio – Passion) – a term denoting an overriding motive of activities of an individual or individuals or groups in their quest to exercise their ideals.

**Paternalism** (from lag paternus – paternal, fatherly.) In international relations – large states custody over weak countries, colonies, trust areas; in domestic relations – policy of the state towards its citizens, aimed at comprehensive development and well-being of all citizens.

**Political system** – a system of political institutions, performing the functions of power, exercising leadership and coordination of political processes, regulating relations between the subjects of politics, social groups, nations, states, etc. The type of system is determined by the shape of government (monarchy or Republic), the nature of the political regime (Authoritarian, totalitarian, anarchical, and others.).

**Political pluralism** – it is a principle that promotes the existence of a diversity of political forces, competition between them, representation

in government. It involves legal conflict of interest, discussions between supporters of different points of view.

**Political Transition** – the same as that of the modernization, the transition from one state of the political system to another. A transit policy is carried out in the transition from totalitarianism to democracy.

**Population policy** – a part of the socio-economic policy may be state or regional. The main directions: reproduction and migration; formation of its educational potential; composition and structure of labor resources; vocational counseling, job placement and employment population, etc.

**Power** (from the Slavs, holding – domination, power) – is the largest independent and strong state with a large military, economic and other potential and playing a leading role in the world politics and international relations. Reigning policies are associated with the ideology of the statehood – awareness of the political importance, size, economic or military power of the country, the ability to influence and even pressure on the near and further political environment. In the past, the term had a negative connotation («colonial», «imperialist» power), now it emphasizes the power, scale, role and influence of the country.

**President** (Latin *praesidens* – Sitting in front) – the head of state in most countries with a Republican form of government, and in countries with presidential form of government is both the head of government. President's term of office is limited by the scope of the Constitution. In the world there are 3 Presidential election system – direct, indirect, multistage elections. President in many countries is Chief of the Armed Forces.

**Presidential form of government** – established by the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, according to which a popularly elected President is the Head of State, appointed by the Government, responsible before it, takes over the legal status of branches of power, ensures their coordinated functioning and responsibility of the government to the people; empowered to dissolve the government, parliament, appoint judges of regional and lower courts. In certain cases, issues decrees and approves laws.

**Presidential Republic** – a kind of democratic state, form of government, the hallmark of which is to combine the functions of the President, the head of state and the head of government. The President directs the internal and external politics, is the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. Elected by the people, but may be elected by an electoral college (USA). He himself, with the approval of the Senate, appoints members of Cabinet, Ministers who are accountable to him, not to Parliament.



**Preventive diplomacy** – Diplomatic action to prevent any divergence between the parties, the development of the existing differences in the conflict, and to limit the spread of an existing conflict.

**Privatization** (Latin *privatus* – private) – the transfer or sale of private ownership of the public property.

**Proportional system of representation** – an election system, which was based on the principle of proportionality between the give for the party votes and the number of voters received its mandates (candidates for the representative body are elected only by parties).

**Public fronts** – Mass political movement, covering the general population, political parties, mass organizations, with the aim of achieving concrete political results.

**Quintessence** – in ancient and medieval philosophy and Alchemy is one of the basic elements (elements the finest, like lightning. In a figurative sense – the most important thing, the most significant, the most subtle and pure essence, concentrated extract.

**Racism** – belief system, justifying the «natural» division of peoples into «lower» and «higher» and the political system, relying on it.

**Rating** (Eng *rating* – rating) – the quantitative expression of the level of popularity and influence of political institutions, leaders by the results of a public opinion poll, voting, expert assessments.

**Reaction** – combating social progress.

**Rebellion** – an open resistance action of a group of people against public authorities. The most important type of rebellion is armed uprising.

**Referendum** (from the Latin *referendum* – that must be reported) – national will (voting or polling) of citizens on important state or public issue.

**Revolution** – a profound qualitative transformation of socio-economic foundations of society, the political system and consciousness of people. Complete change of the constitutional bases of a political life. Types of revolutions are based on their driving forces, methods of struggle, public relationships or the nature of change.

**Repression** (*repressio* – reduction) – a sentence of punitive measures emanating from the public authorities to prevent or suppress anything.

**Rule of law** – a type of state constitutional form of government in which there is a maximum political and Legal protection of legitimate interests, honor and dignity of personality, the highest security of the rights and freedoms of citizens, their associations and communities.

**Republic** (lat *respublica* – Public affair) – a form of States, which is the hallmarks of recognition of the people as the supreme source of sovereign

authority and the election of the higher state bodies. There are 3 varieties of the Republic – Parliamentary, presidential and mixed.

**Sect** – a term used to refer to religious groups, communities or other subgroups, splinter from a dominant religious direction.

**Separatism** (fr separatisme, armor separates – separated) – the separation or isolation of part of the state, creating a new state or autonomy.

**Sharia** – a set of legal, moral, ethnic and religious norms of Islam, covering a large part of his life of a Muslim and proclaims Islam as the «eternal and unchanging» divine institution; one of the forms of religious law.

«**Shock therapy**» – existed in 60-90 years of the XX century economic theory, as well as a set of radical economic reforms based on this theory.

**Sociogenesis** – the process of development of human society from the simplest forms to complex community-based staff.

«**Socio-political motion**» – voluntary self-governing organization created on the initiative of the people, united on the basis of common interests for implementation of common goals.

**State sovereignty** (from Fr. souverainety – Supreme power) – an independent legal inalienable state, symbolizing political and legal independence, responsibility and a higher value as primary subject of international law.

**Stone Age** – an ancient cultural and historical period of human development, when the basic tools and weapons were made mainly of stone.

**Summit** – the political term for a collection of heads of State and Government Summit.

**Terrorism** (from the Latin terror – Fear, horror) – a form of armed violence for political ends. Terrorism is not the movement of the masses, and small but carefully organized underground terrorist groups.

**The Establishment** (from the English establishment – Those in power, the ruling circles, the political elite). The term has several meanings: 1) layers of society with a privileged position and is a support of one social order; 2) socio-political circles, shaping public opinion.

**Tolerance** (from the Latin tolerantia – Patience – tolerance to others' opinion, behavior, etc.

**Totalitarianism** (Latin totalitas – Wholeness) – state system, exercising absolute control over all areas public life.

**Traditional society** – a society in which the main channel of transmission of social values are tradition, ie regulations approved by generations of people who enter this society. The operation of this type of social organism may only be in an environment where people have lived in closed static human communities.

**Transparency** – one of the most important democratic principles, providing openness, availability and control of public administration activities; way to deal against bureaucracy. Openness does not mean the disclosure of information, containing state, military, science and technology, industrial, medical, and similar secrets.

**Tribalism** (Latin tribus – Tribe) – the maintenance of cultural and household, religious, social and political isolation of the inherent clan, tribal structures. Modern tribalism is associated with the methods of recruitment of elite-based compatriot relations with the political values of the activation of kinship ties.

**Unitarianism** – the principle of government, when the power is fully concentrated in the central government bodies, and regional bodies are endowed with only consultative rights and private authority.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights** – adopted by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948, consists of a preamble and 30 articles. It delivers the priority of human dignity, rights and freedoms to person, establishes the equality of all before the law and equal protection by law, the right of everyone to liberty of thought, conscience, movement and others.

**Venture capital** – long-term investments in securities or companies with a high or relatively high degree of risk in anticipation of extremely high profits.

**Violence** – political system, military, economic, ideological means of coercion and forms of repression, used: 1) among states and their block against other states and blocs; 2) by a State against its own people; 3) one or another class against other classes, social groups and ethnic communities. Violence can be forced, justified, reactionary, unjust and unjustified.

**Voluntarism in politics** – a term used to characterize social and political practice, ignoring objective conditions and circumstances in favor of subjective and arbitrary decisions made by people, exercising it. More often voluntarism in politics has the effect of authoritarianism or totalitarianism, super revolutionarism and anarchism.

**Vote of confidence** (non-confidence – one of the forms of parliamentary control (usually the lower chamber) of the activities of the government in form of approval or disapproval of the political line of the bill or any action of the government.

**Voucher** (from the English voucher.) – A receipt, voucher, surety. From the verb vouch: 1 guarantee; 2 confirm.

**Westernization** (from the English west – West, western) – the spread of Western values throughout the world. The most widely distributed liberal ideology and the market economy.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Head of State Nursultan Nazarbayev in his book «In the Flow of History» wrote that the history of the Kazakh people is unique both in evolutionary development, and content. On the territory of Kazakhstan, at least for more than two millennia, there was a state formed on the local proto-Turkic, Kipchak-Kazakh basis. In various historical periods these independent state formations existed and were called differently: from Saks proto state formations to modern independent Kazakhstan.

At the same time local content with its usual language, anthropological characteristics, special mentality, a unique tolerance, religious beliefs, customs and priceless rites, as well as economic-cultural type remained basically stable, unchanging and autonomous. In this regard, the Head of State says: «Modern Kazakhs are the descendants of the ancient Saks, Huns and Turks, which since the immemorial time, shook the Universe by clatter of hoofs of their argamaks».

Boundaries with neighboring States were defined differently: mountains and rivers, lakes and forests, while today – by a uniform worldwide – border pillar. To maintain and protect a huge territory, enclosing nearly all of Western Europe, or five France, was feasible only for a strong State with strong population who has not only a great spirit of commitment to freedom, love for the motherland, but also magnificent and unrivaled military qualities: courage and bravery, courage and heroism, honor and dignity, strength and will.

Everyone in the Great Steppe was supposed to be not only a law-abiding man, but freedom-loving, reliable and bulwark of the state. Otherwise, we would be swallowed up in complex and difficult geopolitical maelstrom of military political events of the last three millennium. We survived and won passing across thickness of thousands of years, providing continuity of state, language, culture, literature, an ethnic core. And we will take them in the future and further into the following centuries and millennium, without letting a great and life-affirming idea of «eating Mangilik» carved by our ancestors to disappear. It was carved by the medieval Turks on majestic stone Stella in Otuken area that is located on the territory of modern Mongolia.

During this long period of time in Kazakhstan there was a series, a gradual and regular change of some states to the other, which we were more than 20.

A special place in the chain of gradual change of government formations takes Kazakh Khanate created by Kerey and Zhanibek in 1465. Since

the early 30-ies of the XVIII century the Kazakh Khanate began to lose independence, and in the early 20s of the XIX century the foundations of the state – Khan power in the Middle and Junior Kazakh zhuzah, were completely eliminated. Khan's authority was abolished in Bokeevsky Khanate, located in the area between the Urals and the Volga, with the death of Khan Zhangir in 1845.

This caused a protest of the local population, which turned into a national liberation struggle of the people of Kazakhstan. We have not disappeared, but on the contrary, against all odds and heavy tests are on the path of national revival and release. The best sons of the people – outstanding state figures are Abylai Khan, Tole bi, Kazybek bi, Aiteke bi, Khan Kenesary, Kazakh batyrs Bogenbay, Kabanbay, Syrym, Makhambet, Isatai, Zholaman, Zhankozha, Eset, popular educators Abay Kunanbayuly, Shokan Ualikhanov, Ybyray Altynsarin, great reformers of the XX century, led by A.Bokeykhan, A.Baitursynuly, M.Dulatuly, G.Potinin, A.Latuta and others, stood at the head of the awakened people. They did everything possible to be free and independent. In this regard, the Head of State said: **«Because today we live a peaceful life and there is the state The Republic of Kazakhstan on the planet, we are eternally indebted to the memory of heroic ancestors, who during all the moments of history selflessly stood up for their native land, their country».**

Representatives of many peoples fought for freedom and independence: Kazakhs and Russian, Uzbeks and Ukrainians, Poles and Kyrgyz, Belarusians and Karakalpak, the Germans and the Bashkirs and others.

At the beginning of the XX century the process of mass resettlement of peasant increased, it did not stop after the October Revolution of 1917. The indigenous Kazakh land, the most fertile, was forcibly taken in favor of the displaced peasants. In 1916 after the suppression of the national liberation movement dozens thousands of people were killed and hundreds of thousands were forced to migrate for outside the country.

In the period from 1917 to 1991, Kazakhstan was part of the USSR as a union Republic, where there was no genuine sovereignty and independence.

Those years were very difficult and controversial. In this regard, the Head of State points out: «For the Kazakh people the whole XX century consisted of the terrible events that other people might only dream in a nightmare. I am amazed of fantastic endurance and the incredible patience with which my people have endured all these horrors».

In 1928, about 700 of the largest Kazakh bays were forcibly expelled outside the district of residence and all property was confiscated. Bay was

not only a symbol of well-being of the Steppe, but they represented the best part of the people, as bearers of the traditional language, culture, customs and rituals.

In the early 30-ies of the XX century Kazakh people experienced one of the most severe upheaval in its history – famine, which claimed the lives of nearly half of the population. Among the innocent 200 thousand representatives of other ethnic groups of the Republic were murdered.

In the years of Stalin's totalitarian regime in the vast Kazakhstan there were hundreds of thousands of political prisoners. In 1937-1938, all intellectual and cultural elite was virtually destroyed in the Republic (more than 120 thousand people), unfortunately, we have not recovered from this blow to this day.

In the 30-50-ies of the last century an unprecedented mass deportation of entire peoples from the Far East, Transcaucasia, the Northern Caucasus, the Crimea, the Volga region, Western Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic States to our region began. Here they found not only the salvation of physical death, but they found a warm shelter among the local population. Following the ancient tradition of the Kazakhs steppes Kazakh people began to share their last piece of bread and shelter. Therefore, at the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan at 2015 the Head of state Nazarbayev did not accidentally urged all to note Thanksgiving to each other and to Kazakh people.

In 1941-1945 years, Kazakhstan sent to the front of almost 1.5 million of its sons and daughters, nearly half of them did not come back from the battlefields of the World War II. Despite previous terrible years our countrymen had shown mass heroism on the fronts of War. During the development of virgin and fallow lands, massive construction projects and post-war industrialization, hundreds of thousands of young people found a new home in Kazakhstan, while continuing to generate unique tradition of joint work and achievement.

Since 1949, a sinister Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground was opened on the ancient Kazakh land, the birthplace of the great Abay, consequences from its activities are the most deplorable. The gene pool of Kazakhstan was irreparably damaged. Diseases will pursue not one generation of Kazakhstan.

Against the background of these difficult events people's struggle continued. During these years, there were more than 300 protests against the totalitarian Soviet regime. In the early 60-ies of the XX century the powerful student movement «Zhas Tulpar» was formed. In June 1979, the inhabitants of the then Tselinograd, representatives of different nationalities,

took part in mass demonstrations against the attempts to create a center of the German autonomy on the territory of the region.

In December 1986, young students of Almaty openly opposed the command-administrative system, requiring proper status of the Kazakh language, national schools, culture and personnel matters. This performance was not nationalist and did not contain calls for the overthrow of the state system, as well as open attacks against the other peoples of the country. The youth movement was transported to other cities of the Republic- Karaganda Zhezkazgan, Kokshetau, Taldykorgan and Tselinograd. Epidemic repression started, and these events were described as «a manifestation of the Kazakh nationalism. «According to Head of State N.A.Nazarbayev, the events of December 1986 marked the beginning of gaining independence, showed how increased was the self-awareness of our youth and how discredited was the utopian socialist ideas: «Alma-Ata of December 1986 demonstrated the collapse of the socialist doctrines solutions of the national question». These protests become the harbinger of the collapse of not only the USSR but also the entire socialist camp.

At the turn of 80-90-ies of the XX century, the Republic embarked on a genuine way to achieve independence, the dream of the generations of our citizens. In April 1990, the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR elected Nursultan Nazarbayev the President of the Republic, which was one of the important steps to bring us closer to the true freedom and sovereignty. The introduction of this institution allowed making state power more independent from the Communist Party and the central government, to lay the foundations the new state.

In October 1990, our Republic proclaimed the Declaration on the State Sovereignty, in which the priority of the national legislation over the Union was emphasized. This document secured the indivisibility and inviolability of the territory of Kazakhstan. Republic received the right to conduct independent foreign politics, become the real subject of international law. Later the Security Council was formed. Diamond Fund was created. Measures were taken to establish independent Armed Forces of the Republic. Semipalatinsk nuclear test site was closed when the Republicvoluntarily renounced the fourth nuclear reserves potential.

On September 7, 1991 the Republican Communist Party was dissolved, and the next month – Youth Union (LKSM) of Kazakhstan, thereby the process of decolonization and social de-ideologization of the consciousness from totalitarianism began. In the general elections on December 1, 1991,

Nursultan Nazarbayev got an absolute majority of the votes and was elected President of Kazakhstan.

On December 10, 1991 in the Republican Palace a truly historic Presidential Inauguration was held, where he made a vow before the people. On the same day there was an important event: at the Session of Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR the country was renamed into the Republic of Kazakhstan.

On December 16, 1991 the Constitutional Act of the Republic of Kazakhstan on state independence was passed, which defined the Republic as an independent, democratic, unitary and constitutional state.

**Thus, December 16, 1991 was filled with age-old dream of the Kazakh people and the representatives of other ethnic groups of the Republic – the revival of the independence of the country – the Republic of Kazakhstan.**

Independence is the most important value and the most important heritage of our nation. We are proud of this important and life-changing event. Protecting the independence as the apple of an eye is an important task and a sacred duty of every citizen of the Fatherland.

In 2016, at the solemn meeting dedicated to 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independent Kazakhstan, President Nursultan Nazarbayev has listed «7 the global triumphs of the country, marked by a reputable international experts»:

1. Creation of an independent Kazakhstan with an effective system of public administration, acting on the basis of the Constitution, the approved at the international level state borders with all the neighboring countries, with modern armed forces and law enforcement system.

2. Creation of a «Kazakhstani economic miracle»: In 2012, we were among the 50 most competitive economies of the world. During the years of independence, our economy has grown by more than 20 times. At the beginning of the 90s we exported almost nothing, today Kazakhstan exports 2500 types of products to 119 countries of the world. Our exports account for about 50 billion USD. More than 1 000 new productions were constructed, cars, locomotives, cars, helicopters were never produced in our land.

3. «A model of peace and consent» of indigenous population and the ethnic groups remained here after the collapse of the Soviet Union was formed.

4. Attracting to Kazakhstan \$260 billion of foreign investment, which is a sign of the global confidence of the business world in our country. Investments are «working for the good of the people».



5. Real growth of people's welfare. In 1996, 35 percent of Kazakhstan's population lived below the poverty line. During the years of independence the share of the population living below the poverty line, decreased by 12.5 times – up to 2.5 percent. Most developed countries do not have such an index.

6. Integration of the new political model, initiated by Kazakhstan in the form of the Eurasian Economic Union. Tens States of the world have expressed a desire to cooperate with the EAEC, including the creation of free trade zones.

7. Recognition of Kazakhstan as a leader of a global anti-nuclear movement and peace. From the first day of independence ideas that pick up the whole world originate from Kazakhstan. At dawn of independence we, having rejected nuclear arsenal, closed Semipalatinsk nuclear test site. Today the memorable date related with this event, is celebrated around the world. As it was noted at the «Declaration of the 25 year of Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan», adopted by the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan on 22 November 2016, independent Kazakhstan proved by its recent history that it can rightfully be called a success state, the leader of the entire Central Asian region. In the 25 years of its Independence Kazakhstan was held as a politically stable country with a dynamic economy, and unique experience of success. In our country, there have been enormous changes in the economic, political, and social spheres.

All the achievements and victories of independent Kazakhstan became possible thanks to the selfless and tireless work of each Kazakhstani under the strong and wise leadership of the First President of Republic of Kazakhstan – the Leader of the Nation Nursultan Nazarbayev. **Political will and the strategic vision of the President Nazarbayev N.A. determined the success of Kazakhstan's model of development, allowed to leave Kazakhstan on the path of sustainable growth.**

The country is steadily moving into the top 30 world leaders, consistently implementing the Strategy «Kazakhstan-2050». Thanks to thoughtful and fruitful international initiatives of the Head of State the country has achieved high international prestige. It has become a recognized leader in the global anti-nuclear movement. During 25 years of independence Kazakhstan has achieved high indicators in the economy. The Head of State Nursultan Nazarbayev focuses on the achievement by the people of Kazakhstan of the world's highest rates. Strategy «Kazakhstan-2050», New Economic Policy «Nurly Zhol», the nation's plan «100 Concrete Steps» are

a plan aimed at strengthening the power of Kazakhstan, the ability to enter the ranks of the most developed countries in the world.

Due to the strategic vision of the Leader of the Nation in this country, despite the global financial crisis the modernization of the economy of the country is carried out successfully. Kazakhstan aims to strengthen the industrial power and innovation. During the large-scale structural reforms an entirely new high-tech industries have been created: petrochemical, automotive industry, railway engineering, production of satellites; the programs «Road Map 2020 Business», «Agribusiness-2020», «Employment Program 2020» targeted at improving the life of every citizen have been implemented.

In the jubilee – 25 year of independence – Kazakhstan took the 35th place in the ranking of Doing Business by the World Bank. The country has implemented a number of strategically important infrastructure projects that let make a new economic breakthrough – a program «Nurly Zhol», the international transport corridor «Western Europe – Western China», International Trans-Caspian transport route.

The exceptional role in the creation of new capital Astana was owned by the First President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Astana became an embodiment of the triumph of Kazakhstan's Independence and the pride of our nation. Construction of Astana has gained the sacred value as the construction of a new state, a new society. Astana has absorbed all the values of the past and has identified a bright to the future. Today Astana is a major business center, which demonstrates to the world the potential of a new, self-confident Kazakhstan. Astana has become a major center of summits and other important international meetings, has become an example of the development for other cities of the country. In 2017 International specialized exhibition EXPO-2017 with the innovation agenda «Energy of the Future» will be held in Astana.

Kazakhstan has created a globally recognized model of the developed State in which interfaith and interethnic peace and harmony reign. The Head of the State has created a unique institution strengthening the unity of the people of Kazakhstan with constitutional status – Assembly of People of Kazakhstan. Historical synthesis on the crossroads of world religions, languages, cultures and traditions formed a unique type of society in Kazakhstan, in which peace and harmony become moral and ethical norms of society, an integral part of our common culture.

It made up the durable alloy of spirituality and citizenship, making polyethnicity and poly-confessionality into a strategic resource and

advantage of Kazakhstan. Nursultan Nazarbayev became the world benchmark of harmonious society. The values of «Mangilik El» are clearly reflected in the achieving of independence, common interests, and historical fate of Kazakhstan people. Seven values of «Mangilik El» are united as a common goal, common interests, and common future of Kazakhstan – strengthening Independence, aspiration to live in free and prosperous country.

A comprehensive reform of the educational sphere allowed Kazakhstan to take its rightful place in global education space. Improving the national education system and science is one of the strategic priorities of the public policy and a key element of social and economic modernization of the country. Kazakhstan is in the first third of the world list by the level of Human Development Index of the development of adult literacy.

Kazakhstan confidently entered list of countries with a high level of human development, consistently creating conditions for the formation of the intellectual nation. Thanks to the initiative of the President of the country a unique, an extensive program «Bolashak» is consistently implemented. «Nazarbayev University», an intelligent network of schools was created. It raises the level of the university education in many universities of the country. More than a thousand of modern schools in all regions were built. The health of the nation, the development of the health sector and the formation of healthy lifestyle has become important factors of economic and social progress. National health care has reached the level of the world standards: modern medical centers, hospitals and clinics were built, the whole spectrum of research and high-tech operations were carried out in all regions of the country. Kazakhstan has become a center of medical tourism in Eurasia space. Significant positive changes of health indicators were achieved and recognized by the World Health Organization of UN.

The cultural sphere received a powerful development impulse, supported by financial resources and high-impact of creative. The program «Cultural Heritage», implemented at the initiative of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev, became the starting point of the scale works to preserve and promote national culture. The event of the world importance is the inclusion unique domestic monument in the UNESCO World list of cultural heritage – the mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yassawi, archaeological complex «Tamgaly», as well as natural heritage sites «Saryarka – Steppe and the Lakes of Northern Kazakhstan».

During the years of independence outstanding results in the field of sports and healthy lifestyle were achieved. The successes of our athletes

at the major international competitions have created a new image of Kazakhstan as a strong and cohesive sporting nation. Today Kazakhstan is among the 30 most countries in the world in sports. The mentioned above Declaration underlines that «our common goal is to enhance the value of «Mangilik El rallying around Elbasy» carefully preserving and passing on to our descendants the most precious thing we have – an independent Kazakhstan».

**Independence was, is and will be our main consolidating value. Each of us must fully take care to further strengthen our freedom and independence as we are called by our President Nursultan Nazarbayev: «It is not enough to win freedom and independence; we must defend it and transmit to the descendants».**

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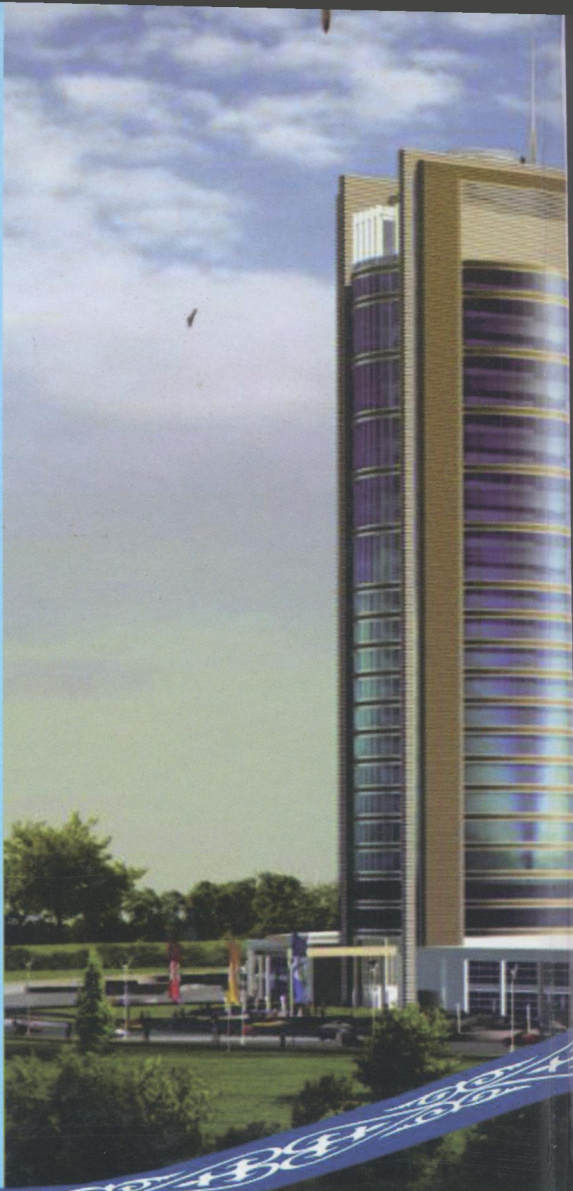
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