BAIGOZHINA GULNAR MURATOVNA

SOVIET NATIONAL POLICY IN KAZAKHSTAN 1946-1991

ANNOTATION

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in the specialty 6D020300 – History

Relevance of the research topic. Kazakhstan in the 20th century was characterized by a multi-ethnic structure of the population, which was historically formed over several centuries as a result of various migration flows. However, significant changes took place precisely in the Soviet period, largely as a result of the implementation of the command and administrative policy of the USSR party leadership in solving both economic and personnel issues, and the national question. Moreover, the national question was subordinated to the first two. In particular, in Kazakhstan, the national policy was implemented on such an unprecedented scale that it ultimately had a negative impact on a sharp decrease in the share of Kazakhs in the ethnic structure of Kazakhstan. High rates of external migration in Kazakhstan already during the period of independence led to a sharp change in the ethno-social picture, however, Kazakhstan continues to be one of the most multi-ethnic states in the post-Soviet space.

In the context of globalization, the multi-ethnicity of society in different countries often leads to increased inter-ethnic competition, inter-ethnic friction and even inter-ethnic conflicts. A similar picture is observed in the post-Soviet space, in particular, in the Baltic countries, in Moldova, in Ukraine, in the countries of the South Caucasus. The same trend is observed in the countries of Central Asia, including Kazakhstan. Based on the fact that the ethnic factor is of great importance in the socio-political processes in the post-Soviet space, the need to develop effective mechanisms for interethnic integration is of particular relevance and should meet the strategic task of a modern multi-ethnic state.

During the period of coexistence of numerous ethnic groups within the USSR, unique models of interethnic interaction were developed. An example of the implementation of a universal national policy needs a deep analysis in order to extract both negative and positive experience, as well as to develop optimal mechanisms and tools for the implementation of a balanced national policy at the present stage. In this regard, the study of the Soviet experience in the implementation of national policy is relevant, in demand, since the modern ethnic picture, as well as many features of interethnic relations and state national policy that exist in Kazakhstan, developed precisely in the Soviet period. However, the study of the process of formation and implementation of the Soviet national policy in 1946-1991 seems to be the most relevant. This period is characterized by an increase in immigration flows to the republic, the search for optimal solutions for regulating national relations.

At the same time, the study of Soviet nationality policy requires an interdisciplinary approach. Within the framework of political, economic, cultural, social and everyday history, the features of the development of peoples are revealed through the prism of national politics.

It should be noted that the problem of studying Soviet nationality policy lies in its excessive politicization. In the historiography of this issue, there are many works in which national policy in the Soviet period was considered one-sidedly and, therefore, rather limitedly (either exclusively positively - as in Soviet, or exclusively negatively - as in Western Sovietology).

The study of the historical experience of the national policy of the Soviet state in this period makes it possible to rethink the essence of modern ethnic processes in the post-Soviet space, including in Kazakhstan, as well as to develop the most effective mechanisms for modern national policy.

The purpose of the dissertation research is to study the Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan in 1946-1991.

To achieve the goal of the dissertation research, the following **tasks** were set:

1) consider theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of Soviet national policy;

2) analyze Soviet, foreign and domestic historiography on national policy in the Kazakh SSR;

3) identify sources on the research problem, give them a description;

4) study the practical implementation of the Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan in the post-war period in 1946-1953;

5) identify the features of the development of internationalism in Kazakhstan and the implementation of the Soviet national policy in 1953-1965;

6) to give an analysis of the Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan in 1965-1985;

7) identify problems in the implementation of the Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan and its crisis at the perestroika stage of the Soviet period;

8) determine the results of the Soviet national policy in the Kazakh SSR, as well as its results and consequences for modern Kazakhstan.

The object of the research is the practice of implementing the Soviet national policy in the Kazakh SSR in 1946-1991.

The subject of the research is the methods and means of implementing the Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan in the designated period.

Research methodology. A practical tool for studying the Soviet national policy in the post-war period in Soviet Kazakhstan is a set of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, and others) and special methods. The choice of each method was measured by the need to effectively solve the problems of dissertation research. The method of expert assessments, the method of statistical analysis and processing, the method of comparative analysis, interviewing and special-historical (comparative-historical, historical-systemic, historical-typological, concrete-historical) methods, constructive method, modeling and reconstruction method, mathematical modeling method.

The use of the comparative historical method and the method of expert assessments made it possible to analyze various interpretations of Stalin's speech in 1945 in the works of domestic, Soviet, Russian and Anglo-American researchers, as well as to compare them with each other. Also, using this method, various periods in the implementation of the Soviet national policy were analyzed, various positions, assessments and approaches in its coverage were studied. The comparative historical method was also used when comparing the national composition of the secretaries of city committees, regional committees, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. The constructive method made it possible to construct the social reality of the Kazakh people in the period under study.

Using the method of statistical analysis and processing, as well as the method of comparative analysis, a downward trend in the number of Kazakh-speaking schools was revealed on the example of the Karaganda region. The historical-systemic approach made it possible to form an integrated approach to the issues under study. The historical-typological method made it possible to recognize patterns in disparate manifestations of the individual. The method of content analysis was used in the systematization of the historiographic complex of research, in the analysis of archival materials. In this dissertation work, the authors attempted to determine the ratio of positive and negative aspects in the national policy of the party, objective coverage of the national question. The modeling method was used in the formation of a model of the relationship between government and society. The reconstruction method was used to interpret the results of in-depth interviewing. This method helped to recreate a picture of the past, to create a mosaic of socio-political sentiments of eyewitnesses of the Soviet era. The method of mathematical modeling was used to calculate the probability of Russification of periodicals if the USSR continued to exist.

In addition to research methods, a set of scientific principles was also used. In the dissertation work, the principles of objectivity, historicism, consistency, comprehensiveness, cognitive pluralism, complementarity were applied. Based on the principle of historicism, we have considered the Soviet national policy from the moment of its development and transformation. The dynamics of the development of the Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan in the period under review is traced based on the study of materials from foreign, Soviet and domestic researchers. The principle of objectivity made it possible to study the national policy of the CPSU without ignoring and hushing up certain historical facts. The principle of consistency made it possible to explore the national policy of the Bolsheviks as a whole, through the interaction of various nationalities of the USSR. The principle of comprehensiveness contributed to the analysis of the dynamics of the development of the Kazakh language, Kazakh schools, the publication of newspapers, magazines and books in the Kazakh language, etc.

The memoirs of contemporaries of that era allow us to understand national relations more fully and objectively. The interview analysis was carried out using the principles of complementarity, mosaicism and cognitive pluralism. During the interviews, discrepancies were revealed, in particular, in the answers to the

question “Have you had interethnic conflicts?”. Respondents of almost the same year of birth (Kazakh by nationality) answered this question in different ways. According to the principle of complementarity, the respondents were asked clarifying questions: “Under what conditions did the conflict take place?”, “The social status of the family?”, “Did you receive a higher education?”, “Where did you work during that period?” etc. Answers to additional questions made it possible to form a hypothesis that the social status of the respondent was important in the formation of interethnic relations within the respondent's community. The memories of the respondents, their attitude to interethnic relations, to the national policy pursued by one or another political leader, made it possible to trace the dynamics of popularity in resolving these issues by the party leader, the mood and preferences of the interviewees.

Scientific novelty of the dissertation research. It should be recognized that a number of works, both by Kazakh and foreign researchers, are distinguished by a certain politicization and lack of scientific objectivity, both in the Soviet period and at the present stage. An attempt to approach the objectivity of this study is provided by the study and analysis of a wide range of scientific publications, the use of published and unpublished sources in the dissertation research, including from archival funds, most of which are introduced into scientific circulation for the first time. The use of various methods in the study (content analysis, analysis of materials from archival funds, some of which are introduced into scientific circulation for the first time, interviewing, mathematical modeling, etc.) ensures reliability, allows a comprehensive study of the implementation of the Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan in the designated period. The interviewing of the population, their memories made it possible to try to comprehensively and systematically reconstruct the picture of interethnic relations and the attitude of the population to the national policy of the state.

The main provisions submitted for defense are represented by the following theses:

1. The Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan developed and was implemented depending on the specific historical conditions, both internal and external, as well as the specific ideological guidelines of the party. In Soviet science, the theory of nations was initially based and explained according to a primordialist approach. However, in reality, the national policy of the party in the national republics was aimed at constructing a Soviet identity. In addition, at various times the top party leadership adopted an instrumentalist approach. An important characteristic and feature of the Soviet national policy is, according to some researchers, its universality. Its principles are announced as universal for all national Soviet republics. However, its inconsistency lies in its universality, since, on the one hand, equality in approaches was proclaimed, and the lack of differentiation in highlighting the interests of the national republics, but, on the other hand, the role of the Russian people was emphasized and highlighted, which was noted as "big brother", " first among equals"; national languages and culture were supplanted by the Russian language and culture, the features of national construction, ethnic composition, national education, culture, and much more were leveled.

2. Soviet researchers idealized the implementation of the Soviet national policy both in the USSR as a whole and in Kazakhstan in particular. Foreign historiography was distinguished by a very critical approach to the study of Soviet nationality policy. In foreign (mainly English-speaking) and domestic historiography, both conservative-reactionary and liberal-objectivist trends stand out. English-speaking researchers viewed the Soviet national policy on the basis of the "theory of empires and post-colonial development", as being imposed and implemented by the central authorities without regard to national characteristics. Some of the works of modern researchers were often political orders of the ruling regimes.

Modern domestic scientists are much less likely to address this issue. Most of the works of Russian authors, one way or another affecting the national question in the Soviet period, are not special studies on the topic and deal with it indirectly, only in the context of other problems of Soviet history. At the same time, the works of Kh.M. Abzhanov, Zh.B. Abylkhozhin, Zh.U. Kydyralina, S.Sh. Kaziev, which contain new factual and analytical materials on this issue. The general trend in the historiography of national politics 1946-1991. there was a lack of documentary sources, the influence of the conjuncture of political processes on the state of the study.

3. Legislative and regulatory documents of central and local authorities make it possible to trace the main directions of national policy in Kazakhstan. The materials of the periodical press influenced the public opinion of the Kazakh population. The content of documents and statistical data in the archives differ from the data in the official documents of the CPSU, published collections of economic statistics, materials of all-Union censuses, publications in newspapers and magazines. Letters from citizens to the authorities reflected the mood of society, but they were often ignored. The interview materials show the nostalgia of some, mostly Russian-speaking, respondents for the Soviet era.

4. The model of the Soviet national policy, formed by I.V. Stalin, existed until the second half of the 1980s. The equality of national republics, including Kazakhstan, was declarative. The desire of the Kazakh people to know their history and culture, the manifestation of national pride was regarded by the party leadership as "nationalism" and "political dissent", which was immediately suppressed with the help of the repressive state apparatus. As part of the national policy being implemented, the history of Kazakhstan was subordinated to the Russian narrative. A strict ideological control of culture, science, and literature was carried out. The Kazakh intelligentsia was under the strict control of the party. The national policy in Kazakhstan was to conduct an active struggle against manifestations of "Kazakh nationalism".

5. In the Kazakh SSR, during the period of the “thaw”, the duality and inconsistency of the Soviet national policy was observed. On the one hand, as a result of many socio-political campaigns (including forced and voluntary industrial, agrarian migration, etc.), a multi-ethnic society has developed in Kazakhstan with real positive processes of internationalization and friendship of peoples. A unique Soviet community of Kazakhstanis was formed, synthesizing

many of the best features of the Kazakhs, Russians (who constituted the absolute majority in the KSSR) and other peoples who, of their own free will, ended up on this earth. On the other hand, under the slogan of internationalization and unity of nations, the process of Russification was going on in Kazakhstan. Russian becomes the main language in the republic. Russification of the population of Kazakhstan was supposed to facilitate the solution of the problem of constructing a new all-union community - the Soviet people. A process has begun to reduce national schools, the scope of the Kazakh language is narrowing. The development of virgin and fallow lands has significantly reduced the proportion of the Kazakh population. Among the Kazakh youth and intelligentsia, protest moods begin to form, resulting in the creation of Kazakh informal groups for the revival of the national language and culture.

6. In the period of the 70s - 80s. 20th century Republic everywhere there is a decrease in the number of Kazakh schools, with an increase in the number of students of Kazakh nationality. Universities taught mainly in Russian. A significant part of the Kazakh rural youth, who have not mastered the Russian language to a sufficient extent, cannot be realized in the cities. Non-observance of human rights, lack of dialogue between the government and society gave rise to dissatisfaction with the existing regime. The social environment among the Kazakhs, Germans, Koreans, etc., expanded, the number of groups and organizations of Kazakhs, whose members sought to know their history, be proud of their national heroes, be able to study in their native language, recreate their lost autonomy, etc. There is a process of activation of the national self-consciousness of the Kazakhs among other representatives of the ethnic groups of the KSR.

7. The December 1986 uprising showed serious deformations and failures in the social, economic and national policy of the authorities in Kazakhstan and led to a "powerful ethnic mobilization." It strengthened the awareness of the Kazakh nation and the multi-ethnic people of Kazakhstan of political and national values and interests, the unity of the historical community. The actions of the authorities during the December demonstrations meant a return to repression and terror against the intelligentsia and youth. The problems and interests of the republic continued to be ignored, a campaign was launched to combat "national protectionism" in the classic Soviet version.

8. The Soviet leadership continued to operate with the old ideological guidelines and respond to the changes taking place with the help of traditional administrative-command mechanisms for regulating social relations. In the second half of the 1980s - early 1990s, the balance of ethno-national relations was upset. This was the result of ignoring the national question and the absence of a constructive national policy agenda for the entire post-war period against the background of the crisis of the party and power. As a result, the inability of the party and the state to effectively solve current problems led to an aggravation of interethnic relations, armed conflicts on ethnic grounds, separatism and the secession of national republics from the USSR.

The scientific and practical significance of the work is due to the relevance of the topic of the dissertation research. The author's view on the

implementation of the Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan in the period under review is based on the identification of both negative and positive experience. The practical significance lies in the possibility of using research materials and conclusions in the development, based on historical experience, of optimal mechanisms and tools in the implementation of a balanced national policy at the present stage. In addition, previously unpublished archival materials unknown to the expert community have been introduced into scientific circulation. The complex analysis of the Soviet national policy carried out in the dissertation research creates a theoretical basis for further research in this scientific field. The practical significance lies in the possible use of the results of the research in the educational process in higher educational institutions as materials for training courses and teaching aids on Russian history.

Approbation of the study. The main provisions, conclusions and results of the dissertation research were reflected in 7 scientific publications. 1 article was published in the journal Voprosy istorii, part of the WebofScienceArtsandhumanitiescitationindex (AHCI) database. 4 articles - in journals recommended by the Committee for Control in the Sphere of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 1 article - in the collection of materials of the international conference of the near abroad (Russian Federation), 1 article in a Kazakhstani journal.

The structure of the work is determined by the tasks of the dissertation research. The work consists of content, definitions and abbreviations, introduction, three sections, including eight subsections, conclusion, list of references and appendices.

In Introduction, the relevance is indicated, the analysis of the degree of study of the topic is given, the goal is defined and tasks are set, the object and subject of the dissertation research are indicated, the source base is characterized, the scientific novelty is revealed, the main provisions submitted for defense, the theoretical and practical significance of the work are formulated.

The first section explores theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of Soviet nationality policy, analyzes historiography, and also studies a set of sources on Soviet nationality policy in Kazakhstan.

The second section analyzes the Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan in the first post-war decade, examines the development of internationalism in the Soviet state during the "thaw", examines the Soviet national policy in Kazakhstan in the era of "stagnation".

The third section reveals the problems in the implementation of the Soviet national policy during the period of "perestroika", and also assesses the consistency of the Soviet national policy, its results, as well as the consequences for modern Kazakhstan.

In Conclusion, conclusions are given, the content of the chapters is summarized.

Appendix contains fragments of interview materials and other additional materials used in the dissertation research.

Keywords. Soviet national policy, KazSSR, interethnic relations, internationalization, Russification.