



"Қазақстан және Орталық Азия тарихы институты"
жауапкершілігі шектеулі серіктестігі

Scientific Journal

"CENTRAL ASIAN COURIER"

"ОРТАЛЫҚ АЗИЯ КУРЬЕРІ"

ғылыми журналды

Научный журнал

"ЦЕНТРАЛЬНО-АЗИАТСКИЙ КУРЬЕР"

1 № 1 (2025)



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Published in the Republic of Kazakhstan
Scientific Journal
“Central Asian courier”
Has been issued as a journal since 2025
ISSN 3105-241X.
Vol. 1. Is. 1, pp. 26-38, 2025
Journal homepage: <https://sjcacourier.com/>

FTAXP / MPHTI / IRSTI 03.20
https://doi.org/10.64970/3105-241X_2025_1_1_26-38


KAZAKHSTAN AS AN INDUSTRIAL AND RAW-MATERIAL BASE OF THE SOVIET UNION DURING THE LEADERSHIP OF D.A. KUNAEV (1964–1986)

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The article examines the contribution of D. Kunaev to the industrial development of Kazakhstan and its transformation into the industrial resource base of the Soviet Union in 1960-1986. The purpose of this study, defining the corresponding tasks, is to use objective evidence and materials relating to the activities of D. Kunaev, reveal his role in the industrial development of the KazSSR, emphasize his contribution to the industrial development of the Union State (USSR) and determine the significance of his activities in this industry for independent Kazakhstan. *Materials and methods.* In addition to the historical-genetic and historical-comparative methods the theory of ethnic mobilization was used. The research also used methods of qualitative sociology: discourse - analysis of texts and speech practices of the leaders of the USSR and the Kazakh SSR, personal documents. Results. The archival documents and other sources used made it possible to objectively assess the results of the industrial development of the Kazakh SSR in 1964-1986. *Conclusions.* In the course of the study, it was convincingly possible to prove that through his activities D. Kunaev not only played an outstanding role in transforming Kazakhstan into the industrial resource base of the USSR, but also objectively laying the foundations for the existence and successful industrial development of sovereign Kazakhstan.

Key words: D. Kunaev, Alma-Ata, KazSSR, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the KazSSR, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Baikonur, Pavlodar, Karaganda, Karatau, Mangyshlak, L. Brezhnev, A. Kosygin

For citation: Cherepanov K. Kazakhstan as an Industrial and Raw-Material Base of the Soviet Union during the Leadership of D.A. Kunaev (1964–1986) // Scientific Journal “Central Asian courier”. 2025. Vol. 1. No. 1. Pp. 26-38. (In Eng.). DOI: 10.64970/3105-241X_2025_1_1_26-38


Д.А. ҚОНАЕВ БАСШЫЛЫҚ ЕТКЕН ЖЫЛДАРЫ (1964–1986 ЖЖ.) ҚАЗАҚСТАННЫҢ КЕҢЕС ОДАҒЫНЫҢ ИНДУСТРИЯЛЫҚ-ШИКІЗАТТЫҚ БАЗАСЫНА АЙНАЛУЫ

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Аңдатпа. *Кіріспе.* Мақалада Қазақ КСР-нің республикалық партия ұйымын ұзақ уақыт басқарған Д.А.Қонаевтың 1960-1986 жылдары Қазақстанның индустриялық дамуына және оның Кеңес Одағының өнеркәсіптік-ресурстық базасына айналуына қосқан үлесі қарастырылады. Тиісті міндеттерді айқындайтын бұл зерттеудің *мақсаты* – Д.А.Қонаевтың қызметіне қатысты объективті дәлелдер мен материалдарды пайдалана отырып, оның ірі Кеңестік республиканың индустриялық дамуындағы рөлін ашып көрсету, оның өнеркәсіптік дамуына қосқан үлесін атап көрсету, одақтық мемлекет (КСРО) және оның осы саладағы қызметінің тәуелсіз Қазақстан үшін маңызын анықтау. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* Д.А. Қонаевтың өзінің естеліктері мен ой-толғаулары, оның әріптестері мен замандастарының естеліктері, отандық архивтерде сақталған материалдар мен құжаттар зерттеудің дереккөздік негізі болып табылады (ҚР ПА, ҚР ОМА). Зерттеу барысында белсенді қолданылған тарихи-генетикалық және тарихи-салыстырмалы әдістермен қатар этникалық мобилизация теориясы да қолданылды. Зерттеуде сонымен қатар сапалық элеуметтанудың әдістері қолданылды: дискурс – КСРО және Қазақ КСР басшыларының мәтіндері мен сөйлеу тәжірибесін талдау, жеке құжаттар – естеліктер, естеліктер, Д.А.Қонаев пен оның замандастарымен сұхбат. *Нәтижелер.* Пайдаланылған мұрағаттық құжаттар мен өзге де дереккөздер 1964-1986 жылдары ҚазКСР-нің өнеркәсіптік даму нәтижелерін объективті бағалауға мүмкіндік берді. *Қорытындылар.* Зерттеу барысында Д.А.Қонаев өз қызметі арқылы Қазақстанды КСРО-ның өнеркәсіптік-ресурстық базасына айналдыруда ерекше рөл атқарып қана қоймай, сол арқылы бүкіл КСРО-ның дамуына зор үлес қосқанын нанымды түрде дәлелдеуге болады. республиканың аумақтық тұтастығын сақтау, сонымен қатар егемен Қазақстанның өмір сүруі мен табысты индустриялық дамуының негізін объективті түрде қалау.

Түйін сөздер: Д.А. Қонаев, Алма-Ата, ҚазКСР, ҚазақКСР Министрлер кеңесінің төрағасы, Қазақстан Компартиясы Орталық Комитетінің бірінші хатшысы, Байқоныр, Павлодар, Қарағанды, Қаратау, Манғышлақ, Л.И. Брежнев, А.Н. Косыгин

Дәйексөз үшін: Черепанов К.В. Д.А. Қонаев басшылық еткен жылдары (1964–1986 жж.) Қазақстанның Кеңес Одағының индустриялық-шикізаттық базасына айналуы // Scientific Journal “Central Asian courier”. 2025. Т. 1. № 1. 26-38 бб. (Ағылш.).

DOI: 10.64970/3105-241X_2025_1_1_26-38


КАЗАХСТАН КАК ИНДУСТРИАЛЬНО-СЫРЬЕВАЯ БАЗА СОВЕТСКОГО СОЮЗА В ГОДЫ РУКОВОДСТВА Д.А. КУНАЕВА (1964–1986 ГГ.)

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В статье рассматривается вклад Д.А. Кунаева, руководившего республиканской партийной организацией КазССР в 1964-1986 гг., в индустриальное развитие Казахстана и в превращение его в промышленно-ресурсную базу Советского Союза в 1960-1986 гг. *Цель* данного исследования, определяющая и соответствующие *задачи*, состоит в том, чтобы, используя объективные свидетельства и материалы, касающиеся деятельности Д.А. Кунаева, раскрыть его роль в индустриально-промышленном развитии КазССР, подчеркнуть его вклад в индустриальное развитие союзного государства (СССР) и определить значение его деятельности в этой отрасли уже для независимого Казахстана. *Материалы и методы.* Источниковая база исследования - воспоминания и размышления самого Д.А. Кунаева, воспоминания о нем его соратников и современников, материалы и документы, хранящиеся в отечественных архивах (АПРК, ЦГА РК). Кроме историко-генетического и

историко-сравнительного метода активно использовались теория этнической мобилизации. В ходе исследования также использовались методы качественной социологии: дискурс - анализ текстов и речевых практик руководителей СССР и Казахской ССР. *Результаты.* Использованные архивные документы и иные источники предоставили возможность объективно оценить результаты промышленного развития КазССР в 1964-1986 гг. *Выводы.* В ходе проведенного исследования убедительно удалось доказать, что своей деятельностью Д.А. Кунаев не только сыграл выдающуюся роль в превращении Казахстана в промышленно-ресурсную базу СССР, но и, объективно, заложил при этом основы для существования и успешного индустриального развития суверенного Казахстана.

Ключевые слова: Д.А. Кунаев, Алма-Ата, КазССР, председатель Совета Министров КазССР, первый секретарь ЦК КП Казахстана, Байконур, Павлодар, Караганда, Каратау, Мангышлак, Л.И. Брежнев, А.Н. Косыгин

Для цитирования: Черепанов К.В. Казахстан как индустриально-сырьевая база советского союза в годы руководства Д.А. Кунаева (1964–1986 гг.) // Scientific Journal “Central Asian courier”. 2025. Т. 1. № 1. С. 26-38. (На АНГЛ.). DOI: 10.64970/3105-241X_2025_1_1_26-38

Introduction. D.A. Kunaev is one of the most important figures in the history of Soviet Kazakhstan. Having first assumed a responsible political position as Deputy Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars during the most difficult years of the Great Patriotic War, he remained at the pinnacle of political, economic, and scientific leadership of the Kazakh SSR until the end of 1986, retaining his leadership role literally “from Stalin to Gorbachev.” The time of his constructive activity and work in various responsible positions within the republic and the Soviet state became an entire “epoch” in the history of Kazakhstan. Studying and researching this period is one of the most important tasks for modern Kazakhstani historians.

In this study, we focus on one – yet very significant – aspect of Kunaev’s long-standing activity: his contribution to the industrial and economic development of Kazakhstan.

The profession of a mining engineer, a specialist in gold and non-ferrous metals, was by no means chosen by chance by the young Dimash Kunaev as his life’s work. This choice not only reflected the personal inclinations and ambitions of a young man, but also corresponded to the level of economic development in the region and the recently discovered wealth and resources, which still had to be properly exploited. Kounrad, Balkhash, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Ridder (Leninogorsk) – these were the milestones of Kunaev’s professional career as a mining engineer and production worker, a path that lasted for nearly six years. When, in early June 1942, he became Deputy Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Kazakh SSR, from the very first days in this position he supervised not only the activities of the Kounrad deposit and Ridder enterprises, but also the entire industrial sector of the republic, including non-ferrous metallurgy, coal and oil industries, power plants, railways, and transport systems.

Kunaev accomplished especially much in the sphere of industrial development, with all its subsequent consequences, during his long period of uninterrupted leadership of the republic as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1964–1986). This period, often called the “Kunaev era”, is remembered for its achievements, of which modern Kazakhstan is proud and which it continues to build upon successfully. Within the framework of this study, we proceed from the understanding of Kunaev as a prominent Kazakhstani politician and Soviet party-state leader, who was one among many builders of the socialist motherland, a product of his time, characterized by the coexistence of the most contradictory processes and events in the life of both his native republic and the Soviet Union as a whole – of which he was himself a significant representative and leader.

One of the objectives of this research is to demonstrate that it was precisely the federal structure of the Soviet state – even if largely formal in nature – that gave it stability and became the source of its successes and short-lived triumphs. It was representatives of the Soviet Union’s republican party-state elite, such as D.A. Kunaev, who ensured its development and stable existence, while

simultaneously laying the productive foundation for the future existence and growth of the country during the period of independence.

Materials and Methods. In the course of this study, both the historical-genetic and historical-comparative methods were actively applied. The historical-genetic method played an important role in explaining facts, identifying the reasons for their sequence, and helped reveal and interpret the peculiarities of the republic's industrial-resource development depending on the events and processes unfolding in the Soviet Union.

The historical-comparative method made it possible to determine both the common and the distinctive features in Kunaev's style of managing the republic's industrial development during his long tenure at the head of the Communist Party of the Kazakh SSR. Application of this method also helped to identify the levels of interaction between Kazakhstan's leadership and Moscow, the stages of raising the republic's status within the Soviet economy, and its role in the military-strategic plans of the Soviet state.

The researcher also gave due attention to the concept of ethnic mobilization, which takes into account the presence of representatives of a particular ethnic group within the leadership of a structure dependent on an external center. This factor played a considerable role in the productive mobilization of the local population. On the one hand, this was a means of achieving the principle of ethnic representation and the practical embodiment of Soviet nationality policy; on the other, it was a way to encourage cooperation between the indigenous population and the authorities.

In addition, methods of qualitative sociology were employed: discourse analysis of texts and speeches of leaders of the USSR and the Kazakh SSR, as well as personal sources – memoirs, autobiographical materials, and interviews with D.A. Kunaev and his contemporaries.

The study also relied on materials from the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK) and the State Archives of the Russian Federation (GA RF, RGANI). Many documents related to the life and activity of D.A. Kunaev were discovered and processed within the framework of the research project "The Contribution of D.A. Kunaev to the Socio-Economic Development of Kazakhstan and the Preservation of Its Territorial Integrity", and were used here for the first time in the preparation of this article.

The largest body of documentary evidence concerning the activities of D.A. Kunaev as a party and state leader of Soviet Kazakhstan is preserved in the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in Fond 708, "Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan." Extremely informative and substantial in this regard are the archival units under the following headings: "Correspondence with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on key issues of state, economic, and cultural development"; "Correspondence with ministries, departments, and institutions of the USSR on key issues of state, economic, and cultural development"; "Resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR"; stenographic records of various congresses of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan; as well as minutes of meetings of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

The documents extracted from these archival units are directly related to issues of state, military-strategic, and socio-economic character, and to varying degrees reflect the role, participation, and position of D.A. Kunaev in their formulation and resolution.

Discussion. The long career of D.A. Kunaev, as one of the leaders of the Soviet state, is, according to the British scholar Bhavna Dave, an excellent example of the preservation (or revival) of national identity in connection with the internationalist character of the Soviet system (Bhavna Dave, 2007). The phenomenon of the formation, strengthening, and institutionalization of national elites and their transformation into ruling strata in the national republics of the Soviet Union did not escape the attention of foreign, particularly Western, researchers. Interest in the national construction of the Soviet state was demonstrated at different times by G. Hodnett (Hodnett, 1975; 1978),

W. Cleary (Cleary, 1967), and especially T.H. Rigby, in a whole series of publications (Rigby, 1968; 1970–1971; 1980; 1983; 1988). The judgments expressed by these scholars, despite their ambiguity, contribute both to the understanding of the very phenomenon of the “party-state leader of a Soviet national republic” and to the understanding of the personality of the Kazakhstani leader as well as the assessment of the scope of his activities. Among the more recent works by foreign authors, one should mention those by S. Keller (Keller, 2020) and A. Khalid (Khalid, 2021). Despite the importance of assessments of Kunaev’s personality and his role as the head of Soviet Kazakhstan, as well as analyses of the republic’s socio-political development during his rule, the degree of scholarly interest remains insufficient, and consequently, the study of his industrial policy and personal contribution to the industrial transformations of the republic remains underdeveloped.

Among the works of Kazakhstani researchers on the “Kunaev era,” special mention should be made of studies on the evolution and continuity of political leadership by N.A. Abueva (Abueva, 2007), D. Ashimbayev and V. Khlyupin (Ashimbayev, Khlyupin, 2008), D.B. Kasymova (Kasymova, 2022), and K.V. Cherepanov (Cherepanov, 2023). However, these works do not provide substantial, scientifically grounded information on the issue of Kazakhstan’s industrial development in 1964–1986. To this day, the most comprehensive study dedicated to the results of Kunaev’s activities remains the monograph by B.A. Tulepbayev and K.U. Tulepbayeva “D.A. Kunaev – An Outstanding Statesman and Political Figure” (Tulepbayev, Tulepbayeva, 2006). This work, of course, relies on a wide range of sources as well as on Kunaev’s own memoirs and those of his associates, yet information about Kazakhstan’s industrial development and the role of the republic’s leader in this process requires significant additions, especially given the possibilities of broader use of archival material. The monographs of Z.G. Saktaganova (Saktaganova, 2017) and Zh.B. Abylkhodzhin (Abylkhodzhin, 1997; 2019), besides providing substantial statistical and economic material, also contain profound conclusions and assessments of both the nature and results of Kazakhstan’s economic and political development and the role of Kunaev’s activity as head of one of the largest Soviet republics. However, in the first case, the research ends in 1970, almost at the very beginning of the historical period of interest to us, and in the second, we note an excessively critical character, in our view, in the assessments and conclusions concerning the subject of our study.

In Russian academic literature, a significant body of research has been developed on the party nomenklatura (Golovinova, 2011). There are also general works revealing the nature of political processes in the USSR that led to its collapse (Filippov, 2021; Cheshko, 2000), as well as studies on the specifics of regional governance processes (Kishchenkov et al., 2021). However, these works are only indirectly related to the topic of our research, and Russian studies of socio-economic policy in Kazakhstan during the “Kunaev period” are practically absent. As a specific work touching upon the creation of the foundations of the military-industrial complex, reference should be made to the publication by G.G. Tishchenko, A.G. Onopko, A.A. Makunin, and A.T. Volkov (Tishchenko, et al., 1995).

Relying on the works of our predecessors, and giving due credit to the facts, documentary evidence, and conclusions presented therein, we aim to demonstrate how D.A. Kunaev’s long-term constructive activity contributed to the industrial development of the republic and to its transformation into one of the most important industrial and resource bases of the USSR.

Industrial Development of Kazakhstan in 1964–1986 and Its Transformation into an Industrial-Resource Base of the USSR

The first industrial projects, carried out during the pre-war Five-Year Plans, predetermined the raw-material orientation of the republic’s industry. These included the Balkhash Copper Smelting Plant, the Chimkent Lead Plant, the Zyryanovsk Lead Plant, the Aktobe Chemical Plant, and the Achisai and Leninogorsk Polymetallic Combines. Such a structure of Kazakhstan’s developing industry is only partly explained by today’s fashionable colonial or post-colonial discourse. The republic’s main wealth – its mineral resources – made it simultaneously a beneficiary and a hostage of this “gift of fate.” While the exploitation of the riches of Rudny Altai had begun in the imperial period, the exploration and development of copper ore, iron-bearing minerals, and other rare and valuable resources in the central, western, and southern regions of Kazakhstan began only with the

establishment of Soviet power. An outstanding role in transforming, above all, the central regions of Kazakhstan into a powerful industrial and raw-material base of the republic – and in essence, of the entire Soviet Union – was played by K.I. Satpayev.

A significant share of large enterprises (including defense-related ones) was evacuated during the Great Patriotic War from territories seized by the Nazis to Kazakhstan. Their relocation was also overseen by the thirty-year-old D.A. Kunaev, then Deputy Head of the republican government. Enterprises were moved to Alma-Ata, Balkhash, Petropavlovsk, Akmolinsk, Uralsk, and Aktobe. Thus, already during the war years, and largely thanks to Kunaev’s efforts, the productive base of Kazakhstan’s industry was being laid, main transport corridors were being formed, and logistics and infrastructure were being developed.

When, in December 1964, Kunaev once again assumed leadership of the republican party organization, he naturally continued the course of developing those industries that had already become traditional for Kazakhstan’s economic structure. Perhaps no one else knew so thoroughly and in such detail the state of domestic industry, its needs, and its degree of integration into the all-Union industrial system. And the level of integration of the republic’s industry into inter-Union economic ties was enormous. Having himself been an active organizer of large-scale industrial production in previous decades—production largely driven by wartime imperatives – Kunaev could not change the structural basis of the republic’s industrial development, but he could significantly strengthen and expand it, while also encouraging the emergence of fundamentally new sectors that had not previously existed.

Throughout his leadership, Kunaev managed to successfully combine the implementation of the large-scale plans and giant projects outlined by the Union leadership with equally significant achievements in the socio-economic development of the republic and in improving the living standards of all peoples residing in Kazakhstan.

Kunaev’s return as First Secretary of the republican party organization coincided with the start of the famous “Kosygin reform,” of which he was an active supporter. The key years of this most ambitious reform in the history of the Soviet economy were those of the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1966–1970). This plan would later be called “golden,” not only because of the stable economic growth it produced, but also because of the profound results that fundamentally transformed the way of life for the majority of Soviet citizens.

Unlike the previous “Stalinist” Five-Year Plans or Khrushchev’s Seven-Year Plan, during the first Brezhnev–Kosygin Five-Year Plan, growing production was oriented not simply toward volume, but toward sales, profit, and budgetary revenues. Soviet economist E.G. Liberman, who laid the theoretical foundations for the reform, emphasized the need for the Soviet economy to reorient itself to precisely these intensive, qualitative indicators. Kunaev’s prior experience – both as head of the republic’s government and as First Secretary – confirmed for him the correctness of these principles in managing the national economy.

In the report delivered by the First Secretary of the Central Committee to the XII Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, attention was drawn to the commissioning of the first stage of the Alma-Ata Cotton Combine, the cotton-spinning factory in Chimkent, the initial phases of the Dzhambul Leather and Footwear Combine and the Karaganda Shoe Factory (with a total capacity of 4 million pairs per year). Light industry enterprises also appeared in Taldy-Kurgan, Tekeli, Lenger, Serebryanka (APRK. F. 708. Op. 40. D. 11. L. 37).

Attention was also paid to further development of the food industry. Meat-packing plants were put into operation in Aktobe, Chimkent, Dzhambul, and Temirtau; 15 dairy plants and 22 bakeries were built, along with the Chu Sugar Plant and the Alma-Ata Margarine Plant. In 1965 alone, more than 80 large enterprises of light and food industry were commissioned. At the same time, it was noted that a major shortcoming remained the uneven distribution of industries, namely the absence of light and food industry enterprises in areas with highly developed heavy industry – Karaganda and East Kazakhstan regions (APRK. F.708. Op.40. D.11. L.38). Thus, a further development vector was determined for these two sectors, most essential to the population’s daily needs.

A document dated August 22, 1966, “On the Draft Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the Kazakh SSR for 1966–1970”, addressed to the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR and signed by Kunaev and Beisebaev, reflects Kunaev’s characteristic traits as a responsible, meticulous, and decisive leader who spoke not only of victories and achievements but also of problems and difficulties.

In the introductory part of the document, attention was drawn to the fact that “in the new five-year period, sectors of the national economy ensuring technological progress will develop at higher rates” (APRK. F.708. Op.40. D.232. L.137). Yet, the leaders of the republic expressed doubts about the feasibility of meeting the set tasks. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, it was reported that the capital investments allocated by Gosplan of the USSR and union-republic ministries did not ensure the commissioning of production capacities as set by the Directives of the XXIII CPSU Congress, nor the planned growth of industrial production. The inconsistency between the planned commissioning of enterprises and production growth in certain sectors and the actual resources allocated from the Union budget was emphasized.

Further analysis was carried out regarding the state of all sectors and major industries of the republic’s national economy at that time. According to the document, insufficient funds were allocated to the power industry, oil and gas exploratory drilling, the construction of mines and open-pit operations, and the commissioning of capacities in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy. The development of light, meat, and dairy industries was not fully ensured. Problems of the construction materials industry and the building sector remained unresolved. The union authorities were alerted that “...to a significant degree, extremely urgent tasks of providing water to industry and the national economy of the republic are not being addressed. The capital investments allocated for housing construction do not meet the requirements of population growth in the republic, nor the planned commissioning of housing. The needs of the republic for general education schools, preschool institutions, and hospitals are also not being met” (APRK. F. 708. Op. 40. D. 232. L. 139).

Finally, according to the authors of the memorandum, insufficient capital investments were allocated for the development of transportation, the construction of distribution refrigerators, and warehouse facilities. No funds at all were provided for the development of local industry enterprises. Issues of improving the use of the employable population also remained unresolved, even though its growth was projected to reach 10% by 1970 compared to an average of 5.5% across the USSR (APRK. F.708. Op.40. D.232. L.140). Intensive production methods, in the long run, left hundreds of thousands of people without work – something for which the Soviet command economy was utterly unprepared, but which the most competent and thoughtful Soviet leaders had to take into account.

In addition to the memorandum analyzed above, an “Appendix” was attached listing the issues that the republic requested to be reconsidered in the framework of the Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the Kazakh SSR for 1966–1970. This section of the message from the leadership of the Kazakh SSR to the Union center contained figures for additional funds needed to accomplish the tasks set by the Party. Each figure was justified by the necessity and volume of work required to fulfill the planned assignments.

D.A. Kunaev did not simply act as an obedient executor of instructions from the Union center or as a supplicant ingratiatingly requesting another “handout” from Moscow. He was often the initiator of large-scale projects. He believed that the creation of a diversified industrial and raw-material complex would yield concrete positive results not only for the entire Union but also bring significant benefits to the republic’s economy, solving many socio-economic problems, strengthening its industrial and productive potential, and laying the foundation for stable and sustainable economic development.

As the previous document shows, great importance was attached to the development of chemical production in the republic, given its inexhaustible reserves of mineral raw materials. In an informational memorandum to the CPSU Central Committee dated July 5, 1966, “On the Implementation of the Resolution of the CPSU Secretariat of December 9, 1965 ‘On the Progress of Implementing the Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers

of the USSR on the Creation of a Second Phosphate Raw Material Base in the Country in Southern Kazakhstan and Capacities for the Production of Mineral Fertilizers", it was reported that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Council of Ministers of the republic had already adopted a resolution in August 1965 "On Measures to Ensure the Commissioning and Development of New Capacities of the Chemical Industry Based on the Phosphorites of the Karatau Basin" (APRK. F. 708. Op. 40. D. 232. L. 115).

D.A. Kunaev was one of those Soviet leaders who, while giving considerable attention to the development of key strategic branches of Soviet industry, also sought to focus on the growth of sectors that directly met the urgent and everyday needs of ordinary Soviet citizens – understanding that the fate of the socialist state as a whole depended on this.

In an informational letter to the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR dated October 25, 1966, "On the Progress of Implementing the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR 'On the Improvement of the Construction of Light, Food, Meat and Dairy Industry Enterprises' of June 24, 1966 No. 482," the degree of Kunaev's attention to the problems and needs of industries producing consumer goods was fully reflected.

In the message addressed to the supreme Soviet authorities, detailed information was given about the new capacities already commissioned at the time of the report: spinning spindles and looms at the Alma-Ata Cotton Combine; underwear knitwear at the Dzhezkazgan Knitting Factory; millions of pairs of shoes at the Karaganda Shoe Factory and the Dzhambul Leather and Footwear Combine; thousands of tons of processed grapes at the primary winemaking plant in the Michurin State Farm; a 2,000-ton refrigerator in Atbasar; dozens of tons of meat and sausages per shift at the meat-packing plants in Kzyl-Orda, Dzhetysay, and Dzhambul; and dozens of tons of milk per shift at the Tayincha Dairy Plant and the meat-and-dairy plant at Emba station (APRK. F. 708. Op. 40. D. 232. L. 223).

In the final section of the document, the Kazakh leadership requested that the USSR Construction Bank (Stroybank) and the USSR State Construction Committee (Gostroy) extend preferential financing for a number of vital public and economic facilities in the republic, and that the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply take measures to provide equipment for the start-up facilities (APRK. F. 708. Op. 40. D. 232. L. 224).

Overall, this is a fairly typical example of an informational memorandum from republican leaders to the highest party-state authorities of the Union. Alongside information about the achievements in the field of industrial development, it included an analysis of the current situation in this sector of the economy, mentioned existing problems and difficulties, outlined the necessary measures for overcoming them, and presented specific demands to the Union leadership – usually in exchange for loyalty and active participation in the implementation of the large-scale industrial and military-strategic projects of the central authorities.

An important addition to this informational message is a document dated January 27, 1966, addressed to the USSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee. In it, the leaders of the Kazakh SSR – D.A. Kunaev and M.B. Beisebaev – asked the Union authorities to assist in establishing new higher educational institutions in the republic to train specialists for light and food industry enterprises. From this letter to Moscow, it is clear that the Kazakh leadership not only did much to build new factories and plants but also understood the necessity of training their own professional specialists for them, since without this, equipping workshops and machinery would make no sense (APRK. F. 708. Op. 40. D. 232. L. 32–34).

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan attached enormous importance to the development of the republic's oil industry. Fully aware of the significance of "black gold" both for the entire Soviet Union and for the future of Kazakhstan, Kunaev closely monitored the successes of Kazakh oil workers and sought the support of the Union center in his plans to transform the Mangyshlak Peninsula into a major new oil-producing base of the USSR.

The appeal to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers dated August 10, 1967, "On Ensuring the Fulfillment of Oil Production Targets in Mangyshlak", appears as a blueprint for the large-scale transformation of a formerly deserted area into a powerful resource base for the entire Soviet Union. Pointing to the successes already achieved in developing the barren desert

through the efforts of oil workers, geologists, and builders, Kunaev raised issues of a production-technological nature, capital construction of industrial and housing facilities, further improvement of extraction technologies and external oil transportation, as well as the organization of design and research work (APRK. F. 708. Op. 42. D. 201. L. 93–94).

At the XIII Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (February 24–26, 1971), in his report, Kunaev emphasized the reconstruction and technical re-equipment of enterprises, the wide introduction of new technology, advanced methods, and, on this basis, the growth of industrial output (APRK. F. 708. Op. 51. D. 2. L. 37–39). During the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1965–1970), the formation and development of new industrial regions continued, newly discovered mineral reserves were brought into economic circulation, and fixed industrial assets expanded and modernized. As a result, Kazakhstan's role as one of the largest economic regions of the USSR increased. A total of 445 large enterprises and workshops were commissioned (Tulepbayev, Tulepbayeva, 2006: 96).

As before, the republic's energy sector, as well as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, developed at an accelerated pace. Kazakhstan's Magnitka supplied pig iron and steel not only to the republic but also to Central Asia and the Far East. The Ermak (Aksu) and Aktobe ferroalloy plants reached full capacity. The Sokolov-Sarbai and Lisakovsk mining and processing complexes became the largest resource bases for the Soviet Union's ferrous metallurgy.

The chemical and oil industries, along with the production of building materials, acquired all-Union significance. In 1970, 34.6 billion kWh of electricity was generated; non-ferrous metallurgy production increased 1.5 times; steel output doubled; rolled ferrous metal output rose 6.3 times; and iron ore concentrate output grew 2.3 times (APRK. F. 708. Op. 51. D. 2. L. 21).

Coal production in the Karaganda and Ekibastuz basins reached 61 million tons per year, with 41% of this figure produced by the cheaper and more efficient open-pit method. Kazakhstan became the country's third-largest coal base after Donbass and Kuzbass. Output in the oil and gas industry increased sevenfold. Chemical industry production grew 2.3 times. Thanks to intensive exploitation of the Karatau phosphorite basin, Kazakhstan became the leading producer of yellow phosphorus in the USSR - and the largest in the world. The republic produced mineral fertilizers, chemical fibers, and sulfuric acid on an industrial scale.

Engineering and metalworking also developed. The Pavlodar–Ekibastuz industrial region expanded rapidly. A tractor plant was launched, producing the "Kazakhstan" tractor. Output in this sector grew 1.6 times, while agricultural machinery production doubled. Light, food, and meat-and-dairy industries also did not go unnoticed. The production of consumer goods increased sharply. According to Kunaev's report, the share of these industries in total industrial output of the republic reached 40 % (APRK. F. 708. Op. 51. D. 2. L. 22).

Delivering his report at the XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, the First Secretary of the Central Committee had every reason to be proud of the party he led, the people of Kazakhstan, and the republic as a whole. During the reporting period, 365 new workshops and enterprises were commissioned, with a colossal sum of 10 billion rubles invested in industry, which made it possible to increase industrial production volumes by 42.2 % during the past five years (APRK. F. 708. Op. 65. D. 1. L. 18).

The oil and gas industry, which had emerged in the west of the republic on the Mangyshlak Peninsula less than a decade earlier, continued its confident development. In that short period, at least 100 million tons of oil had already been extracted. The Kazakh Gas Processing Plant began operations. Development of the Pavlodar–Ekibastuz region continued apace: the capacities of the unique coal pits doubled, the ferroalloy plant operated steadily, the 100,000th Kazakh tractor rolled off the assembly line, and the Pavlodar Cardboard and Roofing Felt Plant was commissioned.

The positions of Central Kazakhstan continued to strengthen, above all in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, coal mining, and the chemical industry. Temirtau and Dzhezkazgan consolidated their roles in production and extraction, while in Karaganda new coal mining capacities were commissioned, the first stage of the rubber products plant went into operation, and the Novo-Karaganda Cement Plant began production. In Kostanay region, the Sokolov-Sarbai and

Lisakovsk mining and processing plants, along with the Dzhetygara Asbestos Plant, expanded their capacities, and construction began on the massive Kachar Mining and Processing Complex.

Particularly significant changes occurred in the south of the republic, where the Jambyl and Chimkent plants were completed, and construction began on the Novo-Jambyl and Karatau phosphate plants. This sharp increase in the number of factories was accompanied by a growth in electricity generation: the largest thermal power plant in the Union – the Ermak GRES – was launched, as well as the Kapchagai Hydroelectric Power Plant, which substantially improved electricity supply to the republic’s capital. The world’s largest fast-neutron reactor was commissioned at the Shevchenko Nuclear Power Plant (APRK. F. 708. Op. 65. D. 1. L. 19–20). A long-awaited achievement was the arrival of Irtysh water to Karaganda via a 500-kilometer canal, fulfilling the dream of three academicians: Sh. Chokin, K. Satpayev, and D. Kunaev.

By the end of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, Kazakhstan, in terms of economic potential, development of major industries, and its place in the all-Union division of labor, had firmly entered the top three Soviet republics – behind only the RSFSR and Ukraine – and would never again relinquish this place, only reinforcing its position within the Union’s economic system.

The rapid industrial growth of the 1960s–1980s also affected previously sparsely populated areas, where new industrial hubs emerged and entire sectors of production appeared. Often, these were barren, inhospitable places unsuitable for human habitation, but rich in mineral resources. The capabilities of the socialist system under Kunaev’s leadership, combined with his own persistent efforts, played a crucial role in mobilizing resources, addressing problems of material-technical supply, and expanding transport and communications.

This process led to the creation of new centers of production and civilization in the form of workers’ settlements, many of which grew into towns. Of nearly ninety modern cities of Kazakhstan, forty-three were founded during Kunaev’s leadership. Among them are Rudny, Temirtau, Ekibastuz, Kentau, Zhanatas, Karatau, Arkalyk, Derzhavinsk, Stepnogorsk, Aktau, Aksu, Serebryansk, Kurchatov, and others.

For the Kazakh SSR, the final “Kunaev decade” proved to be the most productive and harmonious. All the large plants and combines built earlier reached full capacity, consumer goods industries developed into independent branches of the economy with their own resources, production capacities, and stable markets, and the needs of the population became an institutionalized priority.

In his final report to the XVI Congress – his last as leader of the republican organization and as a member of the Communist Party – Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich stressed that the Party had, throughout the previous decade, consistently worked to bring the republic to new heights of economic and social development. Over the course of two Five-Year Plans, 650 new industrial enterprises were constructed, and new sub-sectors were created: bearings, batteries, porcelain and faience, refractories, plastics, chemical fibers, and rubber products (APRK. F. 708. Op. 95. D. 1. L. 18; Kunaev, 2022: 237).

The Pavlodar–Ekibastuz territorial-industrial complex assumed even greater significance by the mid-1980s. Concentrated here were an aluminum plant, chemical plant, tractor plant, oil refinery, a major GRES, a ferroalloy plant, and coal mines with an annual output of tens of millions of tons.

The Mangyshlak oil and gas complex also expanded with the development of rich deposits on the Buzachi Peninsula. Exploration began of promising hydrocarbon reserves in the Caspian Depression. The first billions of cubic meters of gas were extracted from the giant Karachaganak gas-condensate field (APRK. F. 708. Op. 127. D. 30. L. 9).

A new and growing branch of the republic’s industry was oil refining. In 1985, the Chimkent Oil Refinery was commissioned, while the Pavlodar Refinery, built in 1978, increased its depth of processing.

By the mid-1980s, engineering and metalworking reached new levels. Enterprises in this sector mastered the production of more than 300 types of new machinery, equipment, tools, and instruments (Tulepbayev, Tulepbayeva, 2006: 111).

The constantly growing production capacities required large amounts of electricity, and the republic not only met its own needs but also became a powerful center of the fuel and energy industry

within the unified all-Union energy system. Major generating stations such as the Karaganda and Alma-Ata thermal power plants (GRES), the Ermak (Aksu) and Jambyl GRES, and the Kapchagai Hydroelectric Plant were in operation. In just the first half of the 1980s, more than 3 million kWh of new capacities were commissioned at these and other power stations. The development of power grids and the further growth of electricity generation were based on the relatively inexpensive coal of the Ekibastuz basin. In 1986, the republic’s energy sector produced 97.9 billion kWh of electricity, which was 1.6 times more than in 1980 (Tulepbayev, Tulepbayeva, 2006: 114).

In one of his last “programmatic” speeches, delivered at the ceremonial meeting on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Virgin Lands Campaign, D.A. Kunaev essentially summed up the results of his activity, emphasizing the following achievements:

“Kazakhstan has become one of the country’s major fuel and energy bases, a land of large-scale chemical production, developed machine building and metalworking, and mass consumer goods manufacturing. Entirely transformed were industries such as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, coal mining, petrochemistry, and others. <...>

Within the framework of the unified national economic complex of the country, inter-republican economic ties have become increasingly diverse and richer.” (APRK. F. 708. Op. 127. D. 13. L. 14)

Conclusion. It was precisely D.A. Kunaev to whom Kazakhstan owes its modern, multi-tiered, and multi-component industrial structure. As a politician and statesman of all-Union stature, while remaining the long-standing leader of his native Kazakhstan, he did everything within his power under the given circumstances to ensure the republic’s socio-economic development. A central component of this development was industrial growth, aimed at the most effective use of the republic’s vast natural resources for the benefit of the entire national economic complex of the Soviet Union, while at the same time not neglecting the vital interests and everyday needs of the people of Kazakhstan.

Sources

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GA RF — State Archive of the Russian Federation
RGANI — Russian State Archive of Contemporary History

Источники

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ГА РФ — Государственный архив Российской Федерации
РГАНИ — Российский государственный архив новейшей истории

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Редакцияның мекен-жайы:

010000, Қазақстан Республикасы, Астана қаласы, Қабанбай батыр даңғ., 11/5
Қазақстан және Орталық Азия тарихы институты
Scientific Journal “Central Asian courier” редакциясы

Сайтқа сілтеме: <https://sjcacourier.com/>

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Журнал Қазақстан Республикасы Мәдениет және ақпарат министрлігінде
2025 ж. 20 маусымда тіркеліп, № KZ20VPY00122471 куәлігіне ие болды.

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