



"Қазақстан және Орталық Азия тарихы институты"
жауапкершілігі шектеулі серіктестігі

Scientific Journal

"CENTRAL ASIAN COURIER"

"ОРТАЛЫҚ АЗИЯ КУРЬЕРІ"

ғылыми журналды

Научный журнал

"ЦЕНТРАЛЬНО-АЗИАТСКИЙ КУРЬЕР"

2 № 1 (2026)



EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Zhumatay Samat — General Director of the Institute of History of Kazakhstan and Central Asia (Kazakhstan).

Azmukhanova Aiman — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor (Kazakhstan).

Deputy Editor-in-Chief:

Cherepanov Konstantin — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Leading Researcher, Head of the Department of the History of Kazakhstan in the 20th Century at the Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology, Committee of Science, Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Kazakhstan).

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Abazov Rafis — PhD, Adjunct Professor, Columbia University; Vice-Rector for International Cooperation, Kazakh National Agrarian Research University; Director, Institute for Green and Sustainable Development; Coordinator, MBA Program.

Abdyrakhmanov Tolobek — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, Zhusup Balasagyn Kyrgyz State University (Kyrgyz Republic, Bishkek).

Abil Yerkin — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Director of the Institute of History of the State CS MES RK (Kazakhstan).

Alimbay Nursan — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Professor, Chief Researcher at the Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology (Kazakhstan).

Auanasova Alima — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor. L. N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University.

Diener Alexander — Doctor of Political Science, Professor, University of Kansas, (USA).

Dzhumashev Askar — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, and Head of the Department of History at the Karakalpak Scientific Research Institute of Humanities – Karakalpak Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Ismagulov Orazak — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Academician of the NAS of the RK under the President of the RK, Corresponding Member of Bologna Academy of Sciences, winner of Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Award, Honored Worker of Science and Technology, Professor of L.N. Gumilyov University (Kazakhstan).

Kabuldinov Ziyabek — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Academician of the NAS of the RK under the President of the RK, general Director of Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology SC MSHE RK (Kazakhstan).

Karasayev Gani — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Chief Researcher at the Institute of State History of the Committee of Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana.

Kokebayeva Gulzhaukhar — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor at the Al-Farabi Kazakh National University. (Kazakhstan).

Kozhirova Svetlana — Doctor of Political Science, Professor, Co-Director of the Center for the Study of China and Central Asia of Fudan University and the International Scientific Complex of the National Company "Astana", Head of the Center for Chinese and Asian Studies (Kazakhstan).

Morrison Alexander — PhD, Professor, University of Oxford (UK).

Muminov Ashirbek — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Senior Researcher at the Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture IRCICA (İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi). (Istanbul, Turkey).

Outram Alan — Doctor of Archaeological Sciences, Professor of the Department of Archaeology and History, University of Exeter (Great Britain, Exeter).

Zharken Aigul — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor at L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University.

Shaydullaev Shapulat — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Head of the Department of the History of Uzbekistan at Termez State University.

Shinji Kato — PhD, Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Japan.

Turdaliev Cholpon — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor at the American University of Central Asia.

Werner Cynthia — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Texas university (USA).

Zhomart Simtikov — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Doctor of Political Sciences, Head of the Department of Political Science and Social-Philosophical Disciplines at Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University.

EXECUTIVE EDITOR

Tashbaeva Kadicha — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Head of the Department of Archaeology at the B. Dzhangerchinov Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnology of the National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic.

ACADEMIC EDITOR

Utgenov Marat — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Head of the Department of History, Geography and Social and Humanitarian Sciences Kokshetau University named after Sh. Ualikhanov.

Mukanova Gulnar — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Professor, Leading Researcher of the Astana Branch of the Ch. Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology.

TECHNICAL SECRETARY

Kopeyeva Saniya — Master's degree, staff member of the Institute of the History of Kazakhstan and Central Asia (Kazakhstan).

БАС РЕДАКТОР

Жұматайұлы Самат — Қазақстан және Орталық Азия тарихы институтының бас директоры (Қазақстан).

Азмұханова Айман Махсотқызы — тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, қауымдастырылған профессор (Қазақстан).

Бас редактордың орынбасары:

Черепанов Константин Владимирович — тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, жетекші ғылыми қызметкер, ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының ХХ ғасырдағы Қазақстан тарихы бөлімінің меңгерушісі, (Қазақстан).

РЕДАКЦИЯЛЫҚ АЛҚА

Абазов Рафис Фанисұлы — PhD, Колумбия университетінің адъюнкт-профессоры, Қазақ ұлттық аграрлық зерттеу университетінің халықаралық ынтымақтастық жөніндегі проректоры, Жасыл және тұрақты даму институтының директоры, МВА бағдарламасының үйлестірушісі.

Абдырахманов Толобек Әбілұлы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Қырғыз Республикасы Ұлттық ғылым академиясының корреспондент-мүшесі, Жүсіп Баласағын атындағы Қырғыз мемлекеттік университеті (Қырғыз Республикасы, Бішкек).

Ауанасова Әлима Мүсірқызы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университетінің профессоры.

Әбіл Еркін Аманжолұлы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР БҒМ ҒК Мемлекет тарихы институтының директоры. (Қазақстан).

Әлімбаев Нұрсан — тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, профессор, Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының бас ғылыми қызметкері (Қазақстан).

Вернер Кунгһиа (Wegner, Cynthia) — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Техас университеті, (АҚШ).

Дайнер Александр (Diener Alexander) — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор. Канзас университеті, (АҚШ).

Джумашев Аскар Мамбетович — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Өзбекстан Республикасының Ғылым Академиясы Қарақалпақстан бөлімшесінің Қарақалпақ гуманитарлық ғылымдар зерттеу институтының Тарих бөлімі меңгерушісі.

Жаркен Айгүл Мәлікқызы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия Ұлттық университетінің профессоры.

Кожирова Светлана Басиевна — саясаттану ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Фудан Университетінің Қытай және Орталық Азияны зерттеу орталығының мен «Астана» ХҒК бірлескен директоры (Қазақстан).

Көкебаева Гүлжауһар Какенқызы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті. (Қазақстан).

Қабылдинов Зиябек Ермұқанұлы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР Президентінің жанындағы ҰҒА академигі, ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының Бас директоры (Қазақстан).

Қарасаев Ғани Мұқашұлы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитетінің Мемлекет тарихы институтының бас ғылыми қызметкері, Астана қ.

Моррисон Александр (Morrison Alexander) — PhD, профессор Оксфордского университета (Великобритания).

Муминов Әшірбек Құрбанұлы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Ислам тарихы, өнер және мәдениет ғылыми-зерттеу орталығының аға ғылыми қызметкері IRCICA – İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi. (Түркия, Стамбул қ.).

Оутрам Алан — археология ғылымдарының докторы, Эксетер университетінің археология және тарих кафедрасының профессоры (Ұлыбритания, Эксетер).

Симтиков Жомарт Құдайбергенұлы — тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, саясаттану ғылымдарының докторы, Абай атындағы Қазақ ұлттық педагогикалық университетінің саясаттану және әлеуметтік-философиялық пәндер кафедрасының меңгерушісі.

Смағұлов Оразақ Смағұлұлы – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР Президентінің жанындағы ҰҒА академигі, Балон ғылым академиясының корр.-мүшесі, Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы сыйлықтың лауреаты, ғылым мен техниканың еңбек сіңірген қайраткері, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университетінің профессоры. (Астана, Қазақстан).

Турдалиева Чолпон Жапарбекқызы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, Орталық Азиядағы Американ университетінің профессоры.

Шайдуллаев Шапулат — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Термез мемлекеттік университетінің Өзбекстан тарихы кафедрасының меңгерушісі.

Шинджи Като — PhD, Народағы мәдени құндылықтардың ұлттық ғылыми-зерттеу институты (Жапония, Нара).

ЖАУАПТЫ РЕДАКТОР

Ташбаева Кадича Искандарқызы — тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, Қырғыз Республикасы Ұлттық ғылым академиясы Б. Жамгерчинов атындағы Тарих, археология және этнология институтының археология бөлімінің меңгерушісі.

ҒЫЛЫМИ РЕДАКТОРЛАР

Өтегенов Марат Зеннатұлы — тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, қауымдастырылған профессор, «Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Көкшетау университеті» КеАҚ тарих, география және әлеуметтік-гуманитарлық пәндер кафедрасының меңгерушісі.

Мұқанова Гүлнар Қайроллақызы — тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, профессор, Астана қаласындағы Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты филиалының жетекші ғылыми қызметкері.

ТЕХНИКАЛЫҚ ХАТШЫ

Копеева Сания Жұматайқызы — магистр, Қазақстан мен Орталық Азия тарихы институтының қызметкері (Қазақстан)

ГЛАВНЫЙ РЕДАКТОР

Жуматай Самат — Генеральный директор Института истории Казахстана и Центральной Азии (Казахстан)

Азмуханова Айман Махсотовна — кандидат исторических наук, ассоциированный профессор (Казахстан)

Заместитель главного редактора:

Черепанов Константин Владимирович — кандидат исторических наук, ведущий научный сотрудник, заведующий отделом истории Казахстана XX века Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова. КН МНВО РК (Казахстан)

РЕДАКЦИОННАЯ КОЛЛЕГИЯ

Абазов Рафис Фанисович — PhD, адъюнкт-профессор Колумбийского университета, проректор по международному сотрудничеству Казахского национального аграрного исследовательского университета, директор Института зеленого и устойчивого развития, координатор программы MBA.

Абдырахманов Толобек Абилович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, член-корреспондент НАН КР, Кыргызский государственный университет им. Жусупа Баласагына (Кыргызская Республика, г. Бишкек).

Абиль Еркин Аманжолович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, Институт истории государства КН МНВО РК (Казахстан).

Алимбай Нурсан — кандидат исторических наук, профессор, главный научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова КН МНВО РК (Казахстан).

Ауанасова Алима Мусировна — доктор исторических наук, профессор, Евразийский национальный университет имени Л.Н. Гумилева.

Вернер Синтия (Werner Cynthia) — доктор исторических наук, профессор. Техасский университет (США).

Дайнер Александр (Diener Alexander) — доктор исторических наук, профессор. Канзасский университет (США).

Джумашев Аскар Мамбетович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, заведующий отделом истории Каракалпакского научно-исследовательского института гуманитарных наук (Каракалпакское отделение Академии наук Республики Узбекистан).

Жаркен Айгуль Маликовна — доктор исторических наук, профессор Евразийского национального университета имени Л.Н. Гумилёва.

Исмагулов Оразак Исмагулович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик НАН РК при Президенте РК, член-корр. Болонской академии наук, лауреат премии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова, заслуженный деятель науки и техники, профессор Евразийского национального университета имени Л.Н. Гумилева (Казахстан).

Кабульдинов Зиябек Ермуханович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик НАН РК при Президенте РК, Генеральный директор Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова КН МНВО РК (Казахстан).

Карасаев Гани Мукашевич — доктор исторических наук, профессор, главный научный сотрудник Института истории государства Комитета науки Министерство Науки и высшего образования Республики Казахстан, г. Астана.

Като Синдзи (Shinji Kato) — PhD, Национальный научно-исследовательский институт культурных ценностей в Наре (Япония, г. Нара).

Кожирова Светлана Басиевна — доктор политических наук, профессор, содиректор Центра исследования Китая и Центральной Азии Фуданьского Университета и МНК «Астана», руководитель Центра китайских и азиатских исследований (Казахстан).

Кокебаева Гульжаухар Какеновна — доктор исторических наук, профессор Казахского национального университета имени аль-Фараби. (Казахстан).

Моррисон Александр (Morrison Alexander) — PhD, профессор Оксфордского университета (Великобритания).

Муминов Аширбек Курбанович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, старший научный сотрудник Исследовательского центра исламской истории, искусства и культуры IRCICA – İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi. (Турция, г. Стамбул).

Оутрам Алан — доктор археологических наук, профессор департамента археологии и истории университета Эксетере (Великобритания, г. Эксетер).

Симтиков Жомарт Кудайбергенович — кандидат исторических наук, доктор политических наук, заведующий кафедрой политологии и социально-философских дисциплин Казахского национального педагогического университета имени Абая.

Турдалиева Чолпон Джапарбековна — доктор исторических наук, профессор Американского университета в Центральной Азии.

Шайдуллаев Шапулат — доктор исторических наук, профессор, заведующий кафедрой истории Узбекистана Термезского государственного университета.

ОТВЕТСТВЕННЫЙ РЕДАКТОР

Ташбаева Кадича Искандаровна — кандидат исторических наук, Заведующая отделом археологии Института истории, археологии и этнологии им. Б. Джамгерчинова Национальной академии наук Кыргызской Республики.

НАУЧНЫЕ РЕДАКТОРЫ

Утегенов Марат Зенатович — кандидат исторических наук, ассоциированный профессор, заведующий кафедрой истории, географии и социально-гуманитарных наук НАО «Кокшетауский университет имени Ш. Уалиханова».

Муканова Гюльнар Кайроллиновна — кандидат исторических наук, профессор, ведущий научный сотрудник филиала в г. Астана Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова.

ТЕХНИЧЕСКИЙ СЕКРЕТАРЬ

Копеева Сания Жуматаевна — магистр, сотрудник Института истории Казахстана и Центральной Азии (Казахстан).



Published in the Republic of Kazakhstan
Scientific Journal
“Central Asian courier”
Has been issued as a journal since 2025
ISSN 3105-241X.
Vol. 2. Is. 1, pp. 167-181, 2026
Journal homepage: <https://sjcacourier.com/>

FTAXP / MPHTI / IRSTI 03.20
https://doi.org/10.64970/3105-241X_2026_2_1_167-181

PARTY-STATE ACTIVITY D. KUNAEV IN 1955-1962

Cherepanov Konstantin

Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology
Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan
Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0736-9383>. E-mail: k.v.cherepanov@mail.ru

© Institute of History of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, 2026
© Cherepanov K., 2026

Abstract. *Introduction.* D.A. Kunaev (1912-1993) - an outstanding party and statesman of Soviet Kazakhstan and the USSR. For almost half a century he was one of the leading politicians and leaders of the Kazakh SSR, holding the posts of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. The *purpose* of this study, defining and corresponding *objectives*, is to using documentary evidence and memoirs of D.A. Kunaev to identify the circumstances, under which D.A. Kunaev was appointed to the post of head of government, give an analysis of his actions and efforts to achieve the post of the first party leader, and outline the role and significance of his activities in these posts in 1955-1962. in the socio-economic development of Soviet Kazakhstan and strengthening the foundation of its statehood. *Materials and methods.* Material was attracted from the funds of the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK), the memoirs of D. A. Kunaev himself and the results of research by domestic and foreign historians. Classical methods of historical research were used - historical-descriptive and historical-genetic. Methods of high-quality sociology were also used: discourse - analysis of texts and speech practices of the head of Kazakhstan. *Results.* The circumstances of the appointment of D. A. Kunaev to the post of Chairman of the Kazakh SSR and then the first secretary of the republican party organization were investigated, the strategy of his struggle for power was analyzed and the results of his activities in the period from 1955 to 1962 were evaluated. *Conclusions.* In the course of the study, it was shown that in the presented conditions of rapid post-Stalin transformations, D. A. Kunaev most effectively achieved the achievement of the highest leadership positions in the republic and used his position in the interests of the development of the Kazakh SSR. **Keywords:** I. Stalin, D. Kunaev, I.Yusupov, Zh. Shayakhmetov, S. Daulenov, Kazakh SSR, Kazakhstan, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, USSR, N. Khrushchev. L. Brezhnev, A. Kosygin, Uzbek SSR, military-strategic interests of the USSR. **For citation:** Cherepanov K. Party and State Activities of D.A. Kunaev in 1955–1962 // Scientific Journal “Central Asian courier”. 2026. Vol. 2. No. 1. Pp. 167-181. (In Eng.). DOI: 10.64970/3105-241X_2026_2_1_167-181

Д.А. ҚОНАЕВТЫҢ 1955-1962 ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ ПАРТИЯЛЫҚ-МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК ҚЫЗМЕТІ

Константин Черепанов

Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты

Алматы, Қазақстан Республикасы

Жетекші ғылыми қызметкері, тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, доцент

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0736-9383>. E-mail: k.v.cherepanov@mail.ru

Аннотация. *Кіріспе.* Д.А. Қонаев (1912-1993) - кеңестік Қазақстан мен КСРО-ның көрнекті партия және мемлекет қайраткері. Жарты ғасырға жуық Қазақ КСР-інің жетекші саясаткерлері мен басшыларының бірі, республика Министрлер Кеңесінің төрағасы және Қазақстан Компартиясы ОК бірінші хатшысы қызметтерін атқарды. *Туісті* міндеттерді айқындайтын осы зерттеудің *мақсаты* мыналардан тұрады: Д.А. Қонаевтың өзінің құжаттамалық куәліктері мен естеліктерін пайдалана отырып, Д.А. Қонаев үкімет басшысы лауазымына тағайындалған бірінші партиялық басшы лауазымына жетудегі оның іс-қимылы мен күш-жігеріне талдау беруге, және оның 1955-1962 жылдардағы осы лауазымдардағы қызметінің кеңестік Қазақстанның әлеуметтік-экономикалық дамуындағы және оның мемлекеттілігінің іргетасын нығайтудағы рөлі мен маңызын белгілеу. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* Қазақстан Республикасы Президенті мұрағатының (ҚР АП) қорларынан материалдар, Д.А. Қонаевтың өзінің естеліктері және отандық және шетелдік тарихшылардың зерттеулерінің нәтижелері тартылды. Тарихи зерттеудің классикалық әдістері - тарихи-сипаттамалық және тарихи-генетикалық әдістер қолданылды. Сондай-ақ сапалы әлеуметтану әдістері қолданылды: дискурс - Қазақстан басшысының мәтіндері мен сөйлеу тәжірибелерін талдау. *Нәтижелер.* Д.А. Қонаевты Қазақ КСР-інің Төрағасы, содан кейін республикалық партия ұйымының бірінші хатшысы қызметіне тағайындаудың мән-жайлары зерттелді, оның билік үшін күрес стратегиясы талданды және 1955-1962 жылдар аралығындағы қызметінің нәтижелері бағаланды. Зерттеу барысында Д.А.Қонаевтың республикадағы жоғары басшылық лауазымдарға барынша тиімді қол жеткізгені және өзінің жағдайын Қазақ КСР-інің дамуы мүддесінде пайдаланғаны көрсетілді.

Түйінді сөздер: И.В. Сталин, Д.А. Қонаев, И.А. Юсупов, Ж. Шаяхметов, С.Д. Дәуленов, Қазақ ССР, Қазақстан, Қазақ ССР Министрлер Кеңесінің төрағасы, Қазақстан, КСРО Компартиясы ОК бірінші хатшысы С. Хрущев, Л.И. Брежнев, А.Н. Косыгин, Өзбек ССР, КСРО-ның әскери-стратегиялық мүдделері

Дәйексөз үшін: Черепанов К. 1955–1962 жылдардағы Д.А. Қонаевтың партиялық-мемлекеттік қызметі // Scientific Journal "Central Asian courier". 2026. Т. 2. № 1. 167-181 бб. (Ағылш.). DOI: 10.64970/3105-241X_2026_2_1_167-181

ПАРТИЙНО-ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ Д.А. КУНАЕВА В 1955-1962 ГГ.

Черепанов Константин

Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова

Алматы, Республика Казахстан

Ведущий научный сотрудник, Кандидат исторических наук, доцент

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0736-9383>. E-mail: k.v.cherepanov@mail.ru

Аннотация. *Введение.* Д.А. Кунаев (1912-1993) – выдающийся партийный и государственный деятель советского Казахстана и СССР. В течение практически полувека был одним из ведущих политиков и руководителей Казахской ССР, занимая посты председателя Совета Министров республики и первого секретаря ЦК Компартии Казахстана. *Цель* данного

исследования, определяющая и соответствующие задачи, состоит в том, чтобы используя документальные свидетельства и воспоминания самого Д.А. Кунаева выявить обстоятельства, при которых произошло назначение Д.А. Кунаева на должность главы правительства, дать анализ его действиям и усилиям в достижении поста первого партийного руководителя, и обозначить роль и значение его деятельности на этих постах в 1955-1962 гг. в социально-экономическом развитии советского Казахстана и укреплении фундамента его государственности. *Материалы и методы.* Привлекался материал из фондов Архива Президента Республики Казахстан (АП РК), воспоминания самого Д.А. Кунаева и результаты исследований отечественных и зарубежных историков. Использовались классические методы исторического исследования - историко-описательный и историко-генетический. Также использовались методы качественной социологии: дискурс - анализ текстов и речевых практик руководителя Казахстана. *Результаты.* Были исследованы обстоятельства назначения Д.А. Кунаева на пост Председателя Казахской ССР и затем первого секретаря республиканской партийной организации, подвергнута анализу стратегия его борьбы за власть и оценены результаты его деятельности в период с 1955 по 1962 гг. *Выводы.* В ходе исследования было показано, что в представившихся условиях бурных постсталинских преобразований Д.А. Кунаев максимально эффективно добивался достижения высших руководящих должностей в республике и использовал свое положение в интересах развития Казахской ССР. **Ключевые слова:** И.В. Сталин, Д.А. Кунаев, И.А. Юсупов, Ж.Ш. Шаяхметов, С.Д. Дауленов, Казахская ССР, Казахстан, председатель Совета Министров Казахской ССР, первый секретарь ЦК Компартии Казахстана, СССР, Н. С. Хрущев, Л.И. Брежнев, А.Н. Косыгин, Узбекская ССР, военно-стратегические интересы СССР.

Для цитирования: Черепанов К. Партийно-государственная деятельность Д.А. Кунаева в 1955–1962 гг. // Scientific Journal “Central Asian courier”. 2026. Т. 2. № 1. С. 167-181. (На Англ.). DOI: 10.64970/3105-241X_2026_2_1_167-181

Introduction. The name of Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunaev is now scarcely known to the average citizen, not only of the Russian Federation but even of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Yet, he was not only the leader of Soviet Kazakhstan, serving as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic (1955–1960, 1962–1964) and as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (1960–1962, 1964–1986) for more than thirty years, but he also spent a long time as a member of the highest party and state leadership of the entire USSR, serving from 1971 to 1986 as a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee—the de facto highest governing body of both the Party and the Soviet Union as a whole. Considering that as early as April 1942 Kunaev had worked as Deputy Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Kazakh SSR, his presence at the apex of Soviet Kazakhstan’s power spanned almost forty-five years. Not surprisingly, his memoirs, which reflected many pages of his long and eventful political life, were titled “*About My Time: From Stalin to Gorbachev.*”

For Soviet Kazakhstan, the name D.A. Kunaev is associated with an entire era – the “Kunaev Era.” Kunaev could rightfully call these years “my time” when looking back over the decades he had lived through. He became the embodiment of Kazakhstan and its multiethnic people, the face of a young Soviet republic that had obtained its union status only in December 1936, and of the Kazakh people as a whole. There was no sphere of economic, socio-political, scientific, or cultural life in the republic that did not bear the imprint of the work of this prominent party, administrative, scientific, and state figure.

However, Kunaev’s rise to the highest levels of political power in Soviet Kazakhstan was not cloudless or easy. Crucial in this regard were the events of the second half of the 1950s, when he held the post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR and first attained the coveted position of the republic’s party leader. These years should be regarded as a turning point in the fate of D.A. Kunaev himself, the Kazakh SSR, and indeed the entire Soviet Union, since the events of this period were closely linked to the first post-Stalin decade, to the activities of N.S. Khrushchev, and to

L.I. Brezhnev, who, at the end of that decade, became First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and assumed leadership of the Soviet state.

The aim of this research is to demonstrate that it was precisely Kunaev, while serving as head of government in 1955–1960 and as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan in 1960–1962, who made a decisive contribution to the socio-economic development of Kazakhstan, to the strengthening and development of its statehood, and to the preservation of its territorial integrity. Identifying his position and analyzing Kunaev's actions with regard to consolidating the foundations of the Kazakh Socialist Republic's statehood and maintaining its territorial integrity are primary and essential research tasks. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to identify both the stages of his struggle for the post of the republic's first leader and the methods, means, and efforts he employed in attaining the leadership of the republican party organization.

The hypothesis of this study is that, while leading the republican party organization in 1960–1962, D.A. Kunaev changed the character of governance in the republic and, at a minimum, laid the foundations for its rapid and dynamic development during his second tenure in this position.

Materials and Methods. In the course of this research, classical methods of historical investigation were actively employed, including the historico-genetic and historico-comparative methods. The historico-genetic method played a crucial role in explaining facts, identifying the causes of their sequence, and helped to reveal and interpret key events in the history of the Soviet state, of which the Kazakh SSR was a part, as well as their influence on the course of events and processes within Kazakhstan itself.

The historico-comparative method made it possible to determine both the general characteristics shared by members of the Soviet party-state nomenklatura and the distinctive features of Kunaev's style in achieving his goals on the path to power and in managing the development of the republic during his initial tenure in the Kazakh SSR. The use of this method also allowed for the identification of the levels of interaction between the leadership of Kazakhstan and the union center, as well as the true plans and intentions of Moscow regarding the republic's future.

The study also took into account the moment of ethnic mobilization, linked to the specifics of Soviet national policy and the optimal methods of interaction with the indigenous population and local authorities. Discourse analysis of texts and speeches by leaders of the USSR and the Kazakh SSR, as well as sources of personal origin—including memoirs and autobiographical materials—was employed to provide further insight.

The research additionally relied on materials from the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (APRK) and the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (RGANI). Numerous documents related to the life and activity of D.A. Kunaev were discovered and analyzed as part of the research project *"The Contribution of D.A. Kunaev to the Socio-Economic Development of Kazakhstan and the Preservation of its Territorial Integrity."* These documents extracted from archival collections are important, as they are directly related to the circumstances of Kunaev's rise to power and serve as the basis for an objective analysis of the outcomes of his work as one of the highest-ranking leaders of the Kazakh SSR during 1955–1962.

Discussion

The personality of D.A. Kunaev and the results of his long and productive career have not gone unnoticed by both foreign and domestic scholars. British researcher Bhavna Dave regarded his activities as an example of the preservation (or revival) of national identity within the inherently internationalist framework of the Soviet system (Bhavna Dave, 2007). The phenomenon of forming, strengthening, and institutionalizing national elites, and transforming them into ruling strata within the national republics of the Soviet Union, attracted 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 series of publications (Rigby, 1968; 1970–1971; 1980; 1983; 1988). The judgments of these scholars, diverse and sometimes contradictory as they are, contribute to understanding both the phenomenon

of the “party-state leader of a Soviet national republic” and the personality of the Kazakh leader, as well as to assessing the scope of his activities.

Among the more recent works of foreign authors, the studies by S. Keller (Keller, 2020) and A. Khalid (Khalid, 2021) deserve mention. Among Kazakhstani researchers focusing on the “Kunaev era,” particular attention should be given to studies on the evolution and continuity of political leadership by N.A. Abueva (Abueva, 2007), D. Ashimbaev and V. Khlyupin (Ashimbaev, Khlyupin, 2008), D.B. Kasymova (Kasymova, 2022), and Z.E. Kabuldinov and K.V. Cherepanov (Kabuldinov, Cherepanov, Kasymova, 2024). These works provide a solid foundation for addressing the research objectives. The most comprehensive study dedicated to the outcomes of Kunaev’s activity remains the monograph by B.A. Tulepbaev and K.U. Tulepbaeva, *D.A. Kunaev – an Outstanding State and Political Figure* (Tulepbaev, Tulepbaeva, 2006). This work, of course, relies on a wide range of sources, including Kunaev’s own memoirs and recollections of his associates; however, many of its conclusions and evaluations now require serious refinement and further development, particularly given the opportunities for broader archival research. The scholarly monographs of Zh.B. Abylkhozhin (Abylkhozhin, 1997; 2019) are important both for characterizing the conditions of socialist construction in the Kazakh SSR and for evaluating the quality and nature of the reforms themselves.

In Russian academic literature, a substantial body of research has been developed on the party nomenclatura (Golovinova, 2011). There are also general studies revealing the nature of political processes in the USSR that led to its collapse (Filippov, 2021; Cheshko, 2000), as well as investigations into the specifics of regional governance processes (Kishchenkov et al., 2021). The existing body of publications provides a solid basis for conducting the planned study and contributes to the understanding of D.A. Kunaev’s activities.

Party-State Activity of D.A. Kunaev in 1955–1962

By the mid-1950s to early 1960s, the position of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic within the formally union-wide state of the USSR appeared highly oppressive. Administratively and territorially part of the RSFSR as an autonomous unit until December 1936, Soviet Kazakhstan only then acquired the attributes of a union republic. Yet by many indicators, it remained, in essence, a colonial possession of Russia—a situation not markedly different from that of other union republics, or even of Russia itself, which had been seized by the party of radical extremists following the October 1917 coup.

The entire union state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—since its formation and largely until its dissolution in December 1991, was conceived and existed as a grand political and ideological project, aimed not only at transforming the territories of the former Russian Empire but, in a broader sense, the entire globe, as elegantly and convincingly symbolized by the Soviet state emblem. For more than four decades since its inception, the Soviet state was under total and relentless party control, a party which, after the 19th Congress—the last in the life of the Soviet dictator I.V. Stalin—renamed itself from Bolsheviks to Communists. The adoption of the term “Communist” further emphasized the strategy and trajectory for the development of the entire union state, all its constituent republics, and all peoples living within these quasi-state entities.

During the implementation of the so-called “socialist transformations,” a genuine genocide was inflicted on many peoples of the Soviet Union. Under the guise of Soviet internationalist ideology—a veneer for the implementation of a global “superproject”—this genocide took on features of “sociocide” and “meritocide,” as the most prosperous, productive, educated, and cultured segments of the population were primarily destroyed. The Kazakh people, along with Ukrainians, suffered some of the greatest losses, both in absolute and especially relative terms, losing almost half of their population in the brief period leading up to the creation of the Kazakh SSR. It is possible that this radical change in the ethnic composition of the republic’s population, resulting from such devastating losses among Kazakhs, contributed to the transformation of this Russian autonomous region into a union republic. From that point until the end of the USSR, the indigenous Kazakh population always constituted a relative minority, and the Kazakh SSR remained the only union republic in which the titular nation was outnumbered by incoming populations.

By the time the Kazakh SSR was established, not only had millions of Kazakhs engaged in nomadic livestock breeding and thriving in it been killed or imprisoned, but members of the small yet highly educated and influential indigenous intelligentsia had also been affected. By the late 1930s, the Kazakh intelligentsia, in both its national and Soviet manifestations, had been effectively destroyed. The nation was left decapitated and demoralized. The Kazakh people also suffered enormous losses during the Second World War. The contribution of Soviet Kazakhstan to the victory—with its mines, non-ferrous metallurgy enterprises, pastures, herds, and flocks—is difficult to overestimate, but the human resources provided by Kazakhstan were even more significant. In conditions where densely populated Ukraine was under occupation and much of the Russian population was mobilized for the front and defense industries, the Russian-speaking population of Kazakhstan became virtually the only major reserve for regular mobilization activities. Once again, the share of Kazakhs who went to the front and perished in the fight against the global threat of the time exceeded comparable figures from all other Soviet republics.

D.A. Kunaev himself made a significant personal contribution to this great and long-awaited victory. As director of the Ridder mine and later director of the Leninogorsk ore administration of the People's Commissariat of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy of the USSR in 1940–1942, he ensured the uninterrupted and efficient operation of these flagship enterprises of non-ferrous metallurgy across the Union. For this, he was noticed and transferred to government service as Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh SSR.

In addition to the tremendous human losses suffered by the Kazakh people during the repressions and war, other factors further diluted the demographic structure of the republic and reduced the proportion of the indigenous population. These included mass deportations of entire peoples to the republic by the will of the Kremlin dictator, accused of treason or collaboration with external enemies. The criminal practice of population transfers, used extensively by old conquest-driven empires, was adopted by the Stalinist regime with respect to Kazakhstan. It first manifested during collectivization in the late 1920s–early 1930s, when "kulaks and sub-kulaks" were deported en masse, and then during the "Great Terror" of 1937–1938, when tens of thousands of ethnic Koreans from the Soviet Far East and tens of thousands of ethnic Poles deported to Siberia and northern Kazakhstan became targets of repression after the Red Army's "liberation campaigns" in late September 1939. After Nazi Germany's invasion of the USSR, hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans—practically the entire population of the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—suffered the same fate. Finally, large-scale, well-organized deportations targeted peoples from the southern and North Caucasus regions deemed "guilty" before the leader, including Chechens, Ingush, Karachays, Balkars, Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks, Kalmyks, Kurds, Greeks, and Armenians.

This already diverse and artificially composed population was further altered during the campaigns of the 1950s–1960s, when hundreds of thousands of enthusiasts, adventurers, and migrants from across the country arrived in the northern regions of the republic to cultivate virgin and fallow lands. This large-scale influx of settlers and intermixing of peoples inevitably reduced the proportion of Kazakhs in the general population and also limited the use and spread of the Kazakh language. In a multiethnic population deprived of its traditional linguistic environment, the Russian language, as the state language of the totalitarian empire, naturally became dominant. Whether Kazakhs wanted it or not, increased interaction with representatives of other nationalities forced them to expand the use of Russian in professional, cultural, and everyday life.

D.A. Kunaev actively participated in the development of virgin and fallow lands, playing a key role in this complex and multifaceted process as head of the republican government—the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR. He held this position from April 1955 to January 1960. During this period, Kazakhstan, especially its northern regions, became the focus of attention across the Soviet Union as a place of new labor achievements, mass heroism, and the practical realization of the decades-long communist construction program. The establishment of a large number of state farms on newly cultivated lands in southern Siberia and northern Kazakhstan,

essentially state enterprises, reinforced the dominance of centralized, state-driven planning in the Soviet economy, thereby advancing the development of communist relations.

After the death of I.V. Stalin, N.S. Khrushchev, as the new head of the Communist Party, was a sincere supporter of communist ideology and believed it was his destiny to ensure the triumph of the principles of a communist society. The unique competition between the two largest socialist states, the USSR and the PRC, quickly escalated into a rivalry over the methods and timing of communist construction, complicating Soviet-Chinese relations for many years and often causing poorly considered, hasty, and outright erroneous decisions by Soviet leaders.

The plowing of vast areas of previously uncultivated land, primarily for crop production, was intended by Union leaders to finally end large-scale livestock breeding on lands historically used for Kazakh pastoralism. The First Secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party in 1946–1954, Zhumabay Shayakhmetov, had already suffered consequences for attempting to protect the integrity of Kazakhstan's steppe lands, which he considered the republic's primary wealth and key to the survival of the Kazakh ethnos. His dismissal and reassignment to a local party position in the South Kazakhstan region served as a lesson to other Kazakh leaders, deterring any future attempts to oppose central directives (RGANI. F.3, Op. 61. D.150. L.92–94).

It was under these circumstances that D.A. Kunaev was promoted to the highest leadership positions in the republic, first as head of the government of Soviet Kazakhstan and later as head of the republican party organization as its First Secretary. With extensive experience in managing entire sectors of the Kazakh SSR's national economy (especially raw materials and defense industries) during his tenure as Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, he was in close contact with all members of the Kazakh SSR's top leadership and, crucially, with future heavyweights of the Soviet political elite, including D.F. Ustinov and A.N. Kosygin. In his memoirs, Kunaev recalled Kosygin's keen attention to major projects:

"The construction of the Irtysh-Karaganda canal, the chemical plant, the Pavlodar Tractor Plant, the design and expansion of the Yermakov Ferrochrome Plant and thermal power station—all of this was studied, discussed, and recorded in Kosygin's vast memory. Kosygin expressed his ideas about turning Ekibastuz into the country's largest fuel and energy region and including it in the five-year plan" (Kunaev, 2022:155).

While serving as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, D.A. was in close contact with L.I. Brezhnev, who held the posts of Second Secretary from February 1954 to August 1955 and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan from August 1955 to March 1956. The Brezhnev–Kunaev tandem oversaw large-scale campaigns to develop virgin lands in Northern Kazakhstan and laid the foundations of the Soviet space program—the legendary Baikonur Cosmodrome.

Notably, at the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (2–6 August 1955), D.A. Kunaev, on behalf of the bureau, proposed electing L.I. Brezhnev as First Secretary of the CPC Kazakhstan:

"...Comrade Brezhnev has been working in Kazakhstan for one and a half years as one of the leading officials of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. During this time, he has demonstrated himself as a prominent figure in our party, a great organizer, and a sensitive comrade... The Party Bureau is confident that Comrade Brezhnev will justify our trust" (Shepel, 2017).

These circumstances must be taken into account when analyzing the leadership situation in Soviet Kazakhstan and studying the causes, circumstances, and manifestations of the struggle for leadership in the CPC Kazakhstan. D.A. Kunaev enjoyed deserved respect and favor from the leading and most capable leaders of the USSR and CPSU, though of the so-called "second" or military generation to which he himself belonged. The union-level leaders allied with him (L.I. Brezhnev, A.N. Kosygin, V.N. Titov) also greatly benefited from the support of this talented organizer, administrator, and highly capable leader of such a strategically and politically important republic as Soviet Kazakhstan.

In essence, during the period under consideration, D.A. Kunaev had no equal among his colleagues in terms of influence, abilities, or experience in administrative, economic, and political work. Serving as head of the republic's government from April 1955, he "outlasted" four First Secretaries of the republican party organization, remaining an island of stability and order, clearly eclipsing each of them with his abilities and personal qualities. Dimash Akhmedovich was entirely in his element—a son of his people, intimately familiar with their needs, hardships, and interests, speaking to them in their language, unlike the Moscow "envoys," for whom the post of First Secretary of the Communist Party of the largest union republic was merely a springboard to future union-level positions, as in the case of L.I. Brezhnev, or, conversely, a place of exile before leaving the career orbit, as with P.K. Ponomarenko or N.I. Belyaev.

N.S. Khrushchev, who became head of the CPSU and later of the Soviet government largely by circumstance, highly valued Kunaev's organizational and administrative skills. Despite Khrushchev's well-known shortcomings, he possessed peasant savvy and pragmatism and particularly appreciated professionalism and business qualities in people, understanding that only thanks to such individuals could the country entrusted to him exist and develop. The complex and sometimes contradictory relationship of the head of Soviet Kazakhstan with the highest party and state leadership of the USSR from March 1953 to October 1964 is extensively documented in D.A. Kunaev's own memoirs. Khrushchev and his leadership occupy perhaps the largest number of pages, and this is by no means accidental.

On the one hand, according to Kunaev himself:

"Khrushchev is an extraordinary, restless, and undoubtedly talented person. Speaking of him, one must remember his indisputable merits in making important decisions that benefited the entire state and our republic. For example, the Virgin Lands campaign, his courageous act as a citizen and communist related to the report at the 20th Party Congress and the denunciation of Stalin's personality cult. Showing great interest in Kazakhstan, Khrushchev always supported the resolution of several major issues related to the development of the republic's economy" (Kunaev, 2022:163).

It was Khrushchev who twice facilitated Kunaev's rise, first as head of the government and later as head of the republican party organization. Even after D.A. Kunaev was effectively removed from leadership of the Kazakh Communist Party in December 1962, almost with the label of "nationalist," Khrushchev continued to trust him as the only suitable head of the republic's government, expressing this in a phone conversation on the day of his removal as First Secretary:

"We believe that as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, you will bring the greatest benefit" (Kunaev, 2022:153).

On the other hand, again according to Kunaev:

"Khrushchev was excessively fussy and hurried, which sometimes led to undesirable outcomes. His serious shortcomings included inconsistency and complete disregard for others' proposals. One could not oppose him in anything; his directives had to be strictly followed. He also liked flattery. ... He wanted to resolve all issues very quickly, without thorough consideration. In my observation, he confused strictness with rudeness and quick decisions with haste" (Kunaev, 2022:165).

This evaluation reveals as much about its author as it does about its subject, highlighting in Dimash Akhmedovich qualities such as keen observation, insight, understanding of the essence of issues and phenomena, and profound psychological awareness that he possessed from his earliest conscious years. Meanwhile, the object of his analysis and critique—Khrushchev—emerges as even more distinct and understandable.

The famous monument on Khrushchev's grave, created by Ernst Neizvestny, emphasizes the duality, contradictions, and inconsistency of the Soviet leader's character. Under Khrushchev's leadership of union structures, the status and powers of the union republics, with all their governing bodies and subdivisions, began to gain real substance, while the dictatorial, over-centralized powers of the center weakened. At the same time, the union as a whole faced serious danger.

Kunaev described the sequence of Khrushchev's initiatives: first, the Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan for the virgin lands, based in Tselinograd, then the creation of the Tselinny Krai with five regions.

- "Will this Krai be under dual subordination?" I asked. Khrushchev answered affirmatively.
- "This is wrong, Nikita Sergeyevich; why are we carving up the land?"
- "You don't understand," was his reply, and silence fell on the line (Kunaev, 2022:148).

Later, in Moscow:

- "I propose," began Khrushchev, "to transfer Karaganda region to Tselinny Krai..." <...> Hearing this, I objected:
- "We absolutely cannot do this. If we include Karaganda in the Krai, we may lose our grain. The Krai won't have time for grain."
- "Without industry, we cannot develop the Virgin Lands," said Khrushchev. "You don't understand again. We are not giving Karaganda to the capitalists. Kunaev must remove his objections" (Kunaev, 2022:148).

A.I. Mikoyan helped protect Karaganda from inclusion, but within months Khrushchev called again, urging the establishment of two more Krai in Kazakhstan. He revealed his further intentions:

"It was time to transition to regional management of Kazakhstan's economy, and eventually the boundaries between the republics would disappear... Resistance was useless," recalled Kunaev, "and the West Kazakhstan and South Kazakhstan Krai were organized. Proposals for creating the East Kazakhstan Krai were being prepared..." (Kunaev, 2022:149).

"Later I realized," Kunaev recalled, "where it was heading. At that time, the Central Asian Bureau was also created, including leaders from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Shymkent region of Kazakhstan. It was clear that Khrushchev was attempting to accelerate his idea of erasing the boundaries between republics" (Kunaev, 2022:149).

In our view, Khrushchev's duality regarding the rights and powers of the republics stemmed from his worldview, shaped by years of involvement in "communist construction." He was arguably the most ardent advocate of the communist idea. Skepticism and cynicism had begun to permeate the CPSU and Soviet state leadership, spreading widely after Khrushchev's removal during the so-called "stagnation," yet Khrushchev's enthusiasm—mixed with the heroism and romance of the Virgin Lands campaign, space conquest, and the transformation of socialism into a global socio-economic system amid the collapse of colonial empires—continued to energize the communist project. The attempt, albeit inconsistent, to purge Stalinism, recognized by the party as a "deviation from the practice of Marxism-Leninism," also gave new life to the communist idea. The "thaw" of Khrushchev's era was largely linked to a desire to return to a mythical "golden Leninist era" of tolerance and ambiguity, which in reality had never existed—a phenomenon similar in some ways to Gorbachev's "perestroika."

For that generation of union and republican leaders—Khrushchev, Kosygin, Brezhnev, and Suslov—internationalist ideology was not empty rhetoric or mere ritual. Khrushchev's initiatives for the union republics—erasing borders, creating integrated economic links, promoting interethnic marriages, and expanding the use of Russian in all spheres—were consistent with the broader ideological framework. Perhaps only Khrushchev's characteristic style made these initiatives more direct and impatient in practice.

We argue that the post-Stalin era, when a new generation of republican leaders emerged, restored the competition between the center and republican elites interrupted by Stalinist repression—though not yet on a nationalist basis, as it would be three decades later, but in terms of giving the USSR real and substantive content. Thanks to leaders like D.A. Kunaev, the union state not only survived without disintegrating but developed, achieved successes, and demonstrated the viability of the socialist project, increasingly facing and serving the population, the peoples forming the emerging Soviet socio-political community.

At the same time, D.A. Kunaev remained a thoroughly Soviet person, a product of Soviet education and elite selection, albeit of the highest quality. He remained committed to the ideology of internationalism until the end of his life, seeing it as key to the development of a multiethnic USSR and the maintenance of stability and order in multiethnic Kazakhstan, which became, in large measure due to his efforts, a "laboratory of friendship among peoples." Accusations of nationalism were

angrily rejected, though they followed him throughout his long party and state career. His somewhat humiliating dismissal was also accompanied by claims of supporting and cultivating nationalism.

Here we see an objective contradiction between the central policy aimed at minimizing national and cultural differences, represented by Khrushchev and other union leaders, and the position of the republics and national elites, who acted in the interests of their republics and peoples. Even when leaders of the union republics demonstrated no nationalist inclinations and repeatedly denied such accusations, the mere existence of formally independent and equal republics—with all the attributes of sovereign states, linguistic, cultural, and religious differences—reminded them of their roots and national identity.

A key event in the life of D.A. Kunaev, the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, and the republic as a whole was the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPC Kazakhstan, which resulted not in the appointment of another Moscow envoy, but in the election of a Kazakh national—D.A. Kunaev—as First Secretary. He assessed this event modestly in his memoirs:

"On January 19, 1960, our plenum took place with the participation of Brezhnev. Belyaev was sharply criticized for deficiencies in industrial and agricultural management, organizational and ideological work. I was also reproached at this plenum. Belyaev was removed from office. On the same day, I was unanimously elected First Secretary of the Central Committee" (Kunaev, 2022:122).

"I was the third elected secretary from the indigenous population," he added with a subtle sense of pride (Kunaev, 2022:122). Other key republican posts were also filled by members of Kunaev's team. Fazyl Karimovich Karibzhanov was recommended as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Zhumabek Akhmetovich Tashenov became Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR.

It is worth noting that the events surrounding the removal of Nikolai Ilyich Belyaev from the post of First Secretary of the republican party organization and the election of D.A. Kunaev to this position took place with the direct participation of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, who at that time was already Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Dimash Akhmedovich never concealed the warm feelings that connected these two men—politicians and statesmen—and repeatedly emphasized the special role that L.I. Brezhnev played in his life, his career, and the fate of Kazakhstan as a whole.

"Assessing Brezhnev's activities, I proceeded прежде всего from his attitude toward our republic. And it was both benevolent and strict, and in this I saw a reasonable statesmanlike approach," wrote D.A. Kunaev (Kunaev, 2022: 284). In these words, perhaps, the essence of his attitude toward Brezhnev and his contribution to the development of Kazakhstan is fully expressed. It was likely at that moment, in the early 1960s, that Brezhnev first directly influenced Kunaev's fate, while the public criticism of Belyaev appears to have aligned with the growing ambitions of Brezhnev as an emerging all-Union party and state leader (Sushkov, 2007: 239–247).

In any case, this was in many respects an epoch-making event for Soviet Kazakhstan. Although Zh. Shayakhmetov had previously headed the republican party organization, it was for the first time that such sharp, uncompromising, and persuasive criticism was directed at the outgoing head of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, who was Russian by nationality. Subsequent developments demonstrated that Dimash Akhmedovich Kunaev had no intention of relinquishing leadership of the republican party organization again. Thus began the true "Kunaev era," which lasted more than a quarter of a century. The results of his tenure at the pinnacle of power in Soviet Kazakhstan speak for themselves. The fruits of his activity do not require discovery under a conditional historical microscope, nor do they require retouching or the omission of errors, miscalculations, or even crimes that often accompany the careers of many political and state figures.

D.A. Kunaev was undoubtedly a product of his era, with all its inherent flaws and specific features characteristic of the complex and contradictory Soviet reality. Born under the tsarist regime, he was formed during the first decades of Soviet rule, which coincided with severe terror and tremendous hardships inflicted upon millions of Soviet citizens by I.V. Stalin. These tragic circumstances could not but influence the formation of the personality of the future long-serving leader of Soviet Kazakhstan, shaping his views, character, and methods of action in his long and multifaceted professional, political, and state career. Yet the suffering endured by Soviet people in

general, and by Kunaev's friends, relatives, and loved ones in particular, did not lead him to renounce the moral principles instilled in him from childhood, nor to harden his heart and become a soulless executor of the will of the state Moloch, as happened with many others in positions of power.

From this perspective, the parallels in worldview, professional skills, working methods, communication style, personal orientations, and even hobbies between D.A. Kunaev and his close friend, associate, and high-ranking patron L.I. Brezhnev are noteworthy. The years of Brezhnev's rule—later labeled the "era of stagnation"—were arguably among the most constructive and productive in the history of the Soviet state, remembered by millions across the post-Soviet space as a kind of "golden age." The contemporary nostalgia for the Soviet period in Russia rests not only on the often-inflated image of geopolitical power but also on objectively achieved successes in socio-economic development during Brezhnev's leadership.

An analysis of the original draft of Kunaev's speech and the corrections he personally made to the plenum transcript (as evidenced by his autograph on the document) leads to several important conclusions. First and foremost, we see before us a fully formed statesman with stable principles and convictions, clearly aware of what he expected from himself, from the organization he led, and from the republic under his guidance. He remembered the past, understood the present, and looked confidently toward the future. Although it would be interesting to determine who drafted the initial version of the speech, it is entirely plausible that it was Kunaev himself. The so-called "transcript" appears to have been prepared prior to the event rather than during it. The substantial revisions indicate deliberate intellectual work and allow, through textual analysis, a well-formed understanding of Kunaev's views on party-state construction, center-republic relations, and the role of the republican party organization and the peoples of Soviet Kazakhstan.

Particularly telling is the frequent substitution of the word "republic" with "Kazakhstan." At first glance, the difference may seem insignificant, but it is in fact meaningful. In the first case, the term denotes one part of a unified союзное государство; in the second, it elevates the distinctive national dimension of socio-political and socio-economic existence (Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan [APRK], F. 708, Op. 33, D. 32, L. 11, 16).

The speech also contains notable authorial corrections concerning the national question. "Party, Soviet, and public organizations of Kazakhstan must daily strengthen the moral and political unity of our people" (APRK, F. 708, Op. 33, D. 32, L. 16). In the original draft, the word "people" had been "party." An even more revealing formulation appears in the phrase: "We must cherish as the apple of our eye (originally: 'the friendship of the peoples of the USSR'—author's note) such a most important achievement of our Leninist policy as the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union."

Toward the conclusion of his speech, Kunaev addressed the issue of "nationalism" in terms that seem to reflect his sincere convictions: "We must not forget that the successes achieved by the Kazakh people in all spheres of the economy and culture are vivid evidence of the triumph of the Leninist national policy of our party. They became possible only as a result of the generous fraternal assistance of the great Russian people (originally: 'only with the help of the Russian people'—author's note) and other peoples of the Soviet Union" (APRK, F. 708, Op. 33, D. 32, L. 11, 16).

Two important aspects should be emphasized here. First, the adherence to Leninist national policy—meaning the preservation of the USSR as a union of socialist republics—was underlined as fundamental. Second, while acknowledging the "generous fraternal assistance of the great Russian people" (a sentiment Kunaev may have expressed sincerely), he also stressed the role of "other peoples of the Soviet Union." Kunaev understood that friendship among the peoples of the USSR was not only a guarantee of dynamic development but also a safeguard against great-power chauvinism and against the imperial principle of "divide and rule." For this reason, he remained committed to internationalism, which in his view did not contradict healthy patriotism and national consciousness.

The criticisms directed at N.I. Belyaev are also revealing. Unlike many other speakers, Kunaev focused primarily on Belyaev's inaction and lack of initiative: "Comrade Belyaev did not fully appreciate the major tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee before the party organization of Kazakhstan in further raising the national economy and transforming Kazakhstan into a major

industrial, coal, and metallurgical base of the country. During his tenure, not a single significant issue was raised before the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR government regarding the further development of Kazakhstan's productive forces."

Comparing Kunaev's speeches with those of his principal rival, Ismail Abdrasulovich Yusupov, reveals sharp contrasts in leadership style and attitude toward people. Their positions on party and socio-political development were not merely competitive but often diametrically opposed. Only Kunaev's flexibility, tact, and diplomacy allowed them to coexist and cooperate at the summit of power.

A revealing episode occurred during discussions of mass livestock losses in the Alma-Ata region in winter–spring 1960 at the June 1960 plenum. Kunaev devoted seven pages to analyzing the situation; Yusupov only three—but his accusations against local party and Soviet officials were much harsher. His denunciations targeted alleged "private-property tendencies," which he claimed undermined collective agriculture (APRK, F. 708, Op. 33, D. 58, L. 21–23). Such rhetoric aligned closely with Khrushchev's ideological campaign against private interests and in favor of collectivism.

Yusupov's later initiative to transfer parts of the South Kazakhstan region to the Uzbek SSR—ostensibly for more rational cotton cultivation—may have carried a significant military-strategic dimension. Cotton was a crucial component in the production of gunpowder and explosives. Soviet leadership's special attention to Central Asia may have reflected not only personal ties but also strategic priorities. In the case of Kazakhstan, this strategic complex included uranium mining and enrichment, nuclear testing, intercontinental missile deployment, the Baikonur Cosmodrome, and chemical and biological weapons research.

Did Kunaev understand this? Undoubtedly. From 1942 onward, he was connected with defense-related administration. Yet even strategic imperatives could not compel him to accept territorial losses. The preservation—and when necessary, restoration—of republican territory was one of his constant priorities.

Despite his objections in December 1962, territorial transfers proceeded (Kunaev, 2022: 150). Khrushchev, prepared in advance, relied on the more compliant Yusupov. Strategic cotton interests outweighed arguments about interethnic tensions. After the Cuban Missile Crisis (1961) and the Novocherkassk events (1962), Khrushchev was increasingly unwilling to heed dissenting views.

On December 25, 1962, a plenum removed Kunaev as First Secretary, appointing Yusupov in his place. The "Dauletov case" was used to justify the move, with accusations of "nationalism" directed against both S.D. Dauletov and Kunaev (APRK, F. 708, Op. 35, D. 14, L. 282–284).

However, Kunaev was not allowed to withdraw into scientific work (Kunaev, 2022: 152). His abilities were too valuable. Khrushchev recognized that Kunaev as Chairman of the Council of Ministers guaranteed effective fulfillment of both economic and strategic objectives. Perhaps Brezhnev and Kosygin, already maneuvering politically, also saw in him a reliable ally in the republics.

For D.A. Kunaev, everything was only beginning. Two productive years as head of government lay ahead, followed by his triumphant return as First Secretary in December 1964—and twenty-two more years of effective leadership at the helm of Soviet Kazakhstan.

Заключение. Анализ партийно-государственной деятельности Д.А. Кунаева в 1955–1962 гг. показывает, что именно этот период стал переходным и во многом переломным как для самого политика, так и для Казахской ССР в целом. Казахстан, к середине 1950-х гг. оставаясь союзной республикой лишь формально, фактически продолжал выполнять функции колониального придатка – сырьевого, военного и экспериментального полигона общесоюзного масштаба. Демографические катастрофы 1920–1930-х гг., массовые репрессии, война, депортации целых народов и целинная кампания радикально изменили этническую структуру республики, превратив коренное казахское население в относительное меньшинство и резко сузив поле применения казахского языка.

В этих условиях выдвижение Д.А. Кунаева сначала на пост председателя Совета министров КазССР, а затем и первого секретаря ЦК Компартии Казахстана стало важнейшим

фактором внутренней стабилизации республики. Обладая опытом управления ключевыми отраслями (цветная металлургия, оборонный комплекс), тесными связями с союзным руководством (Л.И. Брежнев, А.Н. Косыгин и др.), Кунаев выступил как фигура, способная одновременно проводить линию центра и отстаивать базовые интересы республики – территориальные, экономические, символические.

Изучение его выступлений и правок к текстам (включая материалы пленумов ЦК КП Казахстана) показывает, что, оставаясь лояльным продуктом советской системы и сторонником интернационализма, он последовательно придавал больший вес категории «Казахстан», а не обезличенной «республике», акцентировал «народ», а не только «партию», подчеркивал важность национальной политики и «дружбы народов» как противовеса великодержавному шовинизму. В условиях хрущёвских экспериментов с административно-территориальным делением (края, Целинный край, Средазбюро) и опасных попыток «размывания» границ союзных республик Кунаев стремился сохранить целостность и субъектность советского Казахстана, пусть и в рамках жёстко централизованной союзной системы.

Таким образом, период 1955–1962 гг. можно рассматривать как время формирования «эры Кунаева» – долгого этапа в истории Казахской ССР, когда руководитель, оставаясь полностью советским по мировоззрению, постепенно превращался в выразителя интересов республики и её народа внутри союзного государственного организма.

Conclusion. An analysis of the party-state activity of D.A. Kunaev in 1955–1962 demonstrates that this period became transitional and, in many respects, decisive both for the politician himself and for the Kazakh SSR as a whole. By the mid-1950s, Kazakhstan—while formally a Union republic—continued in practice to function as a colonial appendage: a raw-material base, a military-strategic territory, and an all-Union experimental testing ground. The demographic catastrophes of the 1920s–1930s, mass repressions, war, deportations of entire peoples, and the Virgin Lands campaign radically transformed the republic’s ethnic structure, turning the indigenous Kazakh population into a relative minority and significantly narrowing the sphere of use of the Kazakh language.

Under these conditions, the elevation of D.A. Kunaev—first to the post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR and then to that of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan—became a crucial factor in the republic’s internal stabilization. Possessing managerial experience in key sectors (non-ferrous metallurgy, the defense complex) and maintaining close ties with the Union leadership, including Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin, Kunaev emerged as a figure capable of simultaneously implementing the center’s line and defending the republic’s fundamental interests—territorial, economic, and symbolic.

A study of his speeches and editorial revisions (including materials from plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan) shows that, while remaining a loyal product of the Soviet system and a proponent of internationalism, he consistently attached greater importance to the category of “Kazakhstan” rather than the impersonal “republic,” emphasized the “people” rather than only the “party,” and underscored the significance of national policy and the “friendship of peoples” as a counterweight to great-power chauvinism. In the context of Khrushchev’s administrative-territorial experiments (the creation of territorial economic councils, the Virgin Lands Territory, and the Central Asian Bureau) and the potentially dangerous attempts to blur the borders of Union republics, Kunaev sought to preserve the territorial integrity and subjectivity of Soviet Kazakhstan—albeit within the framework of a rigidly centralized Union system.

Thus, the period 1955–1962 may be regarded as the formative stage of the “Kunaev era”—a long phase in the history of the Kazakh SSR during which a leader, fully Soviet in worldview, gradually transformed into an advocate of the republic’s interests and those of its people within the broader Union state structure.

Источники

АП РК — Архив Президента Республики Казахстан
РГАНИ — Российский государственный архив новейшей истории

Sources

APRK — Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan
RGANI — Russian State Archive of Contemporary History

Литература

- Абуева, 2007 — Абуева Н. А. Становление казахстанской элитологии: научное издание. Российская акад. наук, Ин-т науч. информ. по общественным наукам. Москва: ИНИОН РАН, 2007. 51 с.
- Абылхожин, 1997 — Абылхожин Ж.Б. Очерки социально-экономической истории Казахстана. XX век. Алматы: Университет «Туран», 1997. 360 с.
- Абылхожин, 2019 — Абылхожин Ж.Б. Постсталинский период в истории Советского Казахстана: череда обреченных реформ и несостоявшихся деклараций (1953-1991) Алматы: КБТУ, 2019. 465 с.
- Ашимбаев, Хлюпин, 2008 — Ашимбаев Д., Хлюпин В. Казахстан: история власти. Опыт реконструкции. Алматы, 2008. 920 с.
- Головинова, 2011 — Головинова Ю. Партийно-административная элита СССР в отечественной историографии рубежа XX-XXI вв. // Известия Алтайского государственного университета. 2011. С.74-76.
- Кабульдинов, Черепанов, Касымова, 2024 — Кабульдинов З.Е., Черепанов К.В., Касымова Д.Б. «Времена не выбирают, в них живут и умирают». Д.А. Кунаев и его время // Oriental Studies. 2024. Т.17. №2. С. 298-319.
- Касымова, 2022 — Касымова Д.Б. Как «уходили» со своих постов Ж. Шаяхметов и Д.А. Кунаев: общее и особенное//edu.e-history.kz. №3, 2022. С. 151-162.
- Кищенко, Никифоров, Тумаков, 2021 — Кищенко М.С., Никифоров Ю.С., Тумаков Д.В. Бюрократические практики ярославской региональной элиты в работе с письмами граждан в СССР 1960-х годов // Новейшая история России. 2021. Т.11, № 1. С.134-148.
- Кунаев, 2022 — Кунаев Д.А. О моем времени. От Сталина до Горбачева. Алматы: «Meloman Publishing», 2022. 378 с.
- Сушков, 2007 — Сушков А. В. Первая интрига Л. И. Брежнева в высшем руководстве СССР: смещение Н. И. Беляева с поста первого секретаря ЦК компартии Казахстана в 1960 г. // Роль исторического образования в формировании исторического сознания общества. XI международные историко-педагогические чтения: сборник научных статей. Екатеринбург: УрГПУ, 2007. Часть I. – 298 с.
- Тулепбаев, Тулепбаева, 2006 — Тулепбаев Б.А., Тулепбаева К.У. Д.А. Кунаев – выдающийся государственный и политический деятель. Алматы: «Нурлы Алем», 2006. 304 с.
- Филиппов 2021 — Филиппов С.И. Феномен «бегства» советских элит в ряды оппозиции в конце 1980-х – начале 1990-х гг: макросоциологический анализ // Идеи и идеалы. 2021. Т. 13, № 2, ч. 1. С. 92–109.
- Шепель В.Н. Брежнев: Два года в Казахстане. 18.01.2013.<https://nomad.su/?a=15-201301180012>. Дата обращения 8.06.2023
- Bhavna Dave, 2007 — Bhavna Dave. Kazakhstan: Ethnicity, Language and Power. London; New York: Routledge, 2007. 242 p.
- Cleary, 1967 — Cleary W. Politics and Administration in Soviet Kazakhstan 1955–1964. Ph.D. diss. / Australian National University. Canberra, 1967. 454 p.
- Hodnett, 1975 — Hodnett G. Succession Contingencies in the Soviet Union // Problems of Communism, XXIV, 1975. Pp. 1–21, 131 p.
- Hodnett, 1978 — Hodnett G. Leadership in the Soviet National Republics. Oakville, Ontario, 1978. 410 p.
- Keller, 2020 — Keller S. Russia and Central Asia: Coexistence, Conquest, Convergence. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020. 346 p.
- Khalid, 2021 — Khalid A. Central Asia: A New History from the Imperial Conquests to the Present. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021. 556 p.
- Rigby, 1968 — Rigby T.H. Communist Party Membership in the USSR, 1917–1967. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968. 600 p.
- Rigby, 1970–1971 — Rigby T.H. The Soviet Leadership: Towards a Self-Oligarchy? // Soviet Studies, XXII, 1970–1971. Pp. 167–191.
- Rigby, 1980 — Rigby T.H. A Conceptual Approach to Authority, Power and Policy in the Soviet Union // Authority, Power and Policy in the USSR: Essays Dedicated to Leonard Schapiro / Ed. by T.H. Rigby. London: Macmillan, 1980. 207 p.
- Rigby, 1983 — Rigby T.H., Brown A., Reddaway P., Schapiro L. Authority, Power and Policy in the USSR: Essays Dedicated to Leonard Schapiro. London: Macmillan, 1983. 221 p.
- Rigby, 1988 — Rigby T.H. Staffing USSR Incorporated: The Origins of the Nomenklatura System // Soviet Studies, XI(4), 1988. Pp. 523–537.

References

- Abueva, 2007 — Abueva N. A. Stanovlenie kazakhstanskoi elitologii: nauchnoe izdanie [The Formation of Kazakhstani Elitology: Scientific Edition]. Rossiyskaya akad. nauk, In-t nauch. inform. po obshchestvennym naukam. Moskva: INION RAN, 2007. 51 s. (In Russ.)
- Abylkhozhin, 1997 — Abylkhozhin Zh. B. Ocherki sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii Kazakhstana. XX vek [Essays on the Socio-Economic History of Kazakhstan. 20th Century]. Almaty: Universitet "Turan", 1997. 360 s. (In Russ.)
- Abylkhozhin, 2019 — Abylkhozhin Zh. B. Poststalinskiy period v istorii Sovetskogo Kazakhstana: chereda obrechennykh reform i nesostoyavshikhya deklaratsii (1953–1991) [The Post-Stalin Period in the History of Soviet Kazakhstan: A Series of Doomed Reforms and Failed Declarations (1953–1991)]. Almaty: KBTU, 2019. 465 s. (In Russ.)
- Ashimbaev, Khlyupin, 2008 — Ashimbaev D., Khlyupin V. Kazakhstan: istoriya vlasti. Opyt rekonstruktsii [Kazakhstan: History of Power. A Reconstruction Experience]. Almaty, 2008. 920 s. (In Russ.)
- Bhavna Dave, 2007 — Bhavna Dave. Kazakhstan: Ethnicity, Language and Power. London; New York: Routledge, 2007. 242 p.
- Cleary, 1967 — Cleary W. Politics and Administration in Soviet Kazakhstan 1955–1964. Ph.D. diss. / Australian National University. Canberra, 1967. 454 p.
- Filippov, 2021 — Filippov S. I. Fenomen "begstva" sovetskikh elit v ryady oppozitsii v kontse 1980–kh – nachale 1990–kh gg.: makrosotsiologicheskii analiz [The Phenomenon of Soviet Elites "Fleeing" to the Opposition in the Late 1980s – Early 1990s: A Macrosociological Analysis] // Idei i Idealy. 2021. T. 13, № 2, ch. 1. S. 92–109. (In Russ.)
- Golovinova, 2011 — Golovinova Yu. Partiyno-administrativnaya elita SSSR v otechestvennoy istoriografii rubezha XX–XXI vv. [The Party-Administrative Elite of the USSR in Domestic Historiography at the Turn of the 20th–21st Centuries] // Izvestiya Altayskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. 2011. S. 74–76. (In Russ.)
- Hodnett, 1975 — Hodnett G. Succession Contingencies in the Soviet Union // Problems of Communism, XXIV, 1975. Pp. 1–21, 131 p.
- Hodnett, 1978 — Hodnett G. Leadership in the Soviet National Republics. Oakville, Ontario, 1978. 410 p.
- Kabuldinov, Cherepanov, Kasymova, 2024 — Kabuldinov Z. E., Cherepanov K. V., Kasymova D. B. "Vremena ne vybirayut, v nikh zhivut i umirayut". D. A. Kunaev i ego vremena ["Times Are Not Chosen, People Live and Die in Them." D.A. Kunaev and His Time] // Oriental Studies. 2024. T. 17, № 2. S. 298–319. (In Russ.)
- Kasymova, 2022 — Kasymova D. B. Kak "ukhodili" so svoikh postov Zh. Shayakhmetov i D. A. Kunaev: obshchee i osobennoe [How Zh. Shayakhmetov and D.A. Kunaev "Left" Their Posts: General and Specific Aspects] // edu.e-history.kz. № 3, 2022. S. 151–162. (In Russ.)
- Keller, 2020 — Keller S. Russia and Central Asia: Coexistence, Conquest, Convergence. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020. 346 p.
- Khalid, 2021 — Khalid A. Central Asia: A New History from the Imperial Conquests to the Present. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021. 556 p.
- Kishchenkov, Nikiforov, Tumakov, 2021 — Kishchenkov M. S., Nikiforov Yu. S., Tumakov D. V. Byurokraticheskie praktiki yaroslavskoi regionalnoy elity v rabote s pis'mami grazhdan v SSSR 1960-kh godov [Bureaucratic Practices of the Yaroslavl Regional Elite in Dealing with Citizens' Letters in the USSR in the 1960s] // Noveyshaya istoriya Rossii. 2021. T. 11, № 1. S. 134–148. (In Russ.)
- Kunaev, 2022 — Kunaev D. A. O moem vremeni. Ot Stalina do Gorbacheva [About My Time: From Stalin to Gorbachev]. Almaty: Meloman Publishing, 2022. 378 s. (In Russ.)
- Rigby, 1968 — Rigby T.H. Communist Party Membership in the USSR, 1917–1967. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968. 600 p.
- Rigby, 1970–1971 — Rigby T.H. The Soviet Leadership: Towards a Self-Oligarchy? // Soviet Studies, XXII, 1970–1971. Pp. 167–191.
- Rigby, 1980 — Rigby T.H. A Conceptual Approach to Authority, Power and Policy in the Soviet Union // Authority, Power and Policy in the USSR: Essays Dedicated to Leonard Schapiro / Ed. by T.H. Rigby. London: Macmillan, 1980. 207 p.
- Rigby, 1983 — Rigby T.H., Brown A., Reddaway P., Schapiro L. Authority, Power and Policy in the USSR: Essays Dedicated to Leonard Schapiro. London: Macmillan, 1983. 221 p.
- Rigby, 1988 — Rigby T.H. Staffing USSR Incorporated: The Origins of the Nomenklatura System // Soviet Studies, XI(4), 1988. Pp. 523–537.
- Shepel, 2013 — Shepel V. N. Brezhnev: Dva goda v Kazakhstane [Brezhnev: Two Years in Kazakhstan]. 18.01.2013. URL: <https://nomad.su/?a=15-201301180012> (date of access: 08.06.2023). (In Russ.)
- Sushkov, 2007 — Sushkov A. V. Pervaya intriga L. I. Brezhneva v vysshem rukovodstve SSSR: smeschenie N. I. Belyaeva s posta pervogo sekretarya TsK Kompartii Kazakhstana v 1960 g. [The First Intrigue of L.I. Brezhnev in the USSR Leadership: Dismissal of N.I. Belyaev from First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan in 1960] // Rol' istoricheskogo obrazovaniya v formirovaniy istoricheskogo soznaniya obshchestva. XI mezhdunarodnye istoriko-pedagogicheskie chteniya: sbornik nauchnykh statey. Ekaterinburg: URGPU, 2007. Chast I. 298 s. (In Russ.)
- Tulepbaev, Tulepbaeva, 2006 — Tulepbaev B. A., Tulepbaeva K. U. D. A. Kunaev – vydaiushchiysya gosudarstvennyy i politicheskii deyatel' [D.A. Kunaev – Outstanding State and Political Figure]. Almaty: Nurdy Alem, 2006. 304 s. (In Russ.)

CONTENTS / МАЗМҰНЫ / СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

Abdulina A.T. EYEWITNESS MEMORIES OF THE FAMINE OF THE 1930S IN KAZAKHSTAN: QUESTIONS OF SOURCE STUDIES AND REFLECTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE.....	4
Абикова Г.М., Билялов Е. ҰЛТТЫҚ БИБЛИОГРАФИЯ ЖӘНЕ М.ДУЛАТУҰЛЫ: «ҚАЗАҚ ТІЛІНДЕ БАСЫЛҒАН КІТАПТАР КӨРСЕТКІШІНІҢ» ТАРИХИ МАҢЫЗЫ.....	15
Ахмедов Ш.Ф. ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ ПОЛИТИКА СОВЕТСКОЙ ВЛАСТИ В СФЕРЕ ЖИВОТНОВОДСТВА УЗБЕКСКОЙ ССР И ЕЁ СОЦИАЛЬНО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЕ ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ.....	27
Badalzade G. EXPLORING SOCIAL INCLUSION OF CHILDREN WITH DOWN SYNDROME IN AZERBAIJANI PRIMARY SCHOOLS: A QUALITATIVE STUDY.....	36
Beisembayeva A.R. SOME ASPECTS OF ABLAI KHAN’S RELATIONS WITH THE ALATAU KYRGYZ IN THE 1760S–1780S: BASED ON RUSSIAN ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS.....	46
Jabbarli Yu. PERSONNEL POLICY IN THE AZERBAIJAN (1970s).....	59
Zhumatay S. THE FORMATION AND PUBLICATION HISTORY OF THE QAZAQ TILI NEWSPAPER.....	65
Капасова Г., Садвакасова Ж., Урюстюмова А. ҚАЗАҚСТАН МЕН ҚЫРҒЫЗСТАНДАҒЫ МӘДЕНИ-ТАРИХИ ТУРИЗМНІҢ ДАМУ ТЕНДЕНЦИЯЛАРЫ (2000–2023 ЖЖ.).....	78
Rakhmetova A., Sarsembayeva G. DEMOGRAPHIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE 1990S CRISIS IN EASTERN KAZAKHSTAN.....	90
Саидова Р.И. РЕСПУБЛИКА УЗБЕКИСТАН В СОВРЕМЕННОЙ СИСТЕМЕ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ.....	101
Сманова А.М. XX Ғ. БАСЫНДАҒЫ ҰЛТТЫҚ ИДЕЯНЫҢ ҚАЗІРГІ ОТАНДЫҚ ТАРИХТА ОҚЫТЫЛУ МӘСЕЛЕСІ (АКАДЕМИК К.НҰРПЕЙІСТІҢ ЗЕРТТЕУЛЕРІ МЫСАЛЫНДА).....	113
Сүлейменова А.Т. ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ 1920–1930-ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ САЯСИ ҚУҒЫН-СҮРГІНДЕР ҚҰРБАНЫ – ҒАЛЫМ, АГРОНОМ СМАҒҰЛ ҚАЗБЕКОВ.....	125
Тангиров Ш.А. АНАЛИЗ ИСТОЧНИКОВ О РУССКОЙ МЕДИЦИНСКОЙ СИСТЕМЕ И ОТНОШЕНИИ К НЕЙ МЕСТНОГО НАСЕЛЕНИЯ В ЗАРАФСАНСКОМ ОКРУГЕ И САМАРКАНДСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ В ПЕРИОД РОССИЙСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ.....	144
Темирханов Б., Сәмбет М. ӘМӘУИ ӘУЛЕТІНІҢ БІЛІККЕ КЕЛУІ ЖӘНЕ ИСЛАМ ТАРИХЫНДАҒЫ ЖАҢА САЯСИ КЕЗЕҢ.....	152
Cherepanov K. PARTY-STATE ACTIVITY D. KUNAEV IN 1955-1962.....	161

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/>
Тел.: +7 (776) 301-11-11 (Ұялы телефон)
+7 (775) 537-77-72 (whatsapp)

E-mail: hkca.kz@gmail.com

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

Мақалаларды қайта бастырып жариялағанда, микрофильмге және басқа да көшірмелерге
түсіргенде міндетті түрде журналға сілтеме жасау қажет.