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## **NATIONAL PERSONNEL POLICY IN THE STATE-PARTY APPARATUS OF THE KAZAKH SSR IN 1945-1991**

The top party leadership emphasized the importance of proper representation of all nations in state and party bodies, so that the composition of leadership cadres would sufficiently reflect the national structure of the population, which had specific needs in the field of everyday life, culture, and language. The formation of national cadres was under the close control of the Party leadership and was an important element of the national policy of the USSR. This is evidenced by numerous meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, conferences, plenums, congresses, etc.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the national personnel policy in the state-party apparatus of the Kazakh SSR. Based on archival documents and statistical materials, the authors traced the trends in the selection and placement of personnel. The main objective of the article is to analyze the data on the dynamics of national cadres in the period from 1945 to 1991.

The article uses published and unpublished archival materials of the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the State Archive of the Russian Federation, as well as data of official statistics.

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**Key words:** national cadres, state administration, Soviet national policy, Kazakh SSR, indigenization, ethno-political representativeness.

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### **1945-1991 жылдардағы Қазақ КСР мемлекеттік партия аппаратындағы ұлттық кадр саясаты**

Жоғарғы партиялық басшылығы мемлекеттік және партиялық органдарда барлық ұлт өкілдерінің дұрыс өкілдік етуінің маңыздылығын атап көрсетті, сондықтан басшы кадрлардың құрамы халықтың тұрмыс-тіршілігі, мәдениеті, тілі саласындағы нақты қажеттіліктерінен бар халықтың ұлттық құрылымын жеткілікті түрде бейнелейді. Ұлттық кадрларды қалыптастыру партия басшылығының жіті бақылауында болды және КСРО ұлт саясатының маңызды элементі болды. Бұған дәлел КОКП ОК-нің көптеген мәжілістері, конференциялар, пленумдар, съездер, т.б.

Бұл мақаланың мақсаты – Қазақ КСР-дың 1945-1991 жылдардағы мемлекеттік-партиялық аппаратындағы ұлттық кадр саясатын талдау. Мұрағат құжаттары мен жарияланған статистикалық материалдарға сүйене отырып, авторлар кадрларды іріктеу және орналастыру үрдістерін бақылаған. Мақаланың негізгі мақсаты – 1945-1991 жылдар аралығындағы ұлттық кадрлардың динамикасы туралы деректерді талдау.

Мақалада Қазақстан Республикасы Президентінің Мұрағатының және Ресей Федерациясының Мемлекеттік мұрағатының жарияланған және жарияланбаған мұрағаттық материалдары пайдаланылды.

Мақала IRN AP4972994 «Жас Ғалым» ғылыми жобасының «1945-1991 жылдардағы Қазақстандағы кеңестік ұлттық саясат және ұлтаралық қатынастардың мәселелері» атты ғылыми жобасы аясында жүзеге асырылды.

**Түйін сөздер:** ұлттық кадрлар, мемлекеттік басқару, кеңестік ұлт саясаты, Қазақ КСР, ұлтшылдық, этносаия өкілдік.

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### **Национально-кадровая политика в государственно-партийном аппарате КазССР в 1945-1991 гг.**

Высшее партийное руководство подчеркивало важность должного представительства всех наций в государственных и партийных органах, чтобы состав руководящих кадров в достаточной мере отражал национальную структуру населения, имеющего специфические запросы в области быта, культуры, языка. Формирование национальных кадров находилось под пристальным контролем руководства партии и являлось важным элементом национальной политики СССР. Этому свидетельствуют многочисленные заседания ЦК КПСС, конференции, пленумы, съезды и т.д.

Целью данной статьи является анализ национально-кадровой политики в государственно-партийном аппарате КазССР в 1945-1991 гг. Основываясь на архивных документах и опубликованных статистических материалах, авторы проследили тенденции в подборе и расстановке кадров. Основной задачей статьи является анализ данных о динамике национальных кадров в период с 1945 г. по 1991 г.

В статье использованы опубликованные и неопубликованные архивные материалы Архива Президента Республики Казахстан, Государственного архива Российской Федерации.

Статья выполнена в рамках реализации научного проекта «Жас ғалым» ИРН АР4972994 «Советская национальная политика и проблемы межэтнических отношений в Казахстане в 1945-1991 гг.».

**Ключевые слова:** национальные кадры, государственное управление, советская национальная политика, КазССР, коренизация, этнополитическая репрезентативность.

#### **Introduction**

The formation of national cadres took place simultaneously with the formation and development of the Soviet political system. To strengthen their power, the Bolsheviks identified and recruited loyal members of the indigenous population to solve the problems of the multi-ethnic state (Amanzholova et al., 2021: 308). Justifying the policy of forming national cadres of managers I.V. Stalin wrote: «it is necessary... that schools and authorities should be built of local people who know the language, manners, customs and everyday life. Only then... Soviet power, which until recently was the power of the Russians, will become ... the inter-ethnic power». The tasks of «saturation» of party and economic bodies with representatives of indigenous nationality were set during the implementation of the policy of «indigenization» in the 1920s-1930s. At the same time, the question of creating a socially close (to the authorities) ruling stratum arose (Amanzholova et al., 2021: 313-314). «Nationality» began to play a key role in the formation of administrators» as confirmation of national equality in the USSR (Amanzholova et al., 2021: 327). Thus, national personnel issues were always in the field of view of the top party leadership. Particular attention was paid to national personnel policy at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Summing up certain results in this direction,

N.S. Khrushchev emphasized in his report: «national cadres are forged...» (Molchanov, 2011: 350). A number of Russian researchers note the process of equalization of political statuses of the peoples of the USSR in the post-war period.

However, French sovietologist N. Vert spoke about the Stalinist policy of «pulling back of nationalities» in the post-war period (Vert, 1992: 208). The policy of repression against certain nationalities and the refusal to satisfy their national aspirations was continued in the «Victory Speech» delivered by I.V. Stalin. He raised a toast to the Russian people not to the Soviet, calling them as the recognized leader and the most «outstanding nation of all the nations that make up the Soviet Union» (Vert, 1992: 209). Stalin's speech on May 24, 1945 meant the rejection of the previous concept («the Russian people as the first among equals»). I.V. Stalin's speech on May 24, 1945 meant the rejection of the previous concept («the Russian people as the first among equals»). I.V. Stalin returned to the ideas of his autonomy project opposing federalism in state-building which he had advocated in 1922. There have been restrictions on the study of material and spiritual national culture as a result of this policy. Intellectuals whose scientific or creative interests have found themselves in this sphere have come under the pressure of the repressive mechanism. Therefore, the struggle against «nationalism» in Stalin's post-war 1940s and

1950s years becomes a one of the priority tasks of the party (just as in the 1920s - 1930s with «national-evasion») (Saktaganova, 2019: 83-104). These trends affected the national personnel policy of the USSR leadership during this period.

A.N. Shcherbak asserts that I.V. Stalin pursued a policy of russification at the political level. The new first secretaries of the republican party organizations after the Great Terror were mostly ethnic Russians» (Shcherbak et al., 2016: 106). A.N. Shcherbak identifies indigenization as one of the main directions of Soviet national policy after I.V. Stalin's death. According to his opinion, indigenization carried out during 1956-1985 meant a policy of «trust in local elites» (Shcherbak, 2015: 875). An important aspect of the policy was the desire to increase the representation of the titular nationality in the authorities. In turn, the appointees had to demonstrate political loyalty to Moscow (Shcherbak et al., 2016: 108).

Appointments and replacements of personnel remained strictly within the competence of the CPSU Central Committee. Russian historian A.I. Miller stressed that «in the implementation of the national policy the top party leadership practiced the transformation of ethnic minorities into a titular nationality within its territory, which led to the fact that other population groups were disadvantaged» (Miller, 2016:136).

According to B.N. Mironov «ethnic discrimination in the authorities as a whole had virtually disappeared by 1989» (Mironov, 2021: 169). The concept of «priority of the titular nation» was implemented in a different way in Kazakhstan. Firstly, due to accelerated industrialization, there was an acute shortage of qualified specialists which were very few among Kazakhs. Therefore, specialists from other republics of the Union were attracted here. Secondly, the September Plenum of the Party in 1953 approved the virgin lands campaign, which led to mass resettlement to Kazakhstan and an even greater decrease in the specific weight of the Kazakh ethnos. Thirdly, Kazakhs in Kazakhstan were already a minority of the population by 1959 as a consequence of the migration of labor resources during the years of virgin lands development. According to the population census of 1959, the share of Kazakh population in the country was 30%, Russian population - 42.7%, representatives of other nationalities - 27.3% (Bromley, 1977: 562). In our opinion, contrary to the assertion of B.N. Mironov, «ethnic discrimination» continued throughout the study period in the authorities to some extent, as the specific weight of the titular Kazakh population was significantly in-

ferior to the share of the Russian population in the republic. A bright example of «ethnic discrimination» was the ousting of the Kazakh language from the sphere of clerical work, education, culture, art, communication, etc. due to a sharp decrease in the share of the titular ethnic group over 2-3 decades (as a result of the policy of the Soviet state). Poor knowledge of Russian became a serious obstacle for Kazakhs or representatives of other non-Slavic ethnic groups to enter universities, build a career, find a well-paid job, etc.

Far abroad researchers J. Miller and H. Carrière d'Encausse analyzed possible variants of governance in the Union republics in their researches. In particular, the researchers noted that in areas inhabited by national minorities, the first secretary of the Communist Party usually belonged to the titular nationality, while the second secretary was an ethnic Russian. The authors studied the Soviet approach to governing a multinational state.

Kazakhstani researcher S.Sh. Kaziev noted that «the ethnicization of the administrative apparatus was carried out taking into account the interests of the Russian part of the party-state apparatus». He writes that «Russians felt themselves confident despite the dominance of Kazakhs in the party-state apparatus» in Kazakhstan. At the same time, Russians mainly dominated in the industrial enterprise management and in the production sphere (Kaziyev, 2014: 96). For example, according to the Kazakh historian B.M. Suzhikov, Kazakhs were assigned a purely decorative role of representation in power and to a greater extent - dissolution in the environment of the Russian-speaking population. The scientist believes that in the system of nomenclature positions a kind of «table of ranks» by nationality was established (Suzhikov).

Thus, stating the presence of different and sometimes mutually exclusive views with two proposed variants of analysis in the historiography on this issue, the problem of comparative analysis of national cadre Kazakhstani reality in 1945-1991 is put in the center of this article: 1) the model of public administration proposed by the Australian scientist J. Miller; 2) the model proposed by the Russian researcher B. N. Mironov.

The relevance of the problem is determined by the solution of current tasks to stabilize the inter-ethnic situation in the multi-ethnic Republic of Kazakhstan. Discrimination in access to power by different ethnic groups is one of the causes of inter-ethnic conflicts. People of different nationalities considered and consider participation in public ad-

ministration as a criterion in assessing their position in the republic and as an indicator of discrimination. The study of discrimination in access to power for different ethnic groups in the USSR is relevant today because it allows us to understand the historical context, shapes contemporary dynamics and serves as a basis for efforts to ensure fair governance in post-Soviet states, particularly in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

### Research methods and materials

The solution of the set tasks is based on the use of general and special methods. The method of statistical analysis made it possible to systematize and visualize the specific weight of representatives of indigenous nationalities in the party organizations of the Union republics with the help of diagrams. The comparative method was used in analyzing the party leadership in Kazakhstan in 1945-1991, in calculating the index of representation of Kazakhs in certain spheres of governance, in studying data on the national composition in the state apparatus of Kazakhstan in 1985-1988. With the application of the problem-chronological method, data on party leaders, as well as employees of the state administration were systematized. Specific historical analysis of the facts made it possible to consider the national personnel policy in the state-party apparatus of Kazakhstan. The historical and systemic approach allowed us to form a comprehensive view of the problem under the study.

The research was based on archival materials of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (SA RF), the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK). In particular, documents from the Fund 10063 - Materials of the theoretical conference were used. The topic of the conference was «Formation and Development of the USSR - Celebration of Lenin National Policy» held by the party organization at the Central Committee Secretariat of the CPSU on November 30 - December 1, 1972. The Fund contains data on the percentage of representatives of indigenous nationalities in party organizations of the union republics as of 1 Janu-

ary 1, 1972. The Fund 708 - Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan was studied in AP RK. The materials on the national composition in the state apparatus of Kazakhstan in 1985-1988 were extracted.

The theoretical works of foreign researchers on the research problem became the methodological basis of the article. In particular, the Australian researcher, specialist in the history of the CPSU J. Miller proposed a model of administrative structure within the framework of the state-party structure of the USSR (Miller, 1977). Russian scientist B.N. Mironov presented an assessment of the level of ethno-political inequality in state governance in dynamics for the entire Soviet period (Mironov, 2021).

The authors of this article try to identify which of the proposed models is the most representative of the national personnel policy in the state-party apparatus of Kazakhstan in 1945-1991.

### Results and discussion

Australian researcher J. Miller noted the formation of a certain administrative model in the state-party apparatus of the Soviet Union. In particular, the researcher highlights a rather specific «Soviet approach» in personnel policy. He identifies several types of administrative model in national republics in the USSR: the first type - the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party is autochthonous, the second secretary is Russian; the second type - the first secretary is Russian, the second secretary is autochthonous; the third type - both the first secretary and the second secretary are Russian; the fourth type - the first and second secretaries are autochthonous (this type is a demonstration of Moscow's highest trust in this republic). The fourth type included Ukraine until February 1976, Belarus from July 1956, Estonia until 1971, Armenia until March 1973 and the small Georgian republics of Abkhazia and Adjara (Miller, 1977: 12).

Table 1 presents data on the party leadership of the Kazakh SSR with a focus on the ethnicity of the leaders and their years in power during 1945-1991 period.

**1 Table.** Party leadership in the Kazakh SSR in 1945-1991

№	1st secretary	Nationality	Duration	%	№	2nd secretary	Nationality	Duration	%
1	Borkov G.A.	Russian	1945-1946 11 m.	2%	1	Kruglov S.I.	Russian	1946-1951 5 y. 6 m.	12%
2	Shayakhmetov Zh.Sh.	Kazakh	1946-1954 7 y. 5 m.	16%	2	Afonov I.I.	Russian	1951-1954 2 y. 2 m.	5%



3	Ponomarenko P.K.	Ukrainian	1954-1955 1 y. 5 m.	3%	3	Yakovlev I.D.	Russian	1955-1956 8 m.	2%
4	Brezhnev L.I.	Russian	1955-1956 7 m.	1,5%	4	Zhurin N.I.	Russian	1956-1957 1 y. 8 m.	4%
5	Yakovlev I.D.	Russian	1956-1957 1 y. 9 m.	4%	5	Karibzhanov F.	Kazakh	1957-1960 2 y. 9 m.	6%
6	Belyaev N.I.	Russian	1957-1960 3 r.	6,5%	6	Rodionov N.N.	Russian	1960-1962 2 y.	4%
7	Kunaev D.A.	Kazakh	1960-1962 2 y.	4,3%	7	Solomentsev M.S.	Russian	1962-1964 2 y.	4%
8	Yusupov I.A.	Uigur	1962-1964 2 y.	4%	8	Titov V.N.	Russian	1965-1971 5 y. 11 m.	11%
9	Kunaev D.A.	Kazakh	1964-1986 22 y.	48%	9	Mesyate V.K.	Russian	1971-1976 5 y. 1 m.	11%
10	Kolbin G.V.	Russian	1986-1989 2 y. 5 m.	5,4%	10	Korkin A.G.	Russian	1976-1979 3 y. 4 m.	7%
11	Nazarbayev N.A.	Kazakh	1989-1991 2 y. 5 m.	5%	11	Miroshkhin O.S.	Russian	1979-1987 8 y	17%
					12	Kubashev S.K.	Kazakh	1987-1988 1 y. 11 m.	2%
					13	Anufriev V.G.	Russian	1989-1991 2 y.	4%

\* Note: The table was compiled by the authors of the article. The studied period 1945-1991 (46 years) was taken as 100%.

The table shows changes in party leadership over time. It is noteworthy that over 46 years, 11 first and 13 second secretaries of the Central Committee were replaced in the republic. The average tenure as First Secretary of the Republic was relatively short: the majority of the first secretaries (8 out of 11) held this position for only a few years (6 leaders «sat» in this position from several months to 2 years, 2 to 3 years). The most frequent change of the first leaders occurred during the Khrushchev period (8 changes and 7 secretaries). Most of the first secretaries (6 out of 11) were Slavs (Borkov G.A., Ponomarenko P.K., Brezhnev L.I., Yakovlev I.D., Belyaev N.I., Kolbin G.V.). However, their tenure as the First Secretary was 23%. Only three people were ethnic Kazakhs - Shayakhmetov Zh.Sh., Kunaev D.A. and Nazarbayev N.A. Their average tenure as First Secretary of the Republic was 73%, or 32 years and 10 months, significantly longer than the tenure of ethnic Russians. The longest tenure of a representative of other nationalities (Yusupov I.A.) in the position of the first secretary was 4%. Thus, in the Kazakh SSR during the period under review, despite the numerical superiority of ethnic Russians in the position of the first secretary, in terms of the time spent in the position of the first secretary, Kazakhs occupied a dominant position in the top party leadership. The frequent turnover of party leaders is associated with the dictatorship of Moscow in the republic; all

«elected» leaders were «appointees» of the Kremlin. None of the first leaders of the republic Slavs (6 people) were from the Kazakh SSR, no one worked here before their appointment and did not remain to work in the republic after resignation. There have been changes in the ethnic composition among the first secretaries since the 1960s (D.A. Kunayev, I.A. Yusupov, D.A. Kunayev, G.V. Kolbin, N.A. Nazarbayev). These changes, in our opinion, may reflect the Soviet policy aimed at developing local representation in the republic (with the exception of G. Kolbin, «sent» after the December 1986 protests as a demonstration of the Kremlin's «will»).

Kazakh historians M.Ch. Kalybekova and D. Kasymova believe that the appointment of Zh. Shayakhmetov was dictated by Moscow's geopolitical interests - to allocate the lands of Kazakhstan for the establishment of the Uyghur Autonomous Oblast on its territory, which was to serve as «the base for the East Turkestan Republic proclaimed by the Uyghurs in part of Xinjiang in 1944». Zh.Sh. Shayakhmetov addressed a report to N.S. Patolichev in February 1947 with a proposal to form the Uyghur Autonomous Oblast within the Kazakh SSR. The following years Zh.Sh. Shayakhmetov repeatedly sent letters and notes to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks with proposals on the establishment of the Xinjiang Communist Party (1947) or on the need for administrative and terri-

torial changes in the territory of Taldy-Kurgan and Alma-Ata regions (1949). Thus, according to M.Ch. Kalybekova and D. Kasymova, Zh.Sh. Shayakhmetov was appointed by I.V. Stalin so that «everything was done by Kazakh hands» (Kalybekova, Kasymova, 2021: 5). Against the background of political events that took place during this period of time, the proposal of the first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan is difficult to comment.

D.A. Kunaev stands out as the longest tenure as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)K (2+22 years). Undoubtedly, personal friendly relations between the union and republican leaders also played a huge role, as in the case of the Brezhnev-Kunaev situation. His leadership of the republican party organization (in fact, the entire republic) during this period had a significant impact on the development of the Kazakh SSR. Thus, Table 1 shows that the classical view of the distribution of party power in the Union republics: the first secretary is always of indigenous nationality, the second - Russian - is not always true. The Kazakh SSR clearly traces two types of J. Miller's administrative model.

Since the 1960s, a model unified for all Union republics has been adopted, with the first secretary being a representative of an indigenous nationality and the second secretary being a representative of the Russian ethnos. However, the post of second secretary becomes very important over time. According to French researcher H. Carrère d'Encausse, the second secretary represents centralization (the Kremlin's position), while the first secretary embodies ethnic diversity. The first Secretary represented the CPSU in the republics, and the republics in the CPSU. The functions of the second secretary included personnel and organizational issues. Thus, it was the second secretary who was entrusted with decisions on nomenclature. According to H. Carrère d'Encausse, it was the second secretary who was the «true representative of central authority in the republic». The second secretary «controlled» the activities of the first secretary (H. Carrère d'Encausse: 177). Thus, Table 1 also presents data on the second secretaries of Kazakhstan in 1945-1991. While the ethnicity of the first secretaries showed some ethnic diversity, the second secretaries were predominantly Russian: 11 out of 13 people. The tenure of

ethnic Russians in the position of the second secretary amounted to 81%. The only exceptions were F. Karibzhanov (up to 3 years) and S.K. Kubashev (up to 2 years). Their tenure as second secretaries amounted to 8%. Moreover, there is not a single coincidence when the first and second secretaries in the republic were Kazakhs. This indicates that despite ethnic diversification among the first secretaries, the highest leadership positions (the first and the second secretaries combined) in the republic were still held by Russians. According to the data in Table 1, the fourth type of the administrative model (first and second secretaries of indigenous nationality), developed by J. Miller, was not realized in the Kazakh SSR during 1945-1991.

Completely different criteria for analyzing ethnic representation among party leaders were developed by Russian researcher B.N. Mironov. Using a special methodology, the researcher assessed the level of «ethno-political inequality» in public administration in dynamics for the entire Soviet period. The researcher identified four indicators to assess the level of political inequality: 1) the number of administrators of each ethnos; 2) the share of an ethnos employed in administration among the working population of that ethnos; 3) the share of an ethnos in the total number of administrators; 4) the ratio of the share of an ethnos employed in administration to the share of that ethnos among the total employed population. B.N. Mironov specified that the first three indicators demonstrate «the participation of ethnos in governance». The fourth indicator measures the degree of political inequality in the formation of governing bodies, which the researcher called the «index of ethno-political representativeness» (IEPR). B.N. Mironov used the IEPR to quantify «the degree of political discrimination». In Mironov's opinion, if  $IEPR = 1$ , then the ethnic group is represented in administration in proportion to its number and it means that rights of ethnos are respected during the recruitment of administrative staff. If  $IEPR < \text{or} > 1$ , then ethnicity interests are under- or over-represented in governance (Mironov, 2021: 156-157).

Table 2 shows the index of representativeness of Kazakhs in separate spheres of governance within the borders of the KazSSR  $IEPR_{wb}$  and beyond its borders  $IEPR_{bb}$ .

**2 Table.** IEPR of Kazakhs in separate spheres of governance within the borders of the KazSSR (IEPRwb) and beyond its borders (IEPRbb)

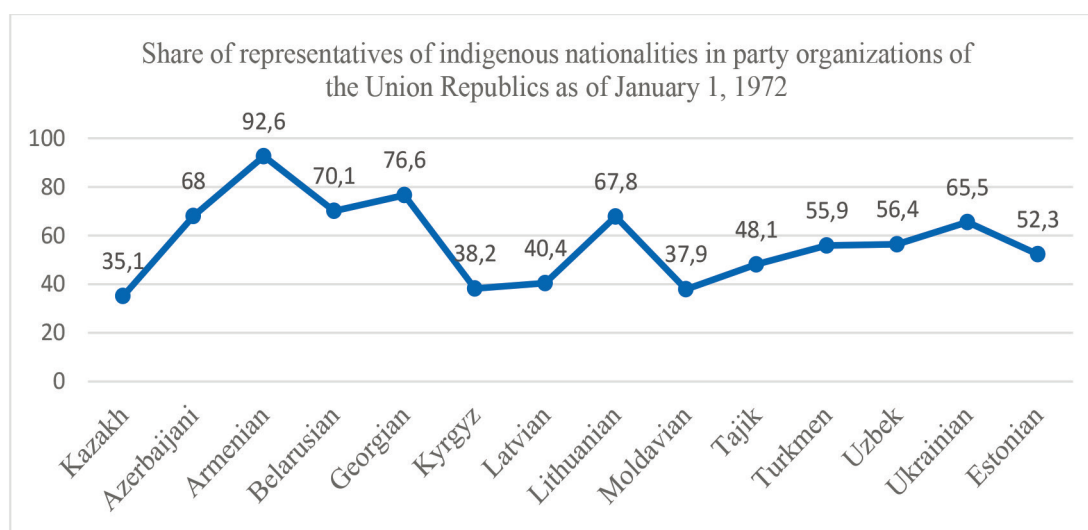
Party and state bodies	In the USSR as a whole		IEPRwb In Kazakh SSR		IEPRbb In the USSR without Kazakh SSR		Difference IEPRwb - IEPRbb	
	1959 г.	1979 г.	1959 г.	1979 г.	1959 г.	1979 г.	1959 г.	1979 г.
<b>KAZAKHS</b>								
State apparatus	1,78	1,65	1,91	1,58	0,86	0,61	1,05	0,97
Party apparatus	1,78	1,60	1,50	1,55	0,74	0,59	0,76	0,96
Police	1,20	1,39	1,37	1,28	0,85	0,83	0,52	0,45
Court	1,71	1,21	1,67	1,30	1,08	0,53	0,59	0,77
Administration	1,49	1,50	1,57	1,45	0,86	0,66	0,71	0,79

(Mironov, 2021: 168)

According to the data in Table 2, the IEPR of Kazakhs in administration exceeded the value of 1, i.e., the number of representatives of the titular nation in administrative bodies increased both in 1959 and in 1979. According to the data of Table 2 (according to B.N. Mironov's calculation method), po-

litical equality in the state apparatus was achieved in 1959.

The data on Figure 1 characterize the specific weight of representatives of indigenous nationalities in the party organizations of the Union republics as of January 1, 1972 (SA RF. F. 10063. Op. 1. D. 90. L. 106).

**Figure 1.** Share of representatives of indigenous nationalities in party organizations of the Union Republics

From the above diagram (Figure 1) it is clear that the proportion of representatives of titular ethnic groups varies from 35.1% to 92.6%, which indicates large differences in the representation of the indigenous population in the union republics. The highest share of the indigenous ethnic group (Armenians) is in the Armenian Party Organization - 92.6%. The lowest share of representation of the indigenous population in the Kazakh party organi-

zation is 35.1%, while the proportion of the Kazakh population in 1970 in the Kazakh SSR was 32.6% (Bromley, 1977: 99). Thus, in relation to the Kazakh SSR, despite the lowest share of ethnopolitical representativeness in the party organizations of the union republics, IEPR = 1.08, which is (according to B. Mironov's calculation methods) the «democratic norm for Kazakhstan». The Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek party organizations observed a moderate pro-

portion of representatives of indigenous nationalities - 48.1%, 55.9% and 56.4% respectively. From the above data it can be seen that in the neighboring Union republics there were significantly higher levels of representation of indigenous nationalities in

party organizations, with Kazakhstan being the lowest.

The data on the national composition in the state apparatus of Kazakhstan in 1985-1988 demonstrate the preservation of the tendency to increase the status of representation of Kazakhs (Table 3).

**3 Table.** Some data on national composition in the state apparatus of Kazakhstan in 1985-1988 (in percent)

Years	Ministers		Deputy ministers		Chairmen of the State Committees		Deputy Chairmen of the State Committees	
	Kazakhs	Russians	Kazakhs	Russians	Kazakhs	Russians	Kazakhs	Russians
1985	63,6	24,2	47,2	40,8	64,7	35,3	43,1	41,4
1986	66,7	14,8	47,6	38,8	56,3	31,3	43,1	40,0
1987	56,7	26,7	44,8	42,9	63,2	26,3	43,5	42,0
1988	53,9	30,8	43,2	41,1	63,2	21,1	41,4	42,9

Composed by the authors based on materials (AP RK. F. 708. Op. 139. D. 1097. L. 70-71)

Table 3 shows the ethnic composition of key government positions for 1985-1988 indicating the percentage of Kazakhs and Russians in these positions. 63.6% of Kazakhs and 24.2% of Russians worked as ministers; similar trends were observed among deputy ministers, chairmen of state committees and their deputies in 1985. In 1986, the share of Kazakh ministers increased to 66.7%, and the share of Russian ministers decreased to 14.8%. Thus, based on the criteria developed by B.N. Mironov and according to the proposed model, is it possible to draw a conclusion about the «democratic norm» of the presence of Kazakhs in government bodies and the absence of «ethnic discrimination» in relation to the titular ethnic group? Based on the quantitative parameters reflected in the data in Tables 2, 3 and Figure 1, the researcher can make just such a conclusion.

However, we will allow ourselves to disagree neither with B.N. Mironov's criteria, nor with this variant of the model that the researcher proposed. Despite the fact that the quantitative characteristics were proportional to the specific weight in the overall ethno-demographic structure of the republic's population, etc., these characteristics reflect only the formal, quantitative side of the national personnel policy, without allowing us to delve into its qualitative component. In our opinion, ethnic discrimination still persisted, because due to various reasons the titular ethnic group became a minority on its own territory. These ethno-demographic processes led to serious distortions related to the preservation/development of the Kazakh language and national

culture. This was the main result of the national policy in general. We are also more inclined to agree with B.M. Suzhikov's opinion about the «decorative role of Kazakh representation in power». B.M. Suzhikov provides the following data: in the process of formation of national industrial cadres (which is the main indicator of modern nation-forming coordinates) the specific weight of Kazakhs was significantly inferior in proportion to the composition of the population. In 1987, the employment of Kazakhs in industry was only 21%, in construction - 21.3%, in railroad transport - 35.2%, in road transport - 26.5% and in communications - 30% (Suzhikov).

### Conclusion

Thus, the article considers two models of state structure on the example of the Kazakh SSR, proposed by the Australian author J. Miller and the Russian researcher B.N. Mironov. The authors of this article analyzed the national personnel policy in the state-party apparatus of the Kazakh SSR in 1945-1991 based on two completely different methodological approaches.

In comparing two models of public administration, we believe that the model developed by J. Miller is more representative of the national personnel policy in the Kazakh SSR in the period under study. Despite the long tenure of representatives of the titular nation as the first secretary - 73%, the tenure of ethnic Russians as the second secretary was 81%. The authors of the article revealed that the majority of second secretaries in the republic were Russians,



who held the most important key functions in the state. It should be noted that any appointments and removals of personnel, including the appointment of the head of the enterprise, remained strictly within the competence of the CPSU Central Committee. On this basis, we assume that ethnic Russians held a dominant position in the top party leadership in Kazakhstan during the period under study. In our opin-

ion, the second model proposed by B.N. Mironov justified the Soviet national personnel policy, focusing on the official concept of «equalization of political statuses». We believe that it is difficult to speak about "political equality" in a period when the share of the titular population within the boundaries of their republic had fallen to 30% of the total population of Kazakhstan by 1959.

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