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## HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF INDEPENDENT KAZAKHSTAN

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**Abstract.** *Introduction.* The new stage in the state building in Kazakhstan actualized the urgency to generalize the party system development. The academic literature accumulated a big body of works of Kazakhstani and foreign researchers on various aspects of the public and political associations' development in Kazakhstan during the independence period. *Objective.* The article is aimed to give a historiographic survey of works on evolution not only of the party system per se, but to trace the changes in program-goal and operative side of the parties and public associations in the Republic of Kazakhstan over 30 years. *Results.* The authors distinguished two qualitative stages - 1990s and 2000s mainly determined by the political system evolution and strengthening of its central core - institute of president. Parties and public associations had to adapt to that by correcting the ways and means to achieve greater democratization in the country. *Conclusion.* Despite the big volume of researches on the topic there are few publications on history and evolution of the Kazakhstani public-political associations that are based to archival sources. Most of works are reviews or reference collections.

**Keywords:** contemporary history of Kazakhstan, independence, historiography, parties, elections  
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## ТӘУЕЛСІЗ ҚАЗАҚСТАННЫҢ ҚОҒАМДЫҚ-САЯСИ БІРЛЕСТІКТЕРІНІҢ ҚАЛЫПТАСУЫ МЕН ДАМУ ТАРИХНАМАСЫ

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**Аңдатпа.** *Kіріспе.* Қазақстандағы мемлекеттік құрылыстың жаңа кезеңі партиялық жүйені дамыту тәжірибесін жинақтауды талап етеді. Ғылыми әдебиеттерде Тәуелсіздік кезеңінде



Қазақстандағы қоғамдық-саяси бірлестіктерді және саяси партияларды дамытудың әртүрлі аспектілері бойынша қазақстандық және шетелдік зерттеушілердің еңбектерінің едәуір көлемі жинақталған. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері* – Мақалада жалпы партиялық жүйенің эволюциясы бойынша жұмыстарды тарихнамалық талдау ғана емес, сонымен қатар соңғы 30 жыл ішінде Қазақстан Республикасындағы партиялар мен қоғамдық-саяси бірлестіктердің бағдарламалық-нысаналы және жедел тараптарындағы өзгерістер тұрғысынан оның сапалы өсуін зерттеу міндеті де қойылған. Негізгі назар тарихнамалық бағытта жазылған ірі еңбектерге, сондай-ақ негізгі тарихнамалық фактілерді көрсететін мақалалар мен анықтамалық әдебиеттерге аударылады. *Нәтижелер*. Авторлар екі негізгі сапалық кезеңді анықтады – 1990 және 2000 жылдар, бұл бүкіл саяси жүйенің эволюциясымен және оның орталық өзегі – Президент институтының нығаюымен байланысты. Партиялар мен қоғамдық бірлестіктер бұған елдегі демократияландыруға қол жеткізудің жолдары мен тәсілдерін түзету арқылы бейімделуге мәжбүр болды. *Қорытынды*. Осы тақырып бойынша зерттеулердің үлкен қатарына қарамастан, архив материалдарын қолдана отырып, қазақстандық қоғамдық-саяси бірлестіктердің қалыптасу тарихы мен эволюциясы бойынша жарияланымдар аз. Жұмыстың едәуір бөлігі шолу сипатына ие немесе анықтамалық әдебиеттермен ұсынылған.

**Түйін сөздер:** Қазақстанның жаңа тарихы, Тәуелсіздік, тарихнама, партиялар, сайлау

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## ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ СТАНОВЛЕНИЯ И РАЗВИТИЯ ОБЩЕСТВЕННО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ОБЪЕДИНЕНИЙ НЕЗАВИСИМОГО КАЗАХСТАНА

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**Аннотация.** *Введение.* Новый этап государственного строительства в Казахстане настоятельно требует обобщения опыта развития партийной системы. В научной литературе накоплен значительный объем казахстанских и зарубежных исследований по различным аспектам развития общественно-политических объединений, политических партий в Казахстане за период Независимости. *Цель и задачи исследования.* В статье ставится задача историографического анализа работ по эволюции не только партийной системы в целом, но её общественного роста в плане изменений в программно-целевых и оперативных сторонах партий и общественно-политических объединений в Республике Казахстан за последние 30 лет. *Результаты.* Авторы выделили два основных качественных этапа - 1990-е и 2000-е годы, что связано с эволюцией всей политической системы и укрепления её центрального ядра - института президента. Партии и общественные объединения вынужденно приспособлялись к этому через корректировку путей и способов достижения большей демократизации в стране. *Выводы.* Несмотря на большой пласт исследований по данной теме мало публикаций по истории формирования и эволюции общественно-политических казахстанских объединений, с применением архивных материалов. Значительная часть работ носят обзорный характер или представлены справочной литературой.

**Ключевые слова:** новейшая история Казахстана, Независимость, историография, партии, выборы.

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## 1. Introduction

The new stage in the state building in Kazakhstan actualized the urgency to generalize party system development. The academic literature accumulated a big body of works of Kazakhstani and foreign researchers on various aspects of the public and political associations' development in Kazakhstan during the independence period. The President of Kazakhstan Kassym-Jomart Tokayev embarked on the new stage of the country modernization that implies mending its political system, within the «New Kazakhstan» building process. One of the most important directions is reforming the party system and electoral process democratization.

In June 2022 a national referendum was held in accordance with the Decree of the President of Kazakhstan Tokayev K.K. of May 5, 2022. The adoption of the draft law of the Republic of Kazakhstan «On amendments and additions to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan» was discussed in the referendum.

Therefore, in the party building sphere grows an interest to study the history of the formation and development to understand and explain the current trends in the development of political institutions. The problem of formation and development of public and political associations is one of the most important for understanding the peculiarities of the contemporary history of Kazakhstan. The emergence and activities of social movements and political parties on the eve and in the early years of independence reflected the tectonic processes that took place in the late USSR that eventually led its collapse. The difficulties in the multiparty system establishment largely characterized the political development of Kazakhstan presently.

To date, a big body of historical sources has been accumulated on the formation and development of social and political associations in Kazakhstan. However, there is no systematic review and analysis of the literature that makes it problematic to understand the political processes from a historical perspective.

Partogenesis is the process of formation and development of social and political movements and the formation of a multiparty system (Dyachenko, 1997a). In historiography the interest in the issue of partogenesis is showed synchronously by the process itself.

The study of the formation of public and political associations in Kazakhstan begins with 1990s. The historiography can be divided into two stages that are different from each other. The first stage covers the period 1990s and the second stage includes works published in 2000s.

At the first stage there a rapid formation of a new political system went on. Many political institutions have undergone significant changes or were created from a new (presidency, multiparty system). The academic works were expected to provide a clear and pragmatic vision of the process to help in navigate in the ongoing changes.

## 2. Research methods and materials

The paper is based on analysis of publications of domestic and foreign scholars in social sciences. The methods of historical analysis and general scientific methods of research are used in the article with the chronological approach, periodization, the principle of historicism and comparative historical analysis.

## 3. Discussion

There are still no special works based on historical sources on formation and development of public and political associations in Kazakhstan on the eve and during the independence. The individual historiographical reviews were given in dissertation studies on various aspects of the political history of contemporary Kazakhstan.

## 4. Results

Chronologically the first work of Ponomarev V.A. (Moscow, 1991) as a directory on new public and political organizations created in the late USSR during «Perestroika». In particular, it collected data in a concise and reference form on almost two hundred organizations, operating in the territory of the Kazakh SSR and the Kyrgyz SSR from 1987 to 1991. The directory included data on the various activities of organizations, not only political (party), but also with environmental, cultural, educational and other orientations (Ponomarev, 1991:104).

The directory is important from *historiographical* and historical viewpoint, as it documented data not available in other sources.



There were important political changes in the country in 1994 – the elections to the Supreme Council, where new political parties actively participated. In that year several important works on the formation of social and political movements in the country were published.

One of the first problems of party building in independent Kazakhstan was studied by the famous scientist Ayagan B.G. (Ayagan, 1993). In 1994 two editions of the directory «Political parties and social movements of contemporary Kazakhstan» compiled under his editorship and his direct participation were issued, that collected the current data on the party building processes in the first half of the 1990s (Ayaganov, 1994a; Ayaganov, 1994b). In the foreword to the directory, the author gives his periodization of the multiparty system in Kazakhstan, which became one of the first in historiography. Despite a short period of time, Ayagan B.G. discriminated between three stages from 1990 to 1993 (Ayaganov, 1994a: 1-2). The historical explanation of the phenomenon of the emergence of a multiparty system became important. According to Ayagan, the emergence of new political associations in the late Soviet period contributed to the collapse of the CPSU monopoly. And the first parties were oppositional. Due to that he writes: «The first public and political parties appeared as opposition to the Communist Party and as a consequence of the processes initiated by the Communist Party. The Communist Party has already ceased to be an ideological monolith» (Ayaganov, 1994a: 1). An important feature highlighted by Ayagan B.G. is the manifestation of new associations birth at that time – it is the promulgation of new ideas and slogans that earlier «were not allowed by the Moscow leadership of the CPSU», namely the concept of independence and liberal and democratic ideas shared by intellectuals. An important conclusion of B.G. Ayagan's publication is the explanation of the weakness of the parties in the early 1990s, namely the isolation of most of parties due to their ideological nature (Ayaganov, 1994a: 1).

The same year (1994) the study manual of Zaslavskaya M.B. «Political parties and public associations at the present stage of development» was published (Zaslavskaya, 1994). The work consists of two main parts – analytical explaining the development of socio-political movements in that period and in the second part provides the party documents (charters, applications and etc.) of movements and parties. The process and reasons of formation of specific parties and associations are analyzed in the work involving the programs and charters of parties, their characteristics are given, some tendencies of party building are given as well. The periodization of partogenesis in Kazakhstan is made by Zaslavskaya M.B. and suggestions for the further development of multiparty system were given as well.

The author considers the development of social movements in Kazakhstan from 1986 to 1994, as well as in the publication under the editorship of Ayagan B.G., are split into three specific stages. The first stage covers the period between 1986 and 1989 when the informal organizations, clubs and etc. appeared. The second stage - the beginning of 1989 until August 1991. The parties were formed at that time. The third stage - from September 1991 to 1994, when the work was compiled. The last stage was connected with the dissolution of the CPSU and the growth of public activities and is viewed as the beginning of a «genuine process of formation of a multiparty system» (Zaslavskaya, 1994: 4-19).

Another important work on the topic was also published in 1994 of Babakumarov E.Zh. «Dynamics of the party system of Kazakhstan in 1985-1994» (Babakumarov, 1994a). The work gives historical and political analysis of party building in Kazakhstan. The author reviews the formation of a multiparty system, starting with the process of socio-political modernization during «Perestroika». The author has gives his classification of parties and the party system and traces the evolution of the party system in Kazakhstan. In particular, he distinguishes four stages by criteria of «degree and extent of participation of the population in political processes». The first phase covers the period of 1986-1987, when various groups of population were becoming more active and began to voicing their political interests. The second stage covers 1988-1991, when the first socio-political organizations were constructed under the domination of the Communist Party. The third stage of formation of the party system by Babakumarov E. Zh. refers to the independence period - 1991-1993, when the communist party monopoly fell apart and the activities of political parties went to the surface. According to his assessment, that new stage of party building was connected with the parliamentary elections of March 1994 (Babakumarov, 1994a: 6-7).

In continuation of his work of Babakumarov E.Zh. published a small, but an important brochure on the parliamentary elections of 1994 and the role of parties in that process (Babakumarov,





1994b). The author emphasized the fact that the 1994 elections were the first multiparty elections in the history of Kazakhstan that «would be of great importance for the development of the party system of the Republic and the creation of a real multiparty system» (Babakumarov, 1994b: 1). Despite its small volume, the work is very informative and contains information about political parties' activities at that time. In 1994 several small works of this author were published (Babakumarov, 1994a, Babakumarov, 1994).

All these developments were combined and summarized in the PhD thesis of Babakumarov, published in 1995 (Babakumarov, 1995). The same year, his generalized work was published in collaboration with two other major Kazakhstani experts - Buluktayev Yu.O. and Kuserbayev K.E. It provides the characteristics of the party field in Kazakhstan in the first half of the 1990s (Babakumarov, Buluktayev, Kuserbayev, 1995).

In 1995 an article by the Russian expert Kurtov A.A. was published in the collection of articles, devoted to the review of the party building processes in Kazakhstan. Compared to the works of domestic authors, the article is less informative, but it shows the perception of the process of party genesis in Kazakhstan given by foreign political scientists. Thus, Kurtov A.A. highlighting the specifics of party building in the Republic of Kazakhstan since independence, writes that “The peculiarity of the process of formation of parties in Kazakhstan is directly related to the geopolitical position of the republic, which belongs more to the East than to the West and to the political course of the current leadership of the state and directly the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev” (Kurtov, 1995: 169).

Also it should be noted that he generally assessed the possibilities of Kazakhstan's public and political associations to influence on the electorate and participate in the real political life of the state by the mid-1990s: «The Kazakhstani parties and movements have not yet taken their rightful place in the political life of the republic, they are very weak institutionally and have very modest opportunities to mobilize the electorate» (Kurtov, 1995: 221).

In the review of the literature it is worth noting the book of Zhunusova Zh.Kh. (1996) «Republic of Kazakhstan. President. Institutes of Democracy». That was one of the first major works published recently by «Oriental Studies Center» (later became the Institute's Center for Oriental Studies in Kazakhstan). Although in that work the author focused on the institution of the presidency, at the same time Zhunusova Zh.Kh. showed how other political institutions in Kazakhstan, including political parties, emerged, functioned and interacted (Zhunusova, 1996).

An important work is the dissertation study of Sartayev R.S. «Formation of a multiparty system in the context of political transformation of Kazakhstan society» (1996). It examined political parties as active subjects of Kazakhstan's politics through the prism of the electoral process. In addition, the author considered the evolution of the party system in the context of the transition of society from a totalitarian system to democratization and it also takes into account the peculiarities of the formation of a multiparty system in the context of the political transformation of Kazakhstan during the difficult period for society in the early 1990s (Sartayev, 1996).

In 1997 one of the major Kazakh specialists in the political field Dyachenko S.A. defended his thesis and contributed to the study of the formation of various political institutions including political parties. The political processes in the Republic of Kazakhstan were analyzed in his research “The party as a subject of the political process in the context of the transformation of society” through the phenomenological study of political parties' formation and development in the 1990s (Dyachenko, 1997b).

The research of Dyachenko S.A. was carried out in the same direction as the dissertation work of Sartayev R.S. mentioned above. It also considers the transformation of Kazakhstani society in the first years of independence as a general background of parthenogenesis. However, the thesis of Dyachenko S.A. has a number of important features. It considers the institution of political parties as an independent factor in the political process and interprets specific parties as separate subjects of the political life of the country. In addition, Dyachenko S.A. traces the process of parthenogenesis and consolidation of the multiparty system in Kazakhstan taking into account the world experience. On the basis of a critical analysis and study of the formation and activities of one of the largest Kazakhstani parties—PNUK that evolved from a public association into a political party in the mid-1990s. In fact, Dyachenko S.A. provided a model of the political parties' institutionalization process in Kazakhstan on one party model.



The same year (1997) one of the comprehensive works on the process of formation and development of public and political associations in Kazakhstan from late 1980s until the second half of 1990s was published. That is the work of one of the major domestic political scholars, social scholar Seidumanov S.T. «The phenomenon of multiparty system in Kazakhstan» (Seidumanov, 1997). The monograph provides comprehensive analysis of the party building in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The work in a systematic way describes the history of the party building process in independent Kazakhstan, highlighting the transition period, traces the origin and factors behind the party's diversity. In addition, the author analyzed not only the overall progress of parthenogenesis in the country, but also showed the dynamics of mass public consciousness growth of citizens of Kazakhstan under conditions of political transformation. Much attention is paid to the role of some parties in the electoral process, especially in the elections for the renewed parliament of Kazakhstan in 1994.

Seidumanov S.T. used statistical materials to deeply study the parties documents and other sources, stressed the differences in ideological positions of the existing parties and movements. That was shown by political parties' ratings, their real place in political life, image and real political significance (Seidumanov, 1997). The author made documentary appendices on the development of parties and viability of political life of the country that greatly contributed to the work's value.

The main provisions of the work were reflected in the doctoral dissertation of Seidumanov S.T. «Formation of multiparty system in Kazakhstan: political and sociological analysis» (Seidumanov, 1998). In the dissertation the author also analyzed the phenomenon of multiparty system in Kazakhstan, but also paid more attention to party building since independence period and employed considerable sociological data.

The late 1990s was characterized by growth of social and political movements. Despite the overall decrease in the number of parties, they have consolidated and intensified their activities due to some important events in the political history of the country in general. Within 1999 the presidential and parliamentary elections were held with notable participation and preparation by the country's registered parties. That contributed to increased attention to events of social scientists. On the eve of the elections several academic conferences were held that discussed the materials on the parties of Kazakhstan.

One of the most notable events was the national scientific and practical conference held in the spring of 1998. It was thematically dedicated to the establishment of Kazakhstan's statehood during independence period and the role of political parties in that process (*Gosudarstvo i politicheskie partii: istoriya i sovremennost*, 1998).

One of the most important and extensive reports at the conference was made by the Chairman of the Central Committee of the National Congress Bizhanov A.Kh. «State and political parties: history and the contemporary time». In the report was made a deep excursion into the history of statehood of Kazakhstan and highlighted the dynamics of party building from the first public associations emerged at the turn of the XIX and XX centuries. The author clearly formulated the features of the Soviet party model that governed for most of the XX century until the demolition of the authoritarian state in the late 1980s and early 1990s. According to the author, those features were reduced to the following: «the rule of the one-party system, the creation of a system of state-controlled public associations, unification of public life, nationalization of party ideology» and some others (Bizhanov, 1998: 19).

Like other experts, the author attributes the formation of a multiparty system in Kazakhstan to the USSR collapse and the end of CPSU the monopoly. At the same time, an important conclusion is the identification of the regularities of the formation of a new party and political system in Kazakhstan and other post-Soviet republics. He noted that «almost everywhere, in fact, there was not just a transition from a one-party system to a multiparty one, but an interrelated process on the face of the state and political monopoly of the CPSU, the creation of a new statehood and a corresponding party system» (Bizhanov, 1998: 20). Other ideas made in the report are also of interest. For instance, Bizhanov A.Kh. gave his periodization of formation of a multiparty system process in Kazakhstan, in general from 1986 to 1998 and split it into five specific stages (Bizhanov, 1998: 21-23). Also, of some importance is his conclusion on mutual conditionality and direct connection



of the development of Kazakhstan's statehood during the period of independence and the formation of a multiparty system (Bizhanov, 1998: 25).

One of the sections of this conference «Party of Kazakhstan and state building: history and the contemporary time» included reports of serious domestic specialists in social science who provided their perceptions of the political parties evolution process from different viewpoints.

Of interest is the material by Alzhanov Zh.Z. that showed the activities at the local level of one of the party he is a member of. The article presents conclusions on the development of party building in Kazakhstan and specific problems on the way of further development of the multiparty system. The author explains the existing problems «by imperfection of legal, social political mechanisms of Kazakhstan's multiparty system, absence of real mechanisms of interaction between society and the state, society and parties, parties and the state». By analyzing the problems, the author come to conclusion that time by the end of the 1990s «the political organizations cannot fully perform their own purely «party» functions» (Alzhanov, 1998:58).

In the article by Baideldinov L.A. published in the same collection of materials, he philosophically considered the problem of party identity and how political parties are perceived by the general public. Baideldinov suggests his definition and understanding of the party system, problems and objectives facing contemporary parties in Kazakhstan (Baideldinov, 1998).

In his article Dolzhenko N.A. revealed some features of multiparty system formation and development of. The author highlighted the following characteristic moments of domestic parties and features of parthenogenesis in Kazakhstan in the 1990s: «... parties in Kazakhstan arise not as channels of communication between civil society and the authorities, but as clientele, expressing narrow group interests». He also noted small number of parties compared with the previous experience of the CPSU and CPK, the vagueness and lack of sustainability of social interests often reflected in the similarity of programs of different parties (Dolzhenko, 1998). In general, the author critically assessed the achievements in party building and concluded that the multiparty system achievements at that time were «largely illusory» (Dolzhenko, 1998:65).

The conference was attended by a well-known political scientist and statesman, an important specialist in the party study Dyachenko S.A. His report described the characteristics of political parties, the peculiarities of their interaction with the authorities and the dependence of those processes on the transformation that the Kazakhstani society in the first years of independence. Analyzing in-depth the ongoing processes in the political sphere, Dyachenko S.A. concluded that despite the obvious achievements and the prominent role that the parties started playing in social life, the issue of multiparty system had not yet been resolved. The Kazakhstani parties were not performing the functions expected from them in the countries with advanced democracy» (Dyachenko, 1998:71). Like other researchers, he noted the weakness of political parties in the country due to lack of civil society, as well as the low level of political culture and incomplete social stratification of Kazakhstan within the political transformation process. Dyachenko S.A. was one of the few authors who highlighted the objective reasons that, in his opinion, impacted on the development of the party system: low population density, long distances between large cities, lack of transport infrastructure and others (Dyachenko, 1998: 72).

In the report of Zainiyeva L.Y. was paid attention to the problem of interaction and prospects of work of political parties with youth. On the example of the activities of the PNUK, the party's policy towards the country's youth was shown, including the issue of the creating a youth branch within the party itself. It was emphasized that, for example, unlike the other parties, the PNUK was the first party organization to discuss the problem of party youth organization in the second half of 1990s (Zainiyeva, 1998). Like many authors in previous times Zainiyeva L.Y. pointed to the key role of the state in the activation of youth, in the creation of youth organizations.

The interesting material was presented by Zinchenko V.V., who made an analysis of the legal status of socio-political associations and their role in the modernization of the political system in contemporary Kazakhstan. The author showed the dynamics and features of the formation of a multiparty system since late 1980s, highlighted the stages and gave the fundamental differences in the formation of the party sphere in the conditions when the Communist Party was still strong after 1991, when the real process of democratization of public life began (Zinchenko, 1998). In general, describing the legal aspects of the development of social and political associations, the author



concluded that the efforts of the state in democratizing public life in the country had stimulated the formation of a multiparty system in Kazakhstan already in 1990s (Zinchenko, 1998:87).

The article by Ismagambetov T.T. dealt with the problem of the influence of the electoral system on the multiparty system formation. The author in analyzing the legislation and electoral campaigns in Kazakhstan in the first half of the 1990s noted that the change in the electoral systems at that time did not contribute to the process of establishing a multiparty system (Ismagambetov, 1998: 90). His prediction regarding the possibility of forming a party in Kazakhstan based on strict party discipline is noteworthy. But that, in his view, would be impeded by the political system formation at that time, as was being created the institution centered on president (Ismagambetov, 1998:92).

In his article of Satpayev D.A. investigated the interaction of political parties and various groups of influence (lobby groups), but he concluded that at that time there were no strong parties strongly supported by electorate (Satpayev, 1998: 115).

The material by Umbetaliyeva T.B. discussed the multiparty system in the context of the parliamentarians' formation. The material made some interesting comments on the development of the multiparty system in Kazakhstan and the participation of parties in the electoral process. For example, the author stated that at that time «parties have not yet become real participants in the decision-making process» and that «the existing plurality of parties cannot be called multiparty» (Umbetaliyeva, 1998: 118). The author also critically assessed the prevailing majoritarian system of elections at that time, that, in her opinion, prevented the emergence of strong parties to establish a true multiparty system (Umbetaliyeva, 1998: 120). In addition, the author concluded that the existing parties saw the parliamentary activity as one of their areas of activity, that was, different from the classical parliamentary parties, for whom the most important task was electoral work, struggle for votes and seats in parliaments (Umbetaliyeva, 1998: 121).

Some other publications of the conference are of interest for the historiography of the issue. For example, the material of Chebotarev A.E., Baimagambetova D.N. and other conference participants (Baimagambetova, Smagulov, 1998; Bigozhanov, 1998; Ryskulova, 1998; Chebotarev, 1998).

In general, it should be noted that the 1998 conference on party building in Kazakhstan was an important event in the reflection of the formation and development of a multiparty system in the country in 1990s. Most of the published materials are important historical sources and indicate the level of development of the problem under research in the first phase as works were republished at the turn of 1990s and 2000 by reference nature. Having the same name «Political parties of Kazakhstan» they contain many factual, documentary and statistical data and reflecting the state of party field in the country in 1998 and 2000 respectively (Buluktayev, Dyachenko, Karmazina, 1998; Dyachenko, Karmazina, Seidumanov, 2000). Among the authors who took part in two publications were Buluktayev Y.O., Dyachenko S.A., Seidumanov S.T., Karmazina L.I., etc.

As it can be seen from the title of the work and the composition of the author's team, the works were very similar and complemented each other providing information on events that happened during the publication period. Should be noted the 1998 edition. The directory not only contains factual information on the number of parties and their general characteristics, but also reviews the main trends in the party system development in Kazakhstan from the late 1980s until the time of publication. In addition, the edition contains a significant number of documents on legal basis for the functioning of public and political associations by that time (laws, extractions from the Constitution, presidential decrees and other documents). Despite the fact that by 1998 a number of directories had already been published, it is necessary to agree with the authors that at that time «the publication of directories was still relevant, because it reflected the dynamics of development of social processes» (Buluktayev, Dyachenko, Karmazina, 1998: 9).

And indeed, in the late 1990s, when there was a certain upsurge of political activities, primarily related to the elections of the President and the parliament, the publication of works presenting the current state of the political situation including the party field proved very relevant.

Another directory was published in 2000 with new data relating to developments in the preparation and participation of political parties in the 1999 election campaign. That publication also contains a significant number of documentary sources and is important for the study of the issue





of public and political associations of the Republic of Kazakhstan at the turn of the century (Dyachenko, Karmazina, Seidumanov, 2000).

It should be noted that in both editions the authors focused only on those parties officially recognized and registered.

It is also worth noting that these and other reference works are of an interim nature and have both historiographical significances, as they reflect the studies of parties in that period, as well as the they work as sources, because they contain a significant amount of documentary information.

As mentioned above, the end of the 1990s became a threshold in the development of the party and political system of Kazakhstan. The adoption of the Constitution, laws on public associations and parties and the holding new competitive elections of the President of the country and the parliament showed that the multiparty system of Kazakhstan was ongoing, and the stage of formation and the history of social and political movements in 2000 should be considered had begun. That conditioned further development of historiography in that sphere.

The second stage of historiography started in early 2000s onwards. As time passed since proclamation of independence the researchers have been approaching the party building issues in Kazakhstan more thoroughly taking into account the experience gained and introduce more archival sources.

During that period the works of general character and topical studies by well-known political scientists and historians were released.

In 2000 a collective work with the participation of prominent Kazakhstani social scientists, political scientists, sociologists was published that studied the party building evolution in modern day Kazakhstan was studied on the example of a particular party – the CPK created on the basis of a social movement shortly before the publication of the book (*Partiinoe stroitelstvo v tranzitnom obschestve*, 2000).

The new qualitative turn in historiography at the present stage is evidenced by publication of textbooks covering the formation of the contemporary party system in Kazakhstan. In 2001 Toporina T.V. published one of the first domestic teaching manuals «Parties and party systems of contemporary time» (Toporina, 2001). The publication not only of scientific and reference works, but also of educational literature proves a certain deepening of the development of the problem of the multiparty system and testifies to gained experience in the studies of social and political associations. In addition, the demand for the manuals shows the relevance of research party genesis in Kazakhstan since independence.

The same year – 2001 - one of the famous works of a prominent political scientist Dyachenko S.A. «Political transit in contemporary Kazakhstan» (Dyachenko, 2001) was published. In that work on the basis of a large number of different sources the process of political modernization context of Kazakhstan since through the lenses of the transit theory was studied. Among the major issues that the author developed in the book a significant place was given to the problem of the formation and development of a multiparty system. The article revealed regularities of formation of party system and its institutionalization within the process of the Kazakhstani society. The scientist identified the specifics and determined the main problems of parthenogenesis in Kazakhstan transformation. His analysis on the activities of political parties in the context of electoral campaigns as well as his proposals on the prospects for the further development of the party system in the country is important (Dyachenko, 2001: 265-342).

Dyachenko S.A. noted the progress and positive dynamics in the formation of a multiparty system in the country during the first decade of independence, but his analysis of the state and dynamics of the process forced him to admit that a classic multiparty system buildup is quite problematic. In particular, he wrote that by the early XXI century political parties in Kazakhstan still: «are not fully performing the functions inherent in this political institution in the states with a developed democracy. The role and influence of parties on the nature of the domestic political process, on the mechanism of development and making state decisions on public opinion is growing rather slowly» (Dyachenko, 2001: 340). In general, the author did not highly evaluate the activities of parties and their influence. In his conclusions he stated that at that time in Kazakhstan «parties have not yet become the representatives of the interests of the broad sectors of society» and instead a significant part of the parties «serve mainly the demands of elites» (Dyachenko, 2001: 340).

It is also worth noting the assumptions made by this author about the possible further





development of the party system in Kazakhstan: «the creation of a multiparty system with the dominant role of two parties or the formation of a two-bloc party system» (Dyachenko, 2001: 341). At the same time, he did not rule out that in the future the power elites could remain actively involved in controlling the party-building process.

New reference publications on political parties in Kazakhstan were published in 2004 and 2009. The authors were major researchers and historians with rich experience in studies of social and political movements of Kazakhstan, their formation and development since independence Ayagan B.G., Buluktayev Y.O., Chebotarev A.E., etc. (Buluktayev, Chebotarev, 2004; Ayagan, Nurymbetova, 2009).

Both the first and second editions provide important information on the status of the party's field in 2004 and 2009 respectively. The information relates primarily to political parties registered and officially were operating in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The relevance of publication of new reference materials was connected with dynamics of party building and parliamentary electoral cycles in Kazakhstan. At that time the elections to the Majilis of the parliament were held, as well as the amendments and additions to the legal acts concerning the activities of parties aimed at their improvement were introduced.

As in the previous editions of other directories the 2004 and 2009 editions contain a large number of relevant documents and materials, which give value to these publications both for the historiography of the issue and as a documentary source.

In the early 2000s several works by well-known politician Peruashev A.T. were published on the issues of party building in Kazakhstan and the history and activities of a political party he set up – the Civil Party of Kazakhstan (Peruashev, 2002a; Peruashev, 2002b; Peruashev, 2005). His contribution to the study of the formation of parties on a concrete example is particularly valuable. In addition to important data on the activities of a particular party the analysis by Peruashev A.T. of party building in Kazakhstan is interesting. Viewed through the lens of the theory of western party researches (Duverge M.) the author made parties classification and gave a general description of the party building process since early 2000s. His conclusion was as follows: “The processes taking place in the sphere of formation and institutionalization of Kazakhstan's political parties are characterized by a tendency to converge the traditional mass form of parties with the type of contemporary western parties for all (catch-all-parties). In most cases these parties have a loose electoral base and an increased role of leadership unlike the mass party” (Peruashev, 2002:90).

The well-known Kazakhstani expert in the field of ethno-political studies Kurganskaya V.D. published an article in 2005 where she described the main features of the party system development in contemporary Kazakhstan through the prism of the national question using statistical and sociological data. In particular, she identified certain traits in assessments and views on the national issue in party criteria – «pro-presidential» or opposition. The former ones, as she noted, emphasized “the harmonious nature of inter-ethnic relations in the country and the tasks of their preservation and consolidation on the basis of the principles of the national policy pursued by the republic's authorities”. While the opposition parties stressed “the contradictory, unbalanced, conflict character of inter-ethnic interaction, the need to reform the national policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan” (Kurganskaya, 2005: 86).

In 2006 and 2010 the works of well-known political scientist and statesman Dyachenko S.A. were published where his publications and speeches for several years on various issues of state building and the formation of the political system of independent Kazakhstan were collected (Dyachenko, 2006; Dyachenko, 2010). As a researcher and practitioner with experience in party work the author also paid much attention to party building. Many assessments he made and conclusions drawn from their own political experience. The works by Dyachenko S.A. containing his own practical experience serve as first hand sources.

It is necessary to note the dissertation of well-known political scholar Chebotarev A.E. where he through analysis of the phenomenon of political opposition in Kazakhstan over the recent period made analysis of the political parties' activities (Chebotarev, 2007).

Of a certain interest is the collective monograph published in 2011 that makes a comparative analysis of the party system formation process of Kazakhstan and Russia since 1991. The work gives the factors and conditions that influenced parties' evolution in both countries. Separately, the authors



noted the peculiarities of parties' participation in elections, showed how parties accumulated electoral experience (Yeliseyev, Iskakov, Kinzerskaya, 2011).

The same year (2011) another collective monograph was published devoted to the problem of establishing and developing the electoral system in Kazakhstan since independence. It also gave an overview of the parties' electoral activities (Buluktayev, Bokayev, 2011).

A big study on the history of the formation and development of public and political associations and activities of political parties in Kazakhstan since late 1991 to 2012 was made in a two-volume work of a prominent specialist Buluktayev Yu.O. The work chronologically traced the process of formation and further development of the party system in Kazakhstan. The interaction of parties and the state at various stages, participation of parties in the political life of the country, their emergence and functioning were analyzed, the dynamics of party building in Kazakhstan was given as well. The author used a significant amount of publications and sources, including archival documents. The work contains a large factual material and serves as a good tool for further studies of social and political movements in modern day Kazakhstan (Buluktayev, 2012; Buluktayev, 2013).

We should also note two publications that on the basis of the materials of the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan presented some aspects of the history of the SPK, its formation and activities. The first one is a small but important article by Kabdulova K.D., published in 2016, that shows the potential of AP RK to study the activities of SPK (Kabdulova, 2016). And the second article by Lapin N.S. and Zhumanbayev D.N. published in 2020 based on the archival documents introduced into the scientific circulation for the first time some sources and showed the efforts of the Socialist Party as a successor to the CPK to obtain a part of the property of the former Communist Party (Lapin, Zhumanbayev, 2020).

The latest major domestic work on political parties of Kazakhstan is the book by Asylov K.Z., published in 2019. The work contains a significant amount of important information and analysis of party building problems in contemporary Kazakhstan. The article analyses and conducts comparison of party documents (programs) available by the time of publication. An interesting section of the book is devoted to the study of the activities and posting the political parties in the internet space (Asylov, 2019).

The foreign authors made a certain contribution to the studies of parties building of Kazakhstan. Thus, in the famous work of Martha Brill Olcott «Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise» was made a historical review of the formation of the political system of Kazakhstan on the eve and in the first years of independence. She not only outlines some facts on the formation of the party system, but also makes some important conclusions. For example, Olcott concluded that the lack of mass support for parties even those having an administrative support, was due to the low level of public interest in parties, the lack of cadres capable of intensifying the activities of parties in the regions, as well as the lack of finance for small and opposition parties (Olcott, 2002).

The article by Mishra M.K. examines the democratization process in Kazakhstan in which political parties played a significant role (Mishra, 2009: 313-327.). Bowyer A. carried out a great research which was reflected in a special edition where he studied political parties and their role in the development of the Parliament in Kazakhstan (Bowyer, 2008).

Separately, we should pay attention to the work of Isaacs R. that studies the formation of the party system in Kazakhstan in the years of independence (Isaacs, 2017).

## **5. Conclusion**

The reviewed literature on the history of the social and political associations formation in Kazakhstan made it possible to identify two stages in the historiography – the first covered the period of 1990s and the second from the early 2000s onwards.

In the first stage most of the reviewed works were often used a number of directories were published and the studies recorded the progress of party and political life of the country in that period. The party documents (charters and etc.) were published and analyzed as well. The attempts were made to systematize social movements and generalize the experience of party building in the first years of Kazakhstan's independence.

A significant contribution to the study of that period was made by representatives of political circles and historians of Kazakhstan: Ayagan B.G., Babakumarov E.Zh., Buluktayev Yu.O., Dyachenko S.A., Zaslavskaya M.B., Karmazina L.I. and Seidumanov S.T.



With all the achievements of that stage of historiography it should be noted that the works that separately studied or in any way covered the history of specific political parties and movements, their formation and activity, very not many and most of them could be used just for reference or overview material.

The historiography of the second stage is characterized by a more complex study of the problem. Some aspects of party building in Kazakhstan and the history of individual parties are being considered with the help of archival sources. There are generalizing works which show both the history of formation and development of public and political associations in the years of independence. However, the reference works continue to be published.

During this period the work of such specialists as Ayagan B.G., Buluktayev Yu.O., Dyachenko S.A., Karmazin L.I., Seidumanov S.T., Kabdulova K.D. and others.

It is also worth noting a certain contribution to the study of social and political associations of some foreign authors, such as Olcott M.B., Bowyer A., Mishra M.K, Isaacs R. and others who analyzed the political development of Kazakhstan in the post-Soviet period.

Despite the great contribution of researchers and the development of this topic it should be noted that scientific publications devoted directly to the history of the formation and further development of public and political associations of Kazakhstan, There is not a lot of historical writing based on archival material. Most of the works are reviews or reference materials.

The problems of party formation are interpreted often only in the context of other important problems of contemporary history of Kazakhstan in the works of historians. Most of researches on the given problem are publications by political scientists, sociologists and lawyers since the problem of the history of the formation of social and political associations falls within the field of social sciences. Despite some achievements, a number of issues related to the history of individual political parties and associations remain largely unexplored.

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