

FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL COUNCILS IN KAZAKHSTAN (1917–1991): STATUS AND POWERS

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Abstract. This article examines the organization and development of public administration in Kazakhstan from 1917 to 1991. It analyzes the formation and evolution of state power in Kazakhstan following the October Revolution of 1917, focusing on the establishment, development, and stages of local councils as a distinct form of popular representation. The article explores their role in all aspects of public life in the Kazakh SSR. Using the current Constitution, laws, and other legislative acts, it examines the legal framework and actual powers of local councils. Additionally, the article provides a comparative analysis of the evolution and functioning of local councils as bodies of local government.

Keywords: *Local Councils and local self-government, congresses of Councils, Kazakh SSR, Supreme Council, All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Central Executive Committee, Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh ASSR, Executive Committees, elections of deputies, local community.*

**ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ ЖЕРГІЛІКТІ КЕҢЕСТЕРДІҢ ҚҰРЫЛУЫ
ЖӘНЕ ҚАЛЫПТАСЫП ДАМУЫ (1917-1991 жж.): МӘРТЕБЕСІ МЕН
ӨКІЛЕТТІЛІГІ**

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Аңдатпа. Бұл мақалада 1917-1991 жылдар аралығында Қазақстанда мемлекеттік басқаруды ұйымдастыру және дамыту процесі қарастырылады. 1917 жылғы Қазан төңкерісінен кейінгі елдегі мемлекеттік билік институтының қалыптасуы мен эволюциясының ерекшелігіне, сондай-ақ жергілікті Кеңестердің халықтық өкілдіктің бірегей нысаны ретінде қалыптасу кезеңдеріне және олардың Қазақ КСР-нің қоғамдық өміріне ықпалына ерекше назар аударылады. Сол кезеңдегі қолданыстағы Конституциялар, заңдар және басқа да нормативтік құқықтық актілер негізінде жергілікті кеңестердің құқықтық және нақты өкілеттіліктері талданады. Жергілікті мемлекеттік басқару органдары ретінде жергілікті Кеңестердің эволюциясына салыстырмалы талдау жүргізіледі.

Түйін сөздер: *Жергілікті Кеңестер мен жергілікті өзін-өзі басқару, Кеңестер съездері, Қазақ КСР, Жоғарғы Кеңесі, Бүкілресейлік Орталық Атқару Комитеті, Орталық Атқару Комитеті, КАССР Халық Комиссарлар Кеңесі, атқару комитеттері, депутаттар сайлауы, жергілікті қоғамдастық*

СТАНОВЛЕНИЕ И РАЗВИТИЕ МЕСТНЫХ СОВЕТОВ В КАЗАХСТА- НЕ (1917–1991 гг.): СТАТУС И ПОЛНОМОЧИЯ

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Аннотация. Данная статья посвящена процессу организации, развитию государственного управления на территории Казахстана в период 1917-1991 гг. Анализируется специфика формирования и развития института государственной власти в Казахстане начиная после октябрьского переворота 1917 года и процессы формирования, развития и этапы становления местных Советов как специфической формы народного представительства, и их роль во всех этапах в общественной жизни Казахской ССР. На основе действовавших Конституции и законов и других НПА анализируется правовые и реальные полномочия местных Советов. Проведен сравнительный анализ эволюции и развития местных Советов как органов местного государственного управления.

Ключевые слова: *Местные Советы и местное самоуправление, съезды Советов, Казахская ССР, Верховный Совет, Всероссийский Центральный*

Introduction

The object of this study is public relations in the field of organization and functioning of local authorities in Kazakhstan (1917 - 1993). The study conducted in the materials of this article covers a long historical period – more than 70 years.

Management is an essential property of any society at any stage of its development. The following are distinguished: public administration (the subject of government is the state), public administration (public, non-state structures), management - the head, the manager of an enterprise, firm, etc. Through public administration, all internal and external functions of the state are implemented: economic, social, environmental, protection of citizens' rights and freedoms, law enforcement, cultural, defensive, etc. Atamanchuk G.V. defines public administration as the practical, organizing and regulating influence of the state on the social life of people in order to streamline, preserve or transform it, based on its power [1, p.40].

The relevance of the research on this topic is determined by the special importance of the institutions of local government, especially popular representation in the system of government and society as the basis of any democratic state. State-building reforms and strengthening of the main social institutions of society are one of the most important political tasks for Kazakhstan in the coming years. A strong state means the steady enforcement of laws, the effective functioning of state institutions, and the provision of high-quality public services that allow every member of society to feel like a worthy and confident citizen [2, p. 14]. The complex tasks of systemic transformation of the entire society for its sustainable development can be solved only if there are an effective management system at all levels of government, but especially at the local level.

Therefore, the historical experience of the formation and development of local authorities in Soviet Kazakhstan is of great practical interest. Local government bodies in the Soviet period (1917-1991) were everywhere Councils of People's Deputies. The constitution of that period stated that the people exercised state power through the Soviets, which formed the political basis of the USSR and the Kazakh SSR. The soviets, as representative bodies of a single state authority, then formed executive governing bodies throughout the country. Councils at every level of government – from rural, rural to the Supreme Council – acted as the coordinator of all types of public administration.

Studying the historical experience of the functioning of local government structures and the impact on the further democratization of social processes in the country is an important analytical material for specialists in this field. Since we are talking about the system of local authorities, the political basis of independent Kazakhstan, the study examined documents reflecting the history of the emergence, formation and development of local representative and executive administrative bodies. In this regard, the author refers to archival documents of the Soviet state and government, materials of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, the Constitution and Laws of the Kazakh SSR, which defined the main directions of local government. For a comprehensive study and disclosure of the topic, archival materials from the Central State Administration of the Republic of Kazakhstan, RSASPH, Pavlodar, Astana and North Kazakhstan regional archives were used.

Research methods.

The research is grounded in the scientific principles and methodologies of historical analysis. A central focus of the study is the strict adherence to the principles of comprehensiveness, objectivity, and historicism, along with a commitment to tracing the sequential stages of social development. The author employs the historical method, which allows for a detailed examination of developmental processes, highlighting their sequence, interconnectedness, and the conditionality of various stages and forms. This approach facilitates the formulation of results and the derivation of well-reasoned conclusions through the analysis and synthesis of factual material.

Additionally, the research incorporates the logical method, which is structured around foundational theoretical perspectives—such as identifying key historical and political issues related to the Soviets—and guiding the selection, analysis, and synthesis of empirical data. The statistical (quantitative) method is also utilized, involving the collection of reliable numerical data and the application of comparative techniques. This approach enables the study to objectively represent the complex and sometimes contradictory development of the Councils of People's Deputies, while identifying general trends within this historical process.

Particular attention is given to the SWOT analysis—a method of strategic comparison. The article presents an analysis of three groups of factors that influenced the activities of local Soviets of People's Deputies: strengths, weaknesses, and threats.

Based on the SWOT analysis, the strengths that characterized the activities of local Soviets during this historical and chronological period of the Kazakh SSR's development were objectively identified. The weaknesses—shortcomings or limitations of the functioning of local authorities in Soviet Kazakhstan—as well as the factors and conditions that influenced their activities, were also analyzed.

The conclusions drawn from this analysis are descriptive in nature and do not include recommendations or prioritization.

Discussions.

The Soviet era commenced following the February and October Revolutions of 1917 within the Russian Empire, which at the time encompassed the territory of modern Kazakhstan. The formation of the system of councils began at the end of February – beginning of March 1917 practically at once at all levels. The representative nature of the Councils is that deputies elected by the population on the basis of direct and equal electoral rights represented them in the organs of power.

A.A. Bogdanov very accurately described the reasons for the emergence of the Soviets, their goals and political nature in one of his articles in the summer of 1917. Noting that the Soviets are “a revolutionary-legal institution, not a state-legal one,” he explained that they represent “organs of revolutionary struggle, an instrument of the revolutionary movement...” [3. p. 83].

To address emerging revolutionary challenges, the local population, in collaboration with the Bolsheviks, began forming provincial, county and volost councils, which initially functioned independently of the central authorities of the time. However, throughout their evolution, the Bolshevik Party consistently restricted the Soviets from making autonomous decisions on matters of state or regional development.

Justifying the leading and guiding role of the party in the system of "Soviet democracy", V.I. Lenin emphasized: "... we must know and remember that the entire legal and factual constitution of the Soviet Republic is based on the fact that the party corrects everything, appoints and builds on the same principle ..." [4, p.

403] . Thus, from the first days of the formation of the Soviet state, "Not a single important political or organizational issue is solved by any state institution in our republic", V.I. Lenin emphasized, "without the guidance of the Central Committee of the Party" [4, pp. 30-31]. The process of the emergence and nature of the activity of the Soviets in Kazakhstan were in many ways similar to those that took place in Russia. However, this process had its own specific features. The first Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' deputies in Kazakhstan appeared in early March 1917.

A general assembly took place in Semipalatinsk, where eight individuals were elected to the Council of Workers' Deputies, with one deputy representing every 50 workers. In early March 1917, the Social Democrats in the city of Petropavlovsk convened a meeting of their local group, during which the establishment of the Council was proclaimed. 104 deputies attended the first general meeting of the Council, 40 of them from workers and 64 from soldiers [5, pp. 35-36]. In March of the same year, Soviets of Workers' deputies appeared in Auliye Ata, Vernoye, Perovsk, Dossor, Kazalinsk, Aktobe, Pavlodar, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Ridder, Karkaralinsk and other cities. The construction of the Soviet state and its local bodies in Kazakhstan took place in difficult conditions and was accompanied by overcoming difficulties associated with the resistance of representatives of the former authorities overthrown by the revolution, and an extreme lack of competent personnel – organizers and administrators. The organization of the dismantling of the old organs of power and the replacement by organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat began from the first days after the October revolution. This is evidenced by the appeal "To the population" written by V. Lenin on November 5, 1917. It states: "Comrades of the working people! Remember that you are now running the state yourself. No one will help you unless you unite yourself and take all the affairs of the state into your own hands.

“From this point forward, your Councils are state authorities - authorized, decisive bodies. Strengthen them. Take matters into your own hands without waiting for anyone else. Establish the strictest revolutionary order” [6, pp. 66-67]. The congresses of Soviets played a pivotal role in organizing Soviet institutions in Kazakhstan, including the Semipalatinsk Regional United Congress, Turgai Regional Congress, and others in Kokchetau, Akmola, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Pavlodar, and Aulie-Ata counties. These were held between late 1917 and mid-1918. According to incomplete records, around 60 regional and county congresses of Soviets representing workers', soldiers', peasants', Kazakh, and Cossack deputies took place in Kazakhstan during this period. Each congress typically involved 150-200 delegates, with participation ranging from as few as 50 to more than 400 in certain cases [6, p. 103]. In the aftermath of the October Revolution of 1917, power in most districts was held by revolutionary committees (revkoms), led by Bolsheviks and representatives from the Soviets they organized. Together, they carried out the organizational tasks needed to prepare for and convene county and regional congresses.

Congresses of Soviets, as a rule, were convened as needed and differed from each other in the number of their delegates. Thus, at the county congresses of the Soviets of Kazakhstan, held in the winter and spring of 1918, the number of delegates ranged from three dozen to 170, and at the regional congresses - from 50 to 472 delegates. The United district congresses of Soviets in February–March 1918 were held in Atbasar, Pavlodar, Kokchetav and other cities of Kazakhstan. They created unified executive bodies of the Soviet government [5, p.113].

After the elections held at all levels, the Soviets elected executive committees, which, once elected, forgot who had chosen them and began to be guided not so much by the will of the deputies as by the directives of the party organs. This trend

was later reflected in all relevant regulatory legal acts, including the Regulations on the Soviets of gubernias, oblasts, uyezds, districts, cities, and towns of urban type of 1922 [7, p. 12]. At the same time, the normative consolidation of issues of local governance was gradually developing, especially after the formation of the USSR in 1922, which was most clearly expressed in the 1924 Constitution [8, p.13].

The local representative bodies of that period were politicized by the Bolshevik Party, the deputies were defined by class characteristics and represented the primary cells of the "proletarian dictatorship".

However, for grassroots councils, in this case villages, the political component was more declarative, the primary task was to unite the population, solve local economic and other pressing issues, and express their will and interests. Thus, the local councils of Kazakhstan during the Soviet period (1917-1991) went through difficult stages of evolution, which reflected the peculiarities of the republic's development in different periods of its development. With each convocation, the composition of the deputy corps of Soviets reflected more fully the social structure of Soviet society. Their composition reflected all the changes in the composition of the population (an increase in the number, peculiarities in the national composition, etc.) in connection with the deportation of peoples, with the development of virgin and fallow lands, the process of internationalization of Councils, especially in the northern regions of Kazakhstan, took place intensively. The first sprouts of local self-government bodies in local councils began to appear in the form of public organizations – street and neighborhood committees, public assistance commissions for housing administrations, police assistance brigades, DND, women's councils, veterans' councils - as the first public local government bodies.

Rural gatherings began to be regularly convened in rural areas. However, with the existing vertical structure of Councils, the weak economic and financial base of local councils and independence in decision-making, there is no need to talk about the form of government as local self-government bodies.

The results of the study

The evolution of the development of local Councils as public authorities in Kazakhstan (1917-1991) can be conditionally determined on the basis of the adopted Constitution and the political decisions of the party bodies, as well as in the analysis of the organization of their activities. The initial stages of the formation and organization of the work of local Councils are crucial in their further activities. The first stage can be defined as the initial stage of the formation and development of Soviets as public authorities in 1917-1925. The beginning of the first stage, the construction of the Soviet system, was described above. The continuation of this process should be noted the formation of the Autonomous Kyrgyz (Kazakh) Socialist Soviet Republic (KAZSSR) as part of the RSFSR on August 26, 1920 [9].

According to Article 3 of this Decree, the governing bodies of the KAZSSR are the local Council of Deputies, the Central Election Commission and the Council of People's Commissars of the KAZSSR. The entire vertical of power passes from the lowest units to the Soviets. Prior to the adoption of the KASSR Constitution in 1926, local Councils were elected according to the Constitution of the RSFSR, adopted in 1918 by the V All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Of particular interest are the activities of local Councils, whose practical activities should be most widely disclosed as local self-government bodies due to their maximum proximity to the population. In the summer of 1917 In cities, regions and counties, "All-Kazakh Congresses" are held to discuss the formation of an autonomous national unit, and issues related to the introduction of zemstvo are put up for discussion. The beginning of the introduction

of zemstvo was laid in the Kokshetau county executive committee. However, the Zemstvo reform was not brought to its logical conclusion due to the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in the region. The Bolsheviks are carrying out their own reform of the organization of local government, one of the first steps of which was the abolition of the zemstvo and the formation of volost councils [7, p. 79].

Representatives of the Kazakh intelligence and the Alash-Orda party (A. N. Bukeikhanov, A. Baitursynov, M. Dulatov and others), realizing the importance of the institution of local self-government, conducted educational activities among the local population on zemstvo issues by dedicating separate cycles of articles in the socio-political newspaper "Kazakh" [10, p. 18]. During the Soviet period, local Councils were, on the one hand, local government bodies and served as agents of the policy of the Bolshevik Party; on the other hand, while maintaining their elective character, they represented the interests of certain segments of the population, and since 1937, after the adoption of the Stalinist Constitution, the entire population. According to Article 53 of the Constitution, the highest authorities in volosts, counties, provinces, and regions were congresses of Soviets. For the current work, the Council of Deputies elected an executive committee from among its members. Article 56 of the Constitution established that, within the boundaries of its jurisdiction, the Congress of Soviets (regional, provincial, county, volost) is the highest authority in a given territory; in the period between congresses, the executive committee was recognized as such authority.

Additionally, similar strategy will be applied in all upcoming Soviet Kazakhstani constitutions. As a result, a distinct vertical structure was established, with the authority to overrule decisions made by lesser Councils. An examination of the organizational structure of the executive committees of the county and regional councils reveals that, in the beginning, they were very different from one another in terms of the number of divisions (departments) and department names, and they occasionally deviated from the directives outlining their numerical makeup. Some county council executive committees had 70–80 members (like the Akmola County Council's executive committee), while others had 12–18 members (like the Ust-Kamenogorsk, Petropavlovsk, etc. executive committees). The councils of Kazakhstan as a whole, guided by the recommendations of the NKVD of the RSFSR, took into account their own peculiarities in the organization of the local executive apparatus. For example, the executive committee of the Petropavlovsk District Council organized a department for the regulation of Kazakh-Russian relations; and the executive committee of the Semirechensk Regional Council formed sub-departments for the management of "native schools, etc." [5, p. 115].

In order to attract indigenous people to actively participate in public administration and spread the ideas of Soviet power in the Kazakh village, the Bolsheviks and the Councils of Deputies of certain regions of Kazakhstan convened congresses of representatives of Kazakh workers. In the spring of 1918, such congresses were held in Pavlodar, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, Aulie Ata, Aktyubinsk, Vernom, Kostanay and other cities [5, p.118]. The Bolsheviks' efforts to establish and consolidate the system of village and volost Councils were integral to their broader goal of strengthening the Soviet system. The challenging process of organizing grassroots Councils in Kazakh villages was further complicated by the region's economic and cultural underdevelopment [11, p.7]. Revolutionary committees, along with regional and county councils led by the Bolsheviks, directly oversaw the creation of a network of village and volost Councils. These bodies developed guidelines for organizing local councils and conducted training programs for Soviet workers from the local population through specially arranged courses.

For instance, the "Regulation on the Procedure for Re-Election of Village, Village Councils, Volost, and County Executive Committees", approved by the Orenburg Gubernatorial Executive Committee [12], outlined detailed instructions on electoral law, the organization of election commissions, the preparation of voter lists, and the criteria for those excluded from voting rights, among other procedural details.

The documents adopted by the provincial congresses revealed the principles, ways and methods of organizing the construction of Soviet government bodies at the village and rural levels [5, p.123]. Agriculture and land issues have occupied an important place in the activities of local councils in Kazakhstan since the early days. After the establishment of Soviet power, many of the best lands were in the hands of Kulak colonialists and Cossack troops. According to Lenin's Decree on land, adopted at the 2nd All-Russian Congress of Soviets, the right of private ownership of land was abolished, and land became the national property. The food issue, along with the land issue, was one of the important and pressing issues, and the issue of providing assistance to starving regions, including Kazakhstan itself. So, on March 6, 1918, at the plenary session of the Akmola County Council, the issue of urgent harvesting of bread in the villages and villages of the county was discussed [5, p.197].

The outstanding Kazakh poet, a member of the Alash-Orda parties, M. Zhumabayev, dealt closely with these issues. This is evidenced by the archival materials of the NKSA. In a telegram signed by the Chairman of the Provincial Committee, M. Zhumabayev, to the Chelyabinsk Gubernatorial Committee, he asks to stop the transfer of starving people [to] Akmol gubernia. Our province is overflowing with starving people, and the growing famine has reached cannibalism. The starving people sent to us are doomed to starve. Take measures to suspend such movement [13, p.219]. Since 1921, issues related to the property and financial resources of local councils have been resolved at the state level. Revenues from the restored taxes and fees for services were also gradually transferred to the local Councils. NEP led to the formation of a wide range of local property: state, municipal (communal), cooperative, and personal. It was at the end of 1920, in the resolution "On Soviet construction", the VIII All-Russian Congress [14]. He defined the Soviets as organs of the internal organization of the city and village for the restoration of the economy, and the resolution "On Soviet Construction" of the IX All-Russian Congress of Soviets adopted a year later, a number of norms indicate that the independence of local Councils was minimal.

Thus, in the section "On departments of local executive committees" of this resolution, it was stated, in particular, that "departments existing at the volost executive committees, as well as volost economic meetings, are being abolished. The number of members of the volost executive committees is set [15]. As can be seen, the structure of the grassroots executive bodies, down to the number of staff units, was determined not by the Soviets, or even by provincial authorities, but at the highest level. Also, in the resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR received by the Petropavlovsk City Council on 03/17/1927, it is noted: "The organization of the departments of the City Council should be carried out by reducing the staff of the departments of the relevant executive committees and their departments so that the total staff of the departments of the City Council and the relevant executive committees in no case exceeds the previous staff of the contingents of the executive committees" [16, p.56].

The peculiarities of the second stage are the date of adoption of the first Constitution (basic law) of the KAZSSR on February 18, 1926. Where the territory of the Kyrgyz Territory was consolidated and declared a Republic of Soviets of Workers, the working Kyrgyz people, peasant, Cossack and Red Army deputies [15, p. 70-79]. As in the previous Constitution, the governing bodies are the local Council of Deputies, the KIRCEC and the Council of People's Commissars of the KASS, and all economic and military issues are linked within the RSFSR. At this stage in the field of "Soviet construction", the Bolshevik Party sought to finally transform the Soviets into a technical apparatus subordinate to party directives and at the same time carry out a class "purge" of their composition in anticipation of industrialization and collectivization. Paradoxically, this activity took place under the slogan of the Bolshevik parties "revitalizing" the Soviets. The goals of political isolation of bourgeois-rich elements, strengthening the union of workers and working peasants, and increasing the role of soviets in the cultural and economic spheres were declared.

The "Revival" of the Soviets in the 1920s was reflected in the adoption of a large number of different Provisions that strictly regulated the activities of the Soviets from the class point of view of their formation, in the growth of their quantitative representation with an increase in the number of disenfranchised people objectionable to the ideology of the Bolsheviks, and, finally, in the holding of re-elections to the Soviets, the composition and political loyalty of which were questionable. The direct instructions of the Central Executive Committee on the part of the Bureau of the Cossack Regional Committee of the CCEC (b) dated 28.01.1926 on the course of the re-election campaign and the resolution adopted by the Central Executive Committee on the course of the re-election campaign of the Soviets adopted at the meeting of the bureau of the resolution indicated:

4). *To recognize, under the conditions of the KSSR, it is advisable to allow, with the permission of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, in each individual case, the holding of secondary re-elections of those village councils and executive committees in which the rich influence prevailed or which emerged weakened from the re-elections due to tribal hostility and groupings and did not gain credibility among the larger local population. Also, to hold secondary re-elections in the same manner as in those areas where there was gross administrative pressure, in the flesh before attempts to directly force voting.*

7). *Pay attention to the absence of voter lists in the municipalities. To invite the Gubernatorial committees to identify the most active party comrades who proved themselves in the group struggle and prevented the election campaign in order to bring them to party responsibility [17, p. 3-4]. Also, in resolution 3 of the Plenum of the Kazkraikom of the CPSU (b) dated November 25, 1927, it was noted: "The re-elections of 1926-1927 differ significantly from the previous re-elections. All the features of the village were taken into account here, and specific events were planned more correctly. A more rigid class approach to disenfranchisement was carried out (in 1925-1926, 20,982 people were disenfranchised, and in 1926-1927, 94,377 people in villages and villages, 58% of them Kazakhs). In a number of cases, administrative measures were applied, including the eviction of the leaders of the group struggle from the borders of the county and incarcerated in correctional houses. The election of village councils in 1926-1927 revealed great achievements, but this does not exclude a number of significant shortcomings..." [18, pp.6-9].*

Table №1. Structure of local authorities of Kazakhstan (1918-1937)

Local councils of workers, peasants, Cossacks, soldiers' deputies of the KASSR (1918-1937)		
Provincial Councils; Regional Councils	County Councils; City; District Councils	Volost Councils; aul, village, stanitsa, kishlak and settlement Councils
Executive Committees	Executive Committees	Executive Committees

Prepared by author.

Provincial, county and volost bodies of Soviet power, as well as executive committees, according to approved instructions and laws, were obliged to: a) Implement all resolutions of the relevant supreme bodies of Soviet power; b) Take all measures to raise the given territory culturally and economically; c) Resolve all issues related to a purely local significance for a given territory; d) The unification of all Soviet activities within a given territory. In the 1930s, local Councils primarily addressed issues related to collectivization and industrialization, as Kazakhstan became the focus of a program initiated by the First Secretary of the Bolshevik Party, Goloshchekin. Known as "Small October," this program aimed to develop agriculture while advancing industrialization efforts. Significant progress was made in constructing new factories, exploiting coal deposits, and extracting ferrous and non-ferrous metal ores, along with other mineral resources. Local councils were responsible for addressing challenges such as housing workers, many of whom migrated from rural areas, other regions within the republic, and across the Soviet Union.

Local soviets, under pressure from the Bolshevik party organs, sometimes made illegal decisions during the period of collectivization, dispossession and settlement. All these events coincided with famine and huge losses of the indigenous population in agriculture. Therefore, along with the party, administrative and punitive bodies, the Soviet authorities are also responsible for the repressive policy of that period against the people. So, for example, according to the minutes of the meeting of the Presidium of the Zaisan district Executive Committee dated March 15, 1931: in order to sovietize villages in the collectivization area and conduct procurement campaigns, to ask the investigative authorities to bring to justice and evict the 100-kilometer border post as socially alien and dangerous, according to the resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the KASSR dated 04/03/1930 a group of rich and their subordinators according to the list [19, p.17]. There were many such examples throughout the republic.

The beginning of the third stage can be conditionally marked by the adoption of the new basic law of the Kazakh SSR (KazSSR) in 1937. In connection with the new status of Kazakhstan as a union republic, enshrined in the Union Constitution, on March 24, 1937, the Extraordinary X Congress of Soviets adopted the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR. The Constitution was built in accordance with the Union Constitution and consisted of 11 chapters and 124 articles, of which 9 chapters

mention the Councils of Deputies and 6 chapters specifically devoted to the role of Councils with their powers [15, p. 70-79]. The basic structure, legislative norms, functions and powers of the Councils of Workers' Deputies and their executive committees have not changed in practice compared to the previous one, only the terms of authority and convocation of the session have been changed. This structure of local Councils, adopted by the first Union Constitution of the Kazakh SSR in 1937, remained practical until the collapse of the Soviets as the main structural form of state power. In accordance with the administrative-territorial division of the republic, the Soviets had a three-tier system of government.

Regional councils formed administrations, a planning commission, and a number of other structures, depending on local conditions and the specifics of the regions. The departments of the executive committees of the regional Councils were in double subordination – territorial and sectoral. They were subordinate to the regional Council and its executive committee, and the corresponding Ministry of the Kazakh SSR. Approximately the same as in the region and the district, departments and administrations were created in city councils.

Table №2. Structure of local authorities of Kazakhstan (1937-1978)

Local Councils of workers' deputies of KazSSR (1937-1978)		
Regional Councils of Workers' Deputies	City, district Councils of workers' deputies	Settlement, village and aul Councils of Workers' Deputies.
Executive Committees	Executive Committees	Executive Committees

Prepared by author.

The election campaigns for the election of deputies to local councils were conducted according to a carefully worked-out scenario. The party committees were charged with the task of selecting candidates for deputies. A well-established mechanism for selecting candidates made it possible to form a deputy corps according to the specified parameters. According to the tradition of that period, along with candidates for deputies from labor collectives, it was necessary to nominate the top leaders of the party and the government. In those years, the popular slogan of the Communist parties was "We vote for the bloc of communists and non-partisans". Thus, at the pre-election meeting of workers and employees of the Zhanispaysky state farm of the Yesilsky district and the ZHBK plant of the city of Atbasar, candidates for deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for the elections on March 19, 1966, comrades, were nominated and supported by other collectives: Kosygin A.N., Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Biryukov E.A., foreman of the tractor brigade of the Zhanispaysky state farm of the Yesilsky district. Both candidates were warmly and unanimously supported by the voters of the pre-election meeting [20, p.156]. After the XX Congress of the CPSU in 1956, as part of the course towards democratization, the rights of local councils were expanded. In the same year, 1956, by the decision of the December Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, local Councils were entrusted with the functions of planning production, distributing products of local industry enterprises, solving financial and budgetary issues, and organizing housing construction [21,

p.296]. Voters gave instructions to deputies of different levels of councils, which primarily expressed local needs and requests, primarily related to the development of housing and communal services, healthcare, education, and the development of a network of transport communications. The instructions of the voters were carefully prepared measures were drawn up for their implementation and coordinated with the state development plan. Under the Soviet planned economy, this was important, and those requests from voters who did not receive instructions were postponed to other dates.

Deputies of local Councils performed their parliamentary duties on a voluntary basis, without interrupting their main activities. The main form of deputies' work was sessions of local councils. The Executive Committees held monthly meetings. Local councils elected permanent commissions from among their deputies for preliminary consideration and preparation of issues within their jurisdiction, monitoring the implementation of laws and decisions of higher councils and their own. In the second half of the 1950s new forms of public organizations began to be created – street and neighborhood committees, public commissions for assistance to house administrations, police assistance brigades, DND, women's councils, veterans' councils – as the first sprouts of public local governments. For example, under the direct leadership of the Petropavlovsk City Executive Committee, on December 18, 1963 according to the regulations approved by the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR "On street committees in cities and workers' settlements in the Kazakh SSR", elections were held for the chairman and secretary of the street committee of the Zarechny settlement of Petropavlovsk [22, p.29].

Annual reporting of executive committees to local councils and deputies to voters has become regular. Elections to local councils of Kazakhstan were held in June 1977. More than 8 million voters participated in the elections in the republic, or 99.9% of their total number included in the lists. More than 123 thousand people's deputies were elected to local councils. For example, according to the Petropavlovsk City Executive Committee, 205 deputies were elected to the city Council on June 15, 1975, 117 of them women, 104 members and candidates for members of the CPSU, 50 members of the Komsomol, 155 workers [23, p.1].

The fourth stage can be conditionally defined with the adoption of the new constitution of the Kazakh SSR in 1978.

The main reason and necessity of adopting a new Constitution, as noted in the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU, were related to political, socio-economic prerequisites, which were explained at that time by the presence of such factors as: a significant change in the political regime associated with the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a national state, the further development of Soviet democracy; the undivided rule of socialist property, on the basis of which the economy of the USSR became a single national economic complex; building a developed socialist society based on the indestructible union of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligence and the emergence of a new historical community – the multinational Soviet people.

The 1978 Constitution (article 6) even more explicitly emphasized the role of the Communist Party, which was proclaimed "the guiding and guiding force of Soviet society, the core of its political system". The 1978 basic law preserved the class orientation of democracy, which was called "Socialist democracy". Thus, before the collapse of the Soviet system of government and administration, the structure of local government looked as follows:

Table №3. Structure of local authorities of Kazakhstan (1937-1978)

Local Councils of workers' deputies of KazSSR (1937-1978)		
Levels of power bodies	Representative bodies of power	Executive Bodies of power
Local level (regional, district, rural)	Council of People's Deputies (1977-1993)	Executive Committees

Prepared by author.

The peculiarities of the structure of local authorities at this stage can be attributed, for example, to the absence of departments and departments in the executive committees of the lower levels of Councils (rural, village, village and city, cities of district subordination); the creation of deputy groups, as a rule, was regulated only by the Councils of the urban, district, rural, village level. However, due to the previously mentioned reasons, the potential of the Soviet local representative system was not fully realized. The idea of Councils as "working corporations" that make laws themselves and organize their implementation turned out to be a good wish. The final design of the command and administrative system reinforced the complete dependence of the representative bodies of the Soviets on the executive and on the party structures.

Conclusion

Analyzing the stages of the formation and development of the Soviets until their collapse, it is possible to summarize the state authorities of the Kazakh SSR:

1. At all stages of the formation and activity of the Soviets, it is necessary to consider - exclusively as a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the rule of the communist party. Election campaigns were conducted according to a carefully worked out scenario. The party committee was assigned the task of selecting candidates for deputy. The optimized candidate selection mechanism allowed for the formation of the deputy corps according to the specified parameters.

2. Considering the class nature of the political institutions of the Communist Party, all classes, all layers of the socialist society were represented in the local councils. Local party committees and executive bodies of the Soviets supervised the work. Deputies of the local Soviets only voted for the pre-prepared documents of the executive committees, agreed upon by the party bodies.

Given the existing vertical structure of the Soviets and their weak economic and financial foundations, it is not appropriate to speak of any real autonomy in decision-making or of their functioning as genuine local self-government bodies. It is possible to ascertain the conscious desire of the leadership of the party and the state to monopolize the executive and legislative power in order to strengthen its political dominance, as well as the objective personnel-organizational and political weakness of the society, neither the preparedness of the Soviets, nor those capable of becoming the basis of a democratic type of state.

Having conducted a SWOT analysis of the structure of local authorities of Soviet Kazakhstan, certain conclusions can be drawn.

Table №4. Local representative authorities of Soviet Kazakhstan

Administrative-territorial units	Name of local representative authorities	Main peculiarities
1 Local level (Provincial; regional, county; district, city; volost; village, rural, station, kishlak and settlement Councils)	Council of Workers, Peasants, Cossack and Red Army Deputies (1918-1936)	Election by the population at meetings by direct, open voting, for a term of 3 months to two years. The number of deputies, depending on the territorial level, ranged from 20 to 500 people. The qualitative composition of the deputy corps was formed by the party - the Bolsheviks, was announced at the meeting of voters, the elections were held under the control of party bodies; participation in elections and voting of voters was of a class nature. Those deprived of voting rights could not participate in the voting. Lower councils were controlled by higher ones. Deputies were accountable to their voters.
	Council of Working People's Deputies (1936-1977)	Election by the population by secret ballot. For a term of 2 to 4 years. The number of deputies, depending on the territorial level, ranged from 100 to 500 people. Those deprived of voting rights could not participate in the voting. The qualitative composition of the deputy corps was formed by party structures. Alternative candidates were not allowed, elections were held under the control of party committees. Deputies exercised their powers on a voluntary basis. There were no real control functions over the activities of executive committees on the part of deputies in solving local problems.
	Council of People's Deputies (1977-1991)	Election by the population by secret ballot. Lower councils were controlled by higher ones. Deputies were accountable to their voters. All strategically important events were carried out by the Councils after approval by the party committees. Deputies of local Councils of all levels performed their deputy duties on a voluntary basis. There were no real control functions over the activities of executive committees in solving local problems. Work was carried out on the instructions of voters.

Local executive authorities of Soviet Kazakhstan

Administrative-territorial units	Local executive authorities	Main peculiarities
	Executive Committees of Workers, Peasants, Cossacks and Red	They were formed by the Soviets at congresses, were accountable and controlled by the council and higher representative and executive bodies. The executive committee, the number of members of which should not exceed: a) for the province - 25, b) for the district - 11

1	Local level (Provincial; regional, county; district, city; volost; village, rural, station, kishlak and settlement Councils	Army Deputies (1918-1936)	and c) for the volost - 3. The decisions taken were controlled by higher representative and executive bodies. Inappropriate decisions were cancelled by them.
		Executive Committees of Working People's Deputies (1936-1977)	They were formed by the Councils at sessions, were formally accountable and controlled by the council and higher representative and executive bodies. The decisions made were controlled by higher representative and executive bodies, party structures. Inappropriate decisions were cancelled by them.
		Executive Committees of the Council of People's Deputies (1977-1991)	They were formed by the Soviets at sessions, were formally accountable and controlled by the council and higher representative and executive bodies. The decisions made were controlled by higher representative and executive bodies and party structures. They cancelled decisions that did not comply with the laws and the constitution.

Prepared by author.

This model had the following positive aspects:

1. The presence of a Constitution and by-laws defining the competence, organization and procedure of the relevant Councils and election procedures.
2. The presence of a representative and executive vertical covering all levels of the administrative-territorial structure of the republic.
3. Open elections with the participation of voters who have the right to vote.
4. Accountability of deputies to voters. Giving instructions from voters to deputies of different levels of councils.
5. Based on the principle of historical objectivity, it is possible to state the advantages of the Soviet management system. It can be noted that the socialization of state policy was carried out, and the forms of popular representation in government were significantly expanded in comparison with the period of tsardom of the Russian Empire. Many human rights, which are the property of a civilized civil society, have been particularly developed. For example, the right to work, education, health care, social security, recreation, and others related to natural human rights.

However, this model has the following weaknesses(-):

1. The elections of deputies were held without alternative, according to the class principle, according to pre-prepared and approved lists of party organs.
2. The election of Soviets has been overwhelmingly replaced, in essence, by the appointment of party organs. The Soviets began to listen not to the voice of their constituents, but only to the voice of a higher-ranking party functionary, looking not down, but up, ready, on the orders of their superiors, to inflict any arbitrariness and violence on the masses, hiding behind the name and *will of these masses*.
3. All strategic important activities were carried out by the Soviets after approval by the party committees (*Socio-economic development plans, local budget. Development of individual industries and the social sphere of the regions, etc.*).
4. Deputies of local Councils at all levels performed their parliamentary duties on a voluntary basis, without interrupting their main activities. The control functions of the Councils in relation to the executive bodies practically did not function.
5. The Constitution and laws did not reflect democratic principles in local

government. Critically assessing the Soviet system of local government, one can note the negative aspects of economic management, which were given priority by an extensive rather than an intensive method. At the same time, it can be stated that the Soviet model of economy and the administrative and command management system created an adapted type of public consciousness based on economic inefficiency and social equalization in distribution, which led to deep deformations in the economic and social psychology of the population and vital values and priorities.

However, this economic management system, despite significant flaws and defects, had a high degree of mobility. Supported by a powerful apparatus of ideological and political pressure, this system was relatively stable during the period under study and ensured a fairly stable functioning of the entire economic mechanism of the country [24. P.185].

The main conclusions.

With the mass facts of violence and excessive ideologization of government inherent in the initial stages of the formation of Soviets as organs of power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviets can be considered solely as an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the rule of the communist party and its ideology. The composition of the deputy corps was formed according to quotas established from the beginning of the CPSU (b), and then the CPSU. The right of a citizen to participate in the management of public affairs through election to representative bodies or appointment to public positions, provided for in article 45 of the Constitution, depended entirely on the discretion of the party organs. The nomenclatural principle of selecting cadres and deputies, which was not provided for by the Constitution and other legal acts, invented by the Communist Party, when candidates were selected by party bodies and then went through the formal procedure of election or appointment, was a gross violation of the constitutional norm. For the entire practical period of the development of the Soviet state in the field of "Soviet construction," the central political leadership of the country sought to finally transform the Soviets into a technical apparatus subordinate to party directives and at the same time conducting a class "purge" of their composition.

The key instrument of this influence became the factions of the Communist Party that existed in the councils of all levels, which were completely subordinated to the higher party bodies and were obliged to implement their decisions. According to the Statutes of the Communist Party of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CP), party committees were granted the right to appoint and dismiss both a faction member and any Soviet employee in general. Therefore, in all accepted anti-constitutional NLAs, in the years of repression, famine, and collectivization, they bear the same responsibility as party bodies and Soviet bodies of state power. This testifies to the merging of the Soviet and party apparatuses, with the latter maintaining both formal and actual hegemony. Despite all outward signs of "revitalization" during various stages of Soviet state-building, the Soviets ceased to function as independent political institutions. They obediently followed party directives and retained only purely formal, "ritual" functions. These served the higher party leadership's aim of masking its monopoly on power and maintaining at least the appearance of compliance with the norms and principles enshrined in the Constitutions [25, p. 5].

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