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Foreign views on the culture of Soviet Kazakhstan: an analysis of historiography

The research conducted by American scholars focused on themes such as nationality, language, religion, politics, modernization, and cultural change. These scholars sought to understand the implementation of Soviet national policies in a multi-ethnic society like Kazakhstan and the delicate balance between Soviet identity and ethnic identities within the union. Language reform and its impact on cultural and linguistic diversity were also explored, along with the interaction between Islam and the secular ideology of the Soviet state. The effects of Soviet modernization programs on Kazakhstani society, including the disruption of traditional practices and ways of life, were investigated. Moreover, the study examined how Soviet policies influenced cultural institutions, literary practices, and artistic expression, highlighting the tensions between conformity to Soviet norms and the preservation of a distinctive Kazakh cultural identity. The article acknowledges that the broader global dynamics of the Cold War era influenced the interpretive frameworks and assumptions of these scholars. As part of an intellectual tradition shaped by Western liberal values, American scholars often took a critical stance toward the Soviet system. Their research emphasized the failures, problems, and resistance generated by Soviet policies, including state modernization, national policies, and language reforms. The article concludes that despite valuable contributions from scholars such as Wheeler, Allworth, and Connolly, a comprehensive examination of Kazakh culture during the Soviet period through the lens of foreign historiography remains lacking. It highlights the need for further research to deepen our understanding of the multifaceted aspects of Soviet-era Kazakh culture, shedding light on the complexities and contradictions inherent in the Soviet project.

Keywords: soviet culture, Kazakh economy, traditions, religious beliefs, cultural and civilizational transformation, French historiography, post-Soviet countries, Central Asia.

Introduction

Despite the extensive body of literature devoted to the analysis of the Soviet era in Central Asia, the study of Kazakh culture in the Soviet period from the point of view of foreign historiography remains poorly studied. Historiography is a powerful tool for understanding how interpretations of historical periods and events evolve over time. Although an extensive body of literature on the history and culture of Soviet Central Asia creates a solid foundation, there remains an unmet need for a more detailed study of the Kazakh culture of the Soviet period in the interpretation of foreign scientists. Authors such as Wheeler and Connolly really made valuable contributions to our understanding of the political, social and some aspects of cultural life of that period. However, a comprehensive and purposeful consideration of the diverse Kazakh culture from this point of view is largely absent in these works.

A particularly unique aspect of this study is its comparative analysis of the views of authors with different cultural and geographical backgrounds — English, American, German and French. Thus, the study seeks to identify potential biases, omissions, and areas of consensus and disagreement in historiography. Such an intercultural comparison will not only provide a deeper understanding of how the culture of Soviet Kazakhstan was perceived and interpreted from the outside, but also expand our understanding of the complexities and dynamics of cultural transformation during this period.

Finally, the relevance of this study goes beyond historical analysis. Delving into the legacy of the Soviet era in the culture of Kazakhstan, as it is understood by foreign historiography, the study can provide valuable insight into the roots of some modern cultural practices, debates and conflicts in Kazakhstan. Understanding this historical context is extremely important for promoting a more informed dialogue between Kazakhstan and the rest of the world, as well as for shaping policies and activities related to the preservation and transformation of culture.

In short, the proposed research has a significant potential for enriching both historical understanding and modern discourse. For the study of the intellectual history of Kazakhstan in the second half of the twen-

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tieth century, foreign historiography has its own characteristics. It complements the well-known panorama of the intellectual landscape with independent and often objective views and opinions of foreign researchers.

Results and discussion

The research of American scholars studying Soviet Kazakhstan was dictated by a complex set of themes and issues. These themes covered a wide range of issues, including nationality, language, religion, politics, modernization, and cultural change. Research also often sought to shed light on how these different aspects intersected and influenced each other, thereby shaping the unique experience of Kazakhstan under Soviet rule.

One of the main questions underlying the research was the question of nationality. Scholars were interested in understanding how the national policies of the Soviet regime were implemented in a multi-ethnic society like Kazakhstan. This prompted them to explore the ways in which the Soviets struck a delicate balance between reinforcing a single Soviet identity and recognizing different ethnic identities within the union. This was not just a theoretical exercise, but was seen as crucial to understanding the tensions and contradictions inherent in the Soviet project.

A related topic was the question of language, which was central to the policy of national assimilation pursued by the Soviet state. Scholars have sought to understand how the Soviets implemented language reforms and the resistance they encountered. They have investigated how these reforms were perceived and debated at the local level, and what impact they had on cultural and linguistic diversity in Kazakhstan.

Religion, especially the role of Islam, was another important area of research. Scholars sought to understand how Islam, as a powerful symbol of cultural identity and a source of social cohesion, interacted with the secular ideology of the Soviet state. They were interested in how Islam was shaped and molded by the political and social transformations of the Soviet period.

In addition to these topics, scholars have also addressed the issue of modernization. The Soviet state embarked on ambitious programs to modernize and industrialize Kazakhstan, often at the expense of traditional practices and ways of life. Researchers sought to understand the effects of these programs on Kazakhstani society. They asked questions about how these modernization efforts were implemented, how they disrupted traditional ways of life, and how the local population adapted to these changes.

Cultural change was also an important topic. Scholars were interested in how Kazakh culture developed under Soviet rule. They investigated how the policies of the Soviet regime affected cultural institutions, literary practices, and artistic expression. This led them to explore the tensions between the desire to conform to Soviet norms and the desire to preserve a distinctive Kazakh cultural identity.

The cultural and political context in which these historians and scholars conducted their research undoubtedly influenced their views on Soviet Kazakhstan. American scholars of the second half of the twentieth century were writing in the midst of the Cold War, a period characterized by ideological struggle and rivalry between the Western capitalist bloc and the Eastern communist bloc. These broader global dynamics inevitably shaped the interpretive frameworks and underlying assumptions of these scholars' work.

As scholars based in the United States, they were part of an intellectual tradition shaped by Western liberal values. These values, emphasizing individual freedom, democracy, and market capitalism, formed the background against which these historians studied and interpreted Soviet society. Thus, their work often reflected a critical stance toward the Soviet system. They explored how the Soviet Union's state modernization, national policies, and language reforms affected Kazakhstani society, often highlighting the failures, problems, and resistance that these policies generated.

Their understanding of Soviet Kazakhstan was also affected by their cultural distance from the region they were studying. While this distance may have provided some analytical detachment, it also meant that their views were shaped by the information available to them in the West, which was often incomplete and mediated by Cold War politics. These limitations forced reliance on official Soviet sources, emigrant accounts, and the accounts of casual Western visitors to the region, each with their own biases.

In addition, these historians were shaped by their education and intellectual milieu, which placed a high value on certain research methodologies and theoretical frameworks. For example, the dominance of modernization theory in the social sciences of the mid-twentieth century would have affected how these scholars understood and interpreted the profound social and economic transformations in Soviet Kazakhstan. Modernization theory, with its emphasis on the linear progression from traditional to modern societies, would have shaped their understanding of the Soviet Union's efforts to transform and modernize Kazakh society.

The flowering of social history in the 1960s and 1970s would also have influenced these scholars. This shift, which focused on the experiences of ordinary people and marginalized groups, would have led these historians to pay attention to how Soviet policies were debated, adapted to, and resisted on the ground.

These historians were writing at a time when the field of Soviet studies was facing its own political and methodological challenges. The field was often criticized for its perceived bias, and scholars were accused of being either apologists for the Soviet system or ideologically motivated critics. This polarized environment likely influenced the way these scholars approached their work, as they had to navigate these political and intellectual minefields.

Finally, the ethnic and racial dynamics of the United States during this period may have also shaped these scholars' interest in national politics and ethnic relations in the Soviet Union. The civil rights movement and subsequent debates about race and multiculturalism in American society likely contributed to their understanding of the complexities of managing ethnic diversity in a multinational state like the Soviet Union.

Historians studying Soviet Kazakhstan have utilized a variety of methods and sources in their research, reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of Soviet studies and the special challenges of researching a country that was often inaccessible to Western scholars during the Cold War.

Primary sources are fundamental to historical research, but access to original archival materials in the Soviet Union was often limited or impossible for American researchers throughout much of the Cold War. Consequently, these historians had to rely heavily on published sources, including official Soviet publications, newspapers, periodicals, and books. These texts provided valuable information about official discourses, policies, and ideologies, even though they required careful analysis due to their propagandistic nature.

Soviet census data and statistical yearbooks also proved crucial for these scholars. While the reliability of Soviet statistics was often debatable, such data offered one of the few means of quantifying demographic change, economic development, and social trends in Soviet Kazakhstan.

Personal testimonies and memoirs of emigrants, defectors, and former Soviet citizens served as another important source of information. These accounts offered a more personal, life-experience-based perspective on life in Soviet Kazakhstan, even though they presented their own problems in terms of potential bias or lack of representation.

Another source of information was foreign travel reports, whether from diplomats, journalists, or other visitors to the region. These reports, though sometimes limited in length and potentially colored by visitors' own biases, could contain on-the-ground observations and anecdotes that would complement more official sources of information.

In terms of methodologies, these historians drew on a variety of disciplinary traditions. Given the variety of topics they studied, from political history to cultural transformation to language policy, they relied on a wide range of analytical tools and frameworks.

Historians studying Soviet Kazakhstan also often used a comparative approach, comparing events in Kazakhstan with events in other parts of the Soviet Union or in other countries. This method allowed them to place the Kazakhstani experience within broader regional or global trends and to highlight unique or exemplary aspects of Kazakhstan's Soviet experience.

The contributions of American historians studying Soviet Kazakhstan to a broader understanding of Soviet history and culture are significant and multifaceted. Their work has deepened our understanding of Soviet politics, cultural transformations, ethnic relations, and social dynamics not only within Kazakhstan, but throughout the Soviet Union and beyond.

Their research has shed light on the ways in which Soviet policies were not only developed in Moscow, but also negotiated and implemented in remote regions such as Kazakhstan. The introduction of Soviet ideology and political control in Kazakhstan was not a one-way process. Local factors, such as existing cultural traditions, social structures, and regional leaders, played a crucial role in shaping how policies were interpreted and applied. Thus, these historians have helped to emphasize the complexity and regional differences of Soviet rule.

They also provided crucial insights into the effects of Soviet modernization and industrialization policies. The Soviet regime pursued large-scale economic projects in Kazakhstan, including a campaign of virgin land development and large-scale industrialization, often with profound social consequences. These policies led to significant demographic shifts, including a massive influx of Slavic settlers, resulting in a complex and often volatile ethnic mosaic. In studying these developments, historians studying Soviet Kazakhstan have illuminated the social and human costs of Soviet economic transformation, as well as the ways in which ethnic relations were negotiated and contested under Soviet rule.

The study of language policy in Soviet Kazakhstan has also provided crucial insights into the broader Soviet project of creating a new socialist culture. The Soviet regime sought to encourage the use of Russian while supporting the development of local languages within the new Soviet linguistic structure. Historians studying Soviet Kazakhstan have detailed how this policy was perceived locally, including its impact on Kazakh language and culture. Their work contributes to our understanding of the complex and often contradictory nature of Soviet national policy and the challenges of cultural engineering in a multi-ethnic state.

In addition, their studies of cultural transformation in Soviet Kazakhstan have enriched our understanding of broader cultural dynamics in the Soviet Union. They explored the ways in which traditional Kazakh culture interacted with, resisted, and was transformed by Soviet ideology and cultural policies. In doing so, they emphasized the fluidity and resilience of local cultures under Soviet rule and how the Soviet experience was interpreted and modified in non-Russian contexts.

The work of these historians on Soviet Kazakhstan expanded the geographic scope of Soviet studies and brought greater attention to non-Russian republics. For much of the Cold War, Soviet studies in the West were dominated by a Russian-centered perspective. The study of Soviet Kazakhstan helped to challenge this Russo-centric perspective and fostered a more nuanced, multiethnic, and geographically expansive understanding of the Soviet Union.

Overall, the work of American historians studying Soviet Kazakhstan has greatly expanded our understanding of Soviet history and culture. They have illuminated the complexities and regional differences of Soviet rule, the profound social and cultural consequences of Soviet policies, the resilience and transformation of local cultures under Soviet rule, and the complex interplay between local factors and broader global trends in shaping the Soviet experience. Their work represents a significant contribution to the study of the Soviet Union and continues to inform and enrich our understanding of this complex and pivotal period of world history.

Several key German historians and scholars have devoted a significant portion of their academic careers to the study of the culture of Soviet Kazakhstan.

Prominent among these scholars is Professor Gerhard Simon, the bulk of whose work has been devoted to the study of national politics in the Soviet Union. His extensive work on non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union provided an in-depth insight into the culture of various Soviet republics, including Kazakhstan. In particular, his works such as "Russen und Nicht-russen in der UdSSR: zu den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung von 1979. Bundesinstitut für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien" [1] and "Das Nationale Bewusstsein der Nicht-russen in der Sowjetunion" [2], thoroughly researched the nationality of the Nicht-russen in the UdSSR: zu den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung von 1979 [2], thoroughly explored the national consciousness and dynamics of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, which provides insight into the positioning of Kazakhstan within the Soviet Union. National Policy of the USSR.

The main themes and issues underlying the aforementioned German historians' and scholars' research on Soviet Kazakhstan arise from various fields of study covering national policy, cultural transformation, and diaspora studies.

In studying the national politics of the Soviet Union, a central focus of Gerhard Simon's research has been to understand the nature and evolution of relations between Russians and non-Russians within the USSR. He explored the complex dynamics between the political goals of the Soviet state and the aspirations, and self-perceptions, of non-Russian peoples, including the Kazakhs. Simon sought to understand how these dynamics were shaped by broader geopolitical circumstances and how these, in turn, influenced the development of national identity.

The central question Simon explored was how national policies aimed at reinforcing a unified Soviet identity also paradoxically fostered a distinct sense of nationality among non-Russian peoples. This contradiction was the focus of Simon's study, which sought to understand how and why it emerged and its long-term implications for the national identities of non-Russian peoples.

Gerhard Simon's views on Soviet Kazakhstan and the Soviet Union as a whole were largely shaped by the context of the Cold War. His investigation was undertaken at a time when the West was seeking to understand the Soviet Union, its ideological adversary. His focus on national politics can be seen as a response to this broader context. The contradictions he identified in the Soviet Union's national policies reflected the broader tensions and contradictions of the Cold War era, when ideological absolutism clashed with the complex realities of human society. His academic study can be seen as a manifestation of a broader attempt to decipher the complex political structure of the Soviet Union and assess its long-term viability.

Gerhard Simon's research has provided critical insights into Soviet national policy, a cornerstone of Soviet rule. His work has helped historians appreciate the complexities and contradictions inherent in the Soviet Union's attempts to forge a new identity for its multinational population while preserving the principles of national self-determination. It has added a significant dimension to an understanding of Soviet history that recognizes the role of nationalities and their politics in shaping the trajectory of the Soviet Union. His work has also highlighted how these policies have affected relations between different ethnic groups, which continue to influence politics in post-Soviet states.

Baimirza Hait is another influential scholar in this field. Hait's comprehensive work on Turkestan (the region encompassing modern-day Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan) provides an in-depth understanding of the complex history and cultural dynamics of the region under the influence of both Russia and China. In his works such as "Turkestan, Blossoming Russia and China" [3], "Contemporary Russian Orientalist Politics among Turkestanis" [4] and "Turkestan in the XX century" [5], provides a detailed analysis of Soviet policy in the region, deeply enriching our understanding of the political and cultural landscape of Soviet Kazakhstan.

Baimirza Khait's research was mainly concerned with the broader region of Turkestan. He sought to understand the complex political, social, and cultural dynamics of this region, which was under both Russian and Chinese influence. The central question that guided Hait's research was how these external influences intersected with local cultural dynamics to shape the historical trajectory of the region. He examined the impact of these interactions on the identity formation and national consciousness of people in the region, including Kazakhstan. He further explored how these dynamics manifested themselves in resistance movements and socio-political developments in the region.

Baimirza Hait's research was deeply influenced by his personal experiences and the cultural context of his time. Since he was born in the Turkestan region and witnessed the tumultuous changes brought about by Russian and Chinese influences, his views were informed by his personal experiences. His deep connection to the region and its cultural history underpinned his approach to understanding Soviet Kazakhstan. In addition, his status as an exile shaped his views on resistance movements, determining his views on local responses to foreign influence.

Baimirza Khait's work, based on his deep connection to the Turkestan region, shed light on resistance movements in Soviet Central Asia. By documenting these largely overlooked aspects of Soviet history, Hait's work gave voice to the often-marginalized views of the local population. His research highlighted the impact of Soviet policies on the ground and the different ways in which local communities responded to these challenges. It broadened the understanding of Soviet history beyond a Moscow-centric view and shed light on the complex interactions between center and periphery.

Klaus Mehnert, known for his work on the Soviet Union, has also made significant contributions to the field. His book "Der Sowjetmensch - Gedanken nach zwölf Reisen durch die Sowjetunion 1929" [6] reflects his observations of the inhabitants of the Soviet Union after twelve trips to the region in 1929. This work provides a unique first-hand insight into the daily life and culture of Soviet citizens, including citizens of Kazakhstan.

In Klaus Mehnert's work, the central theme was the human experience within the socio-political framework of the Soviet Union. His main driving question was to understand the lived experiences of people in the vast and diverse territories of the Soviet Union, including Kazakhstan. He explored the intricacies of how individuals negotiated their identities, cultural practices, and sociopolitical perspectives within a broader narrative of Soviet ideological control. This research provided a deeper understanding of the heterogeneous cultural landscape of the Soviet Union.

Klaus Mehnert's views were profoundly shaped by his own experiences in the Soviet Union. His views were based on direct encounters with Soviet reality rather than detached academic speculation. His research was conducted at a time when much of the world was struggling with the influence and significance of Soviet ideology. His emphasis on the human experience in the Soviet Union was arguably an attempt to humanize a system that was often portrayed in the West in monolithic and ideologically charged terms.

Klaus Mehnert's writings on Soviet society, influenced by his first-hand experience, contributed significantly to a more nuanced understanding of Soviet culture. By focusing on the lived experiences of Soviet people, he illuminated the human face behind the monolithic facade of the Soviet Union. His descriptions of everyday life, cultural norms, and social attitudes provided valuable insight into how Soviet ideology was perceived, interpreted, and enacted by its citizens. This approach has been instrumental in providing a more balanced and multifaceted understanding of Soviet culture.

A significant contribution to this field of study can also be seen in the work of Karl Eimmermacher, whose attention to Soviet literary politics has provided invaluable cultural insights. His book “Modern Literary Politics 1917–1932. Von der Vielfalt - zur Literary Research. Analysis and Documentation” [7] explores the evolution of Soviet literary politics from 1917 to 1932, providing insight into how the Bolsheviks sought to shape and control cultural expression in the early years of the Soviet Union. It also informs us about the cultural transformation of Soviet Kazakhstan within the broader context of the Soviet Union.

Karl Eimmermacher's focus on Soviet literary politics sought to understand how culture and literature were used as instruments of ideological control. A central issue in Eimmermacher's study was to understand the shift in Soviet literary politics from initial diversity to subsequent Bolshevization. He explored how literary politics developed in the early years of the Soviet Union and how it served as an instrument of state control, shaping cultural expression and social consciousness. This research provided invaluable insight into the cultural transformation and literary landscape of the Soviet republics, including Kazakhstan.

Karl Eimmermacher's scholarly work was conducted in the broader context of German academic interest in Russian and Soviet studies. His focus on Soviet literary politics can be seen as part of a broader attempt to understand the mechanisms of ideological control and cultural production in the Soviet Union. This was particularly relevant in the context of the Cold War, when understanding the nature and functioning of Soviet society was of strategic importance.

Karl Eimmermacher's study of Soviet literary politics played a key role in elucidating the role of literature in the Soviet state apparatus. His work highlighted how literature was used as a tool for the dissemination of ideology, cultural integration, and state control. By exploring the role of the state in shaping literary discourse, Eimmermacher provided valuable insight into the workings of the Soviet cultural machine. His research broadened the understanding of the symbiotic relationship between art and politics in the Soviet Union and the integral role of culture in its political landscape.

Alfred Eisfeld's “Deutsche in Kasachstan: Wechselvolle Geschichte einer Minderheit” deserves special mention [8]. This study provides a historical background of the German minority in Kazakhstan, shedding light on their changing fate and contribution to Kazakhstani culture. It provides a unique perspective on cultural interactions and complexities in Soviet Kazakhstan, considering the experience and influence of the German diaspora.

Alfred Eisfeld, with his unique focus on the German diaspora in Kazakhstan, sought to understand the experiences of this minority group within the broader sociopolitical landscape of Soviet Kazakhstan. His work was driven by questions related to the historical trajectory of this community, their cultural contributions, and their interaction with dominant Kazakh culture and society. Eisfeld's work provides a detailed look at sociocultural interactions and complexities in Soviet Kazakhstan.

Alfred Eisfeld's research was strongly influenced by the experience of the German diaspora in the Soviet Union, including Kazakhstan. As he himself was part of this diaspora, he had a unique perspective on the complexities of their existence within the Soviet framework. His study can be seen as part of a broader post-war German attempt to make sense of its own history and the experiences of its diaspora in different parts of the world.

Alfred Eisfeld's work has provided valuable insights into the experience of the German diaspora in the Soviet Union. His research shed light on lesser-known aspects of Soviet history, revealing the complexities faced by diaspora communities within the Soviet framework. His findings have contributed to a better understanding of the impact of Soviet policies on various ethnic groups, thereby enriching the broader narrative of Soviet history.

It is worth noting that most of these scholars dealt with broader topics covering multiple regions of the Soviet Union, but their work invariably included an insightful look at Soviet Kazakhstan. This extensive research has greatly enriched our understanding of cultural dynamics and transformations in Soviet Kazakhstan and shed light on the influences and experiences of its diverse population under Soviet rule.

In fact, the major themes and questions underlying these scholars' research stem from a desire to understand the complexities and dynamics of the Soviet Union's national policies, cultural transformations under Soviet rule, and the tangled interplay between dominant and minority cultures. These themes reflect the diversity and complexity of the cultural landscape of Soviet Kazakhstan, contributing significantly to our understanding of this often-overlooked aspect of Soviet history.

The cultural and political context of German historians and scholars such as Gerhard Simon, Baimirza Hait, Klaus Menert, Karl Eimmermacher, and Alfred Eisfeld significantly influenced their views on Soviet Kazakhstan. Their academic study of Soviet Kazakhstan was profoundly shaped by the political climate of

their era, the socio-political experiences they encountered, and the broader cultural milieu in which they were situated.

The scholarly contributions of German historians and researchers such as Gerhard Simon, Baimirza Hait, Klaus Menert, Karl Eimmermacher, and Alfred Eisfeld to the study of Soviet Kazakhstan have significantly influenced the broader understanding of Soviet history and culture. Their research has shed light on various aspects of the Soviet Union, from the inner workings of its national policies to its impact on the various regions and ethnic groups within its vast territory, providing a more nuanced and complex picture of Soviet reality.

Overall, the work of these scholars has added depth and diversity to the understanding of Soviet history and culture. By focusing on areas often overlooked or misunderstood, they have enriched the historical narrative by revealing the complexities and contradictions of the Soviet Union. Their work serves as a reminder of the diverse experiences within the vast and complex entity that was the Soviet Union. Their scholarship continues to shape contemporary interpretations of Soviet history, and their views continue to provide valuable guidance to scholars in the field.

Among the scholars who have studied this rich cultural and historical tapestry, several are based in England and have made significant contributions to the understanding of Soviet Kazakh culture.

Geoffrey Wheeler, a respected British journalist and historian, is one such figure. His work "Encounters with Communism in Asia" [9] is an authentic document of the experiences of different cultures under communist regimes [9] is a true document on the experiences of different cultures under communist regimes. In particular, it provides valuable insights into the cultural transformation and political dynamics in Soviet Kazakhstan. Another of his works, *Islam and the Soviet Union* [10], explores the delicate relationship between the state and Islam, providing invaluable insight into the religious dynamics of Soviet Central Asia, including Kazakhstan.

The interaction between the state and Islam and its impact on society and culture was another key theme that influenced the research of these scholars. Geoffrey Wheeler's "Islam and the Soviet Union" scrutinized this relationship by examining how the Soviet state aligned its secular policies with the strong Islamic influence in the region. This research sought to understand how religious practices and identity developed under the communist regime.

Another key figure in this field is Richard Pipes, a historian specializing in Russian and Soviet history. Although he worked at Harvard University, his work has been widely read and referenced in England and around the world. In his book "The Formation of the Soviet Union" [11] Pipes meticulously describes the complex process by which various nationalities, including Kazakhs, were incorporated into the Soviet state. His work sheds light on the culture and national identity of Soviet-era Kazakhstan, emphasizing the resistance, adaptation, and evolution of cultural norms under Soviet rule.

One of the main themes that motivated these scholars was the impact of Soviet ideologies and policies on Kazakhstan's cultural and social structure. Historians such as Richard Pipes have studied the establishment of Soviet power in Central Asia and how various nationalities, including the Kazakh people, were incorporated into the Soviet state. His work asked the important question of how these changes affected the national consciousness of the Kazakh people.

Alec Nove and J.A. Newt in their work "The Soviet Middle East" [12] offer a different point of view. The book meticulously describes the Soviet Union's influence and interaction with the Middle East, including the role and importance of Soviet Kazakhstan as a cultural and geopolitical bridge between the Soviet Union and the Muslim world. Their analysis provides a nuanced understanding of how Soviet policies influenced Kazakh culture, contributing to its contemporary identity.

Robert Conquest, a British historian known for his work on the Soviet Union, has made a crucial contribution to understanding the culture of Soviet Kazakhstan with his book *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror of Famine* [13]. Here he analyzes the devastating impact of the Soviet collectivization policy on Kazakhstan's agricultural communities, which suffered greatly from the imposed famine. The cultural consequences of these policies, including changes in social structures, rural lifestyles and community relations, are also comprehensively examined.

Robert Conquest's research followed a similar path, examining the devastating impact of Soviet collectivization policies on agricultural communities in Kazakhstan, which in turn had a significant impact on Kazakh culture and society. Conquest's work raised the crucial question of how state-imposed policies can radically alter cultural norms and social structures.

“Beyond the Urals: economic development in Soviet Asia” [14] by Violet Conolly is another significant work that provides an economic perspective on cultural change in Soviet Kazakhstan. The book discusses the massive industrial and infrastructural changes that occurred in the region, leading to shifts in social dynamics and contributing to the modernization of Kazakh culture.

Economic development and its impact on social change was another important theme underlying their research. Violet Conolly, in her work *Beyond the Urals: Economic Development in Soviet Asia*, analyzed the massive industrial changes that Soviet Kazakhstan underwent. This study sought to understand how economic development and modernization affected the dynamics of society, changed traditional norms, and led to the emergence of a new cultural identity.

Shirin Akiner, a British scholar in the School of Oriental and African Studies, has made a significant contribution to the understanding of Islamic culture in the Soviet Union. Her book *The Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union* [15] offers a comprehensive overview of Muslims in Soviet Central Asia, including Kazakhstan. Her work enriches the understanding of how Islamic practices and religious identity evolved under Soviet rule, largely shaping Kazakh culture.

Thus, the study of the culture of Soviet Kazakhstan is a complex task, requiring an understanding of various social, political, religious and economic aspects. English scholars such as Geoffrey Wheeler, Richard Pipes, Alec Nove, J.A. Newt, Robert Conquest, Violet Conolly, and Shirin Akiner, among others, have made significant contributions to this field. Their work represents a rich palette of ideas that help us to understand and appreciate the multifaceted culture of Soviet Kazakhstan.

The research of these English scholars studying the culture of Soviet Kazakhstan was primarily driven by a multitude of themes and questions that sought to shed light on the complex and multilayered dynamics of this region. From studying the effects of political ideologies to understanding cultural shifts and religious dynamics, their work has sought to contribute to a fuller understanding of the culture of Soviet Kazakhstan.

The research of these scholars also addressed the geopolitics of Soviet Kazakhstan, examining its role and importance as a cultural and geopolitical bridge between the Soviet Union and the Muslim world. Scholars such as Alec Nove and J.A. Newt explored this aspect in their work on the Soviet Middle East.

Finally, nationalism and the formation of national identity was another central theme. Scholars have examined how Soviet policies, social change, and internal dynamics contributed to the evolution of a distinctive Kazakh national identity. They have explored how the Kazakh people coped with the contradictions between preserving their cultural heritage and adapting to the pressures of Sovietization.

Studying the culture of Soviet Kazakhstan through the lens of French scholars involves a close examination of the work of scholars such as Carrère d'Encos, Bennigsen, and Monteil, each of whom contributes with their own unique focus, from analyzing Soviet politics to exploring religious dynamics.

Hélène Carrère d'Encos's research has provided an in-depth understanding of the inner workings of the Soviet Union, emphasizing how it affected its constituent countries, including Kazakhstan. She meticulously documented the decline of the Soviet Union's power, effectively shedding light on the socio-political transformations that occurred in its constituent republics. D'Ankos's study of the rise of national movements in the USSR was instrumental in understanding the unique path of Soviet Kazakhstan. In addition, her work on Islamic reform and revolution in the Russian Empire provided a historical context for the evolution of Islamic societies under Soviet rule [16].

One such dominant theme is the impact of the policies of the Soviet Union on its constituent republics, especially in Central Asia. A pressing question arises as to how the ideological framework and administrative strategies of the USSR shaped the socio-political landscape of these regions. Notably, this theme is evident in Carrere d'Encasse's meticulous documentation of the decline of the Soviet Union and the rise of national movements in its territories, including Kazakhstan. D'Encasse's study sought to explore the internal dynamics of the USSR that led to the rise of national consciousness among its constituent peoples. The main issue here is to understand the complex interplay between the central Soviet administration and the republics, exploring how internal turbulence within the Soviet Union precipitated an era of significant change for these regions.

Alexander Bennigsen, another prominent scholar, focused on the intersection of Islam and Soviet politics. His writings on the Bolshevik conquest of the Muslim peripheries and Muslim national communism in the Soviet Union painted a detailed picture of how the Soviet government managed the multi-religious and multi-ethnic landscape of its territory, including Kazakhstan. Bennigsen's work also shed light on the evolution of Soviet minority nationalism, providing a nuanced understanding of national identity formation in the USSR. His study of the Kremlin's “Islamic strategy” provided insight into how the Soviet government dealt with religious diversity within its borders [17].

The topic of Islam and its multifaceted relationship with the Soviet state is another prevalent theme. Questions about how the secular Soviet government dealt with religious diversity within its territories and how it sought to integrate Islamic societies into its ranks are an integral part of this theme. This line of inquiry is palpable in Bennigsen's study of the Soviet conquest of Muslim border territories and his study of Muslim national communism in the Soviet Union. The intersection of Islam and Soviet politics formed the basis of Bennigsen's study. His analysis provides a nuanced understanding of the Soviet Union's approach to managing religious diversity and how it harmonized its interactions with Islamic communities, including those in Kazakhstan.

Delving into the world of Sufism under Soviet rule, Bennigsen, along with S. Enders Wimbush, explored how mystical traditions were preserved and transformed in the face of state-imposed atheism. Their study of Soviet strategy and Islam further emphasized the complexities of managing religious diversity within a secular state [18].

Vincent Monteilh's research focused on the status of Muslims in the Soviet Union. His work, *Soviet Muslims*, provides a detailed account of Islamic communities living under Soviet rule, which adds to our understanding of religious and cultural dynamics in Soviet Kazakhstan.

Studying the works of these French scholars, one pays attention to the many research threads running through their studies. These can be interpreted as overarching themes or questions that guided their quest for knowledge about Soviet Kazakhstan and its complex sociopolitical, religious, and cultural dynamics.

Finally, a crucial theme running through all of these scholarly works is identity and nationalism. How did the people of Kazakhstan negotiate their identity within the Soviet Union? How did they cope with the pressures and influences of the Soviet era to develop a sense of national identity? The works of these scholars answer these pressing questions by exploring how the nations under the auspices of the Soviet Union struggled with their own evolving identities, balanced their historical and cultural contexts with the pressures of the Soviet era, and paved the way for their current national identity.

The second half of the 20th century, the period in which these historians mainly worked, was marked by the Cold War, a time of intense ideological rivalry between the Soviet bloc and Western countries. This context essentially shaped the views of scholars such as Carrère d'Encos and Bennigsen, among others. They were writing at a time when information flow from the USSR to the West was tightly controlled and filtered, posing a serious challenge to obtaining a comprehensive view of the local realities of Soviet republics such as Kazakhstan.

Thus, their work needs to be read with an understanding of these limitations as well as the broader geopolitics of the time. As part of the Western academic community, their view of Soviet Kazakhstan was inevitably influenced by the Western view of the USSR, which often tended to see it as "other" and emphasized its differences from the West. This broad framework may have inadvertently influenced their interpretations of events and processes in Soviet Kazakhstan, including its national movements, religious dynamics, or sociocultural changes.

On the other hand, the French intellectual tradition, characterized by a certain degree of universalism, was noted for its attention to grand narratives and structural factors. This inclination can also be seen in the work of these scholars, as they often viewed the complexities of Soviet Kazakhstan through the lens of large-scale political, economic, and cultural structures, such as the ideology of the Soviet Union, the economic strategies of the Stalinist era, or the overarching theme of nationalism.

Moreover, the historians' own cultural background and understanding of secularism drawn from the French context may have influenced their interpretation of the interaction between the Soviet state and Islam in Kazakhstan. The French secular model, known as *laïcité*, prescribes a strict separation of church and state, which may have influenced these scholars' understanding and criticism of the Soviet approach to religion.

At the same time, the fact that these historians worked in France, a country with a rich tradition of Orientalist scholarship, may also have influenced their work. The Orientalist perspective, with its inherent risk of essentializing and homogenizing the "Orient", may have imperceptibly influenced their approach to the study of Kazakhstan by presenting it as an exotic, distant other. While these scholars brought rigorous, detailed analysis to their work, the broader intellectual tradition of which they were a part may still have subtly influenced their views.

Finally, the influence of personal beliefs and intellectual inclinations cannot be discounted. For example, Carrère d'Encos's attention to national movements in the USSR can be traced to her belief in the power of nationalism as a transformative force. Similarly, Bennigsen's attention to Islam as a political and social factor in Soviet society may have stemmed from his belief in the crucial role of religion in shaping society and politics.

Conclusion

Thus, the history of Kazakhstan in the Soviet period between the second half of the twentieth century - the beginning of the twentieth century, its historical values are characterized by data in scientific works of French researchers, telling about the origin, traditions and beliefs of Kazakhs and their ancestors.

The main requirement for the creation of a full-fledged history of our nation, based on real realities, is the use of all foreign and domestic data that have not entered the scientific connection to date in connection with the past of the Kazakh people.

It is especially important to work with archival data, documents of indigenous universities, research centers, historical museums of foreign countries.

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Қазақстан мәдениеті туралы шетелдік көзқарастар: тарихнаманы талдау

Мақалада кеңестік дәуірдегі қазақ мәдениетінің аз зерттелгендігі шетелдік тарихнама тұрғысынан қарастырылған. Кеңестік Орта Азияға арналған әдебиеттер көп болғанымен, кеңестік кезеңдегі қазақ мәдениетіне шетелдік ғалымдардың түсіндірмесі бойынша жан-жақты талдау жасалмаған. Америкалық ғалымдар жүргізген зерттеу ұлт, тіл, дін, саясат, модернизация және мәдени өзгерістер сияқты тақырыптарға арналды. Бұл ғалымдар Қазақстан сияқты көп ұлтты қоғамда кеңестік ұлттық саясаттың жүзеге асырылуын және Одақ ішіндегі кеңестік бірегейлік пен этникалық бірегейлік арасындағы

нашар тепе-теңдікті түсінуге тырысты. Тіл реформасы және оның мәдени және тілдік әртүрлілікке әсері, сондай-ақ ислам мен кеңес мемлекетінің зайырлы идеологиясы арасындағы өзара іс-қимыл зерттелді. Кеңестік модернизация бағдарламаларының қазақ қоғамына әсері, оның ішінде дәстүрлі әдет-ғұрыптар мен тұрмыс-салттың жойылуы қарастырылды. Сонымен қатар, зерттеуде кеңестік саясаттың мәдени институттарға, әдеби тәжірибелерге және көркемдік ізденістерге қалай әсер еткенін зерделеніп, кеңестік нормаларға сәйкестік пен қазақтың өзіндік мәдени бірегейлігін сақтау арасындағы шиеленіс атап өтілген. Мақалада қырғи-қабақ соғыс дәуірінің кең ауқымды жаһандық динамикасы осы ғалымдардың түсіндіру негіздері мен жорамалдарына әсер еткені мойындалады. Батыстың либералдық құндылықтарымен қалыптасқан интеллектуалды дәстүр аясында американдық ғалымдар кеңестік жүйеге қатысты сыни көзқарасты ұстанды. Олардың зерттеуінде кеңестік саясаттың, соның ішінде мемлекеттік жаңғыртудың, ұлттық саясаттың және тіл реформаларының салдарынан болған сәтсіздіктерге, мәселелерге және қарсылықтарға ерекше назар аударды. Авторлар Уилер, Олворт және Коннолли сынды ғалымдардың құнды еңбектерін зерделеп, кеңестік кезеңдегі қазақ мәдениетін шетелдік тарихнама призмасы арқылы жан-жақты зерттеу әлі де жетіспейді деген қорытынды жасаған. Бұл кеңестік дәуірдегі қазақ мәдениетінің сан қырлы аспектілерін түсінуді тереңдете түсуге, кеңестік жобаға тән күрделілік пен қайшылықтарға жарыққа шығуына бағытталған әрі қарай зерттеулердің қажеттілігін көрсетеді.

Кілт сөздер: кеңес мәдениеті, қазақ шаруашылығы, дәстүрлер, діни нанымдар, мәдени және өркениеттік трансформация, француз тарихнамасы, посткеңестік елдер, Орталық Азия.

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Зарубежные взгляды на культуру Советского Казахстана: анализ историографии

В статье исследован мало изученный аспект казахской культуры в советскую эпоху с точки зрения зарубежной историографии. Несмотря на то, что существует обширная литература о советской Центральной Азии, отсутствует всесторонний анализ казахской культуры советского периода в интерпретации зарубежных ученых. Исследование, проведенное американскими учеными, было сосредоточено на таких темах, как национальность, язык, религия, политика, модернизация и культурные изменения. Эти ученые стремились понять реализацию советской национальной политики в таком многоэтническом обществе, как Казахстан, и хрупкий баланс между советской идентичностью и этническими идентичностями внутри Союза. Также была изучена языковая реформа и ее влияние на культурное и языковое разнообразие, а также взаимодействие между исламом и светской идеологией советского государства. Было исследовано влияние советских программ модернизации на казахстанское общество, включая разрушение традиционных практик и образа жизни. Кроме того, в исследовании изучалось, как советская политика влияла на культурные институты, литературные практики и художественное самовыражение, подчеркивая напряженность между соответствием советским нормам и сохранением самобытной казахской культурной идентичности. В статье признается, что более широкая глобальная динамика эпохи холодной войны повлияла на интерпретационные рамки и предположения этих ученых. В рамках интеллектуальной традиции, сформированной западными либеральными ценностями, американские ученые часто занимали критическую позицию по отношению к советской системе. В их исследовании особое внимание уделялось неудачам, проблемам и сопротивлению, вызванным советской политикой, включая модернизацию государства, национальную политику и языковые реформы. В статье сделан вывод о том, что, несмотря на ценный вклад таких ученых, как Уилер, Олворт и Коннолли, всестороннего изучения казахской культуры советского периода через призму зарубежной историографии по-прежнему не хватает. Это подчеркивает необходимость дальнейших исследований, направленных на углубление нашего понимания многогранных аспектов казахской культуры советской эпохи, проливающих свет на сложности и противоречия, присущие советскому проекту.

Ключевые слова: советская культура, казахское хозяйство, традиции, религиозные верования, культурная и цивилизационная трансформация, французская историография, постсоветские страны, Центральная Азия.

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