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**WESTERN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE FORMATION OF HISTORICAL MEMORY
OF THE MASS FAMINE IN KAZAKHSTAN IN THE 30S OF THE XXTH CENTURY**

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The relevance of the topic of the article – from a historiographic point of view, the influence of Western historiography on understanding the tragedy of mass famine in Kazakhstan in the 1930s is studied. This study is important for understanding the historical memory and national identity of the Kazakh people, as well as for identifying new approaches to analyzing the consequences of Soviet totalitarian policy. *Materials.* The sources of historiographic analysis are collective works, monographs, scientific articles of Western researchers, as well as materials of international conferences and seminars dedicated to the tragedy of mass famine in Kazakhstan in the 1930s. The methodological basis of the research is the principles of historicism and systems approach, as well as problem-chronological, historical-comparative and typological methods, which provide a comprehensive analysis of events and their consequences, allowing to accurately interpret the influence of Western historiography on the formation of historical memory of the tragedy. *Goals and objectives* of the article – to review the latest research by Western historians on the tragedy of mass famine in Kazakhstan in the 1930s, their role in the formation of historical memory and national identity in Kazakhstan, and their influence on contemporary discussions of repressions and tragedies of the past. *Results.* As a result of the analysis of Western historiography, it was found that foreign researchers apply a wide range of interdisciplinary approaches and actively use a variety of sources, including archival documents, oral histories and memoirs. Their works focus on the political, economic, and cultural causes of the Kazakh famine, considering it because of violent modernization, and not exclusively because of natural disasters or government miscalculations. Various interpretations of the tragedy are revealed - from the interpretation as genocide to the assessment as an act of structural violence. These studies have had a significant impact on the formation of new historical memory and national identity in Kazakhstan, opening prospects for further scholarly dialogue. *Conclusions.* Western historiography of the Kazakh famine has greatly enriched our understanding of the tragedy, offering an interdisciplinary approach and a critical look at the political, social, and cultural aspects of the crisis. Western studies have challenged previous interpretations, emphasizing the systemic nature of the violence and the destruction of traditional Kazakh life. These works have contributed to the formation of a new historical memory and highlighted the need for further scholarly dialogue to better understand one of the most dramatic episodes in the history of Kazakhstan.

Keywords: Western historiography, Kazakhstan, 1930s, mass famine, totalitarian regime, forced collectivization, repressions, historical memory, interdisciplinary approach

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XX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ 30-ШЫ ЖЫЛДАРЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ АШАРШЫЛЫҚ ТУРАЛЫ ТАРИХИ ЖАДЫН ҚАЛЫПТАСТЫРУДАҒЫ БАТЫС ТАРИХНАМАСЫ

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Аңдатпа. *Кіріспе.* Мақалада тақырыптың өзектілігі – тарихнамалық тұрғыдан 1930 жылдардағы Қазақстандағы жаппай ашаршылық қасіретін түсінуге батыс тарихнамасының ықпалы қарастырылады. Бұл зерттеудің қазақ халқының тарихи жады мен ұлттық болмысын түсіну, сондай-ақ кеңестік тоталитарлық саясаттың зардаптарын талдаудың жаңа тәсілдерін анықтау үшін маңызы зор. *Зерттеу жұмысының материалдық негізі ретінде* батыс зерттеушілерінің ұжымдық еңбектері, монографиялары, ғылыми мақалалары, сондай-ақ 1930 жылдардағы Қазақстандағы жаппай ашаршылық қасіретіне арналған халықаралық конференциялар мен семинарлардың материалдары табылады. *Зерттеудің әдіснамалық негізін* трагедия туралы тарихи жадының қалыптасуына батыс тарихнамасының ықпалын дәл түсіндіруге мүмкіндік беретін оқиғалар мен олардың салдарын жан-жақты талдауды қамтамасыз ететін тарихшылық пен жүйелік көзқарас қағидалары, сондай-ақ проблемалық-хронологиялық, тарихи-салыстырмалы және типологиялық әдістер құрайды. *Мақаланың мақсаты* – 1930 жылдардағы Қазақстандағы жаппай ашаршылық қасіреті туралы батыс тарихшыларының соңғы зерттеулерін, олардың Қазақстандағы тарихи жады мен ұлттық болмысты қалыптастырудағы рөлін және олардың өткен дәуірдегі қуғын-сүргіндер мен қайғылы оқиғаларды қазіргі талқылауларға қалай әсер еткенін қарастыру. *Нәтижелер.* Батыс тарихнамасын талдау шетелдік зерттеушілердің көптеген пәнаралық тәсілдер қолданып, әртүрлі дереккөздерді, соның ішінде мұрағат құжаттарын, ауызша тарихты, естеліктерді белсенді түрде пайдаланатынын көрсетті. Олардың жұмысы қазақ ашаршылығының саяси, экономикалық және мәдени себептеріне тоқталып, оны табиғи апаттардың немесе үкіметтің қате есептеулерінің нәтижесі ретінде емес, мәжбүрлі жаңғыртудың салдары ретінде қарастырады. Трагедияны геноцид ретінде түсіндіруден құрылымдық зорлық-зомбылық әрекеті ретінде бағалауға дейінгі әртүрлі интерпретациялар анықталды. Бұл зерттеулер Қазақстандағы жаңа тарихи жады мен ұлттық болмыстың қалыптасуына елеулі әсер етіп, одан әрі ғылыми диалогтың болашағын ашты. *Қорытынды.* Қазақ ашаршылығының батыс тарихнамасы дағдарыстың саяси, әлеуметтік және мәдени аспектілеріне пәнаралық көзқарас пен сыни көзқарасты ұсына отырып, трагедия туралы түсінігімізді едәуір байытты. Батыс авторларының зерттеулері зорлық-зомбылықтың жүйелік сипатына және қазақтың дәстүрлі өмір салтын бұзуға баса назар аудара отырып, бұрынғы түсіндірулерге қарсы шықты. Бұл еңбектер жаңа тарихи жадының қалыптасуына

ықпал етті және Қазақстан тарихындағы ең драмалық эпизодтардың бірін жақсы түсіну үшін одан әрі ғылыми диалог жүргізу қажеттілігін көрсетті.

Түйін сөздер: Батыс тарихнамасы, Қазақстан, 1930 жылдар, жаппай ашаршылық, тоталитарлық режим, күштеп ұжымдастыру, қуғын-сүргін, тарихи жады, пәнаралық көзқарас
Алғыс. Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Жоғары білім және ғылым министрлігінің «Қазақстандағы 1931-1933 жылдардағы жаппай ашаршылықтың куәгерлері мен олардың ұрпақтарының естеліктері топтамасын дайындау және басып шығару» жобасы аясында жазылған.

Дәйексөз үшін: Мамытова С.Н. XX ғасырдың 30-шы жылдарындағы Қазақстандағы ашаршылық туралы тарихи жадын қалыптастырудағы батыс тарихнамасы // Asian Journal “Steppe Panorama”. 2025. Т. 12. № 4. 934–945 бб. (Ағылш.). DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2025_12_4_934-945

ЗАПАДНАЯ ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ В ФОРМИРОВАНИИ ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ПАМЯТИ О МАССОВОМ ГОЛОДЕ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ В 30-Е ГГ. XX ВЕКА

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Актуальность темы статьи – с историографической точки зрения исследуется влияние западной историографии на понимание трагедии массового голода в Казахстане в 30-е годы XX века. Это исследование важно для осмысления исторической памяти и национальной идентичности казахского народа, а также для выявления новых подходов к анализу последствий советской тоталитарной политики. Материалы. В качестве источников историографического анализа выступают коллективные труды, монографии, научные статьи западных исследователей, а также материалы международных конференций и семинаров, посвященных трагедии массового голода в Казахстане в 30-е годы XX века. Методологической основой исследования являются принципы историзма и системного подхода, а также проблемно-хронологический, историко-сравнительный и типологический методы, которые обеспечивают комплексный анализ событий и их последствий, позволяя точно интерпретировать влияние западной историографии на формирование исторической памяти о трагедии. *Цели и задачи* данной статьи – рассмотрение новейших исследований западных историков о трагедии массового голода в Казахстане в 30-е годы 20 века, их роли в формировании исторической памяти и национальной идентичности в Казахстане, а также как их влияние на современные дискуссии о репрессиях и трагедиях прошлого. *Результаты.* В результате анализа западной историографии установлено, что зарубежные исследователи применяют широкий спектр междисциплинарных подходов и активно используют разнообразные источники, включая архивные документы, устные истории и мемуары. Их работы акцентируют внимание на политических, экономических и культурных причинах казахского голода, рассматривая его как следствие насильственной модернизации, а не исключительно как результат стихийных бедствий или просчетов власти. Выявлены различные интерпретации трагедии — от трактовки как геноцида до оценки как акта структурного насилия. Эти исследования оказали значительное влияние на формирование новой исторической памяти и национальной идентичности в Казахстане, открыв перспективы для дальнейшего научного диалога. *Выводы.* Западная историография голода в Казахстане значительно обогатила понимание этой трагедии, предложив междисциплинарный подход и

критический взгляд на политические, социальные и культурные аспекты кризиса. Исследования западных авторов поставили под сомнение прежние интерпретации, акцентируя внимание на системном характере насилия и разрушении традиционного казахского уклада. Эти работы способствовали формированию новой исторической памяти и подчеркнули необходимость дальнейшего научного диалога для более глубокого осмысления одного из самых драматичных эпизодов в истории Казахстана.

Ключевые слова: Западная историография, Казахстан, 30-е годы 20 века, массовый голод, тоталитарный режим, насильственная коллективизация, репрессии, историческая память, междисциплинарный подход

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Introduction

The relevance of the topic of this article lies in the need to analyze historiographic approaches to the tragedy of mass famine in Kazakhstan in the 1930s. In recent decades, interest in issues of historical memory and identity has increased, especially among the peoples who suffered from the Soviet totalitarian policy, which led to catastrophic consequences and mass famine that affected millions of people. The Kazakh people suffered colossal human losses. According to modern researchers, the number of “deliberately exterminated Kazakhs by famine was 4,068,480 people, or 70 % of the population” (Akkuly, 2014: 144–145). Without any exaggeration, it can be said that almost the entire land was covered with the corpses of victims of mass famine, turning into a huge cemetery. This time remained in the memory of the Kazakh people as the “Years of the Great Jute” – the mass death of livestock, impoverishment of the population and deaths from hunger, which were the result of the totalitarian policy of the Soviet leadership during forced collectivization, voluntaristic sedentarization and dispossession of the wealthy strata of society.

We must pay tribute to the first researchers who opened previously unknown pages of the history of the tragedy of famine and “nomadism”. These are famous Kazakh historians M. Kozybayev, M. Tatimov, Zh. Abylkhozhin, Kh. Abzhanov, K. Aldazhumanov. Then they were joined by T. Omarbekov, E. Sadykov, Z. Kabuldinov, B. Ayagan and others, who took part in the implementation of several scientific projects. The first to study this problem locally were archivists and local historians. A unique interpretation of this tragedy is reflected in the works of Western researchers. The latest research by Western historians not only illuminates the facts and causes of the tragedy, but also contributes to a rethinking of historical memory, which, in turn, affects the process of forming national identity. Alternative interpretations offered by Western researchers help to better understand the historical experience of Kazakhstan. *The purpose of this article* is to review the latest research by Western historians on the tragedy of mass famine in Kazakhstan in the 1930s, analyze their influence on the modern perception of historical events and the formation of historical memory and identity. In the context of modern discussions about repressions and tragedies of the past, the study of Western historiography is becoming especially relevant, opening new aspects for understanding the complex history of the country.

Materials and methodology

The sources of historiographic analysis are collective works, monographs, scientific articles of Western researchers, as well as materials of international conferences and seminars dedicated to the tragedy of mass famine in Kazakhstan in the 1930s. The methodological basis of the research is the principles of historicism and systems approach, as well as problem-chronological, historical-comparative, and typological methods, which provide a comprehensive analysis of events and their consequences, allowing to accurately interpret the influence of Western historiography on the formation of historical memory of the tragedy.

Discussion

The analysis of Western historiography in the context of the famine in Kazakhstan has become the subject of study by several scholars. The article by Z. Saktaganova, T. Sakabay and K. Bodeyev “On the Problems of the History of Famine in Kazakhstan in Western Historiography (1931–1933)” presents a step-by-step study of the famine of 1931–1933 based on the works of Western researchers, covering the period from the first half of the 1930s to the early 2000s. The authors analyzed the source base of European scholars and identified key issues such as collectivization, settlement, agricultural procurement, causes, scale and consequences of the famine, as well as demographic losses. They concluded that Western researchers viewed the famine in the USSR because of the ill-considered policy of the Soviet leadership (Saktaganova et al., 2023: 99–110).

Russian scholars are also actively engaged in historiographical understanding of Western literature on the famine of 1932–1933. Among them, V. Kondrashin, G. Kornilov and E. Baranov stand out. V. Kondrashin is one of the leading researchers of the problem of famine in the USSR. Under his leadership, the project “Famine in the USSR. 1929–1934” was implemented, which resulted in a multi-volume documentary work (Famine in the USSR, 2011). In this publication, the documents were selected in such a way as to present the famine as a common tragedy of the peoples of the USSR and confirm the thesis about the absence of ethnic genocide, linking the main cause with the class principle that determined the policy of Stalin's leadership. Despite Kondrashin's emphasis on the importance of a scientific approach and refusal to politicize, he himself interprets “Asharshylyk” (mass famine) problem with a clear bias in the interests of Russia, concluding that the famine was the result of mistakes and miscalculations of the political course of the country's leadership in the process of collectivization (Kondrashin, 2022: 43–54).

One of the latest works with a historiographic review of the famine in Kazakhstan is the article by G. Kornilov, published in 2023 in the journal “Newest History of Russia”. Supporting Kondrashin's position, he opposes the ethnicization of the Holodomor (mass famine) and expresses dissatisfaction with those peoples of the USSR who, pursuing a course to restore historical justice, in his opinion, are engaged in the falsification of history (Kornilov: 2023: 103). At the beginning of the article, he notes a decrease in interest in the topic of the Ukrainian famine over the past decade with growing attention to the Kazakh famine (this is what he calls it) (Kornilov: 2023: 99). However, the use of the term “Kazak ASSR” in the title of the article raises questions: this is not just a mistake, but a serious blunder that can be perceived as an echo of chauvinistic habits or even a provocation. Perhaps the author sought to use the language structures of documents of that time, but this does not justify the use of outdated and incorrect names. To confirm his position on the unintentional nature of the genocide, Kornilov refers to the works of foreign authors (R. Kindler, I. Oahon, N. Pianchiola, S. Cameron and S. Wheatcroft), who do not recognize the famine in Kazakhstan as genocide of the Kazakh people. He also mentions the American researcher S. Kotkin, who argues that the victims died not because of ethnic persecution by the regime, but because of the policy of forced denomadization: “The famine was Soviet”, not Ukrainian or Kazakh (Kornilov: 2023: 109). Having presented in a schematic form the estimates of population losses in Kazakhstan, given in the works of various scientists, the author seeks to confirm his idea of falsification, which is expressed in the overestimation of the number of victims of the famine, in a large difference in the figures. Focusing on the negative aspects of the study of the famine by Kazakh historians, he writes that “at the same time as the discourse on population losses, the idea of separating the Kazakhstan famine from the all-Union one came to the centre of attention of historians, its separation, which led to the opposition of the famine in the autonomous republic to the famine in the RSFSR” (Kornilov: 2023: 109).

The issue of the demographic consequences of the famine of the early 1930s is also considered in modern research by E. Baranova, who notes the absence of a single, generally accepted assessment of the victims of this period and highlights a new aspect of the discussions – the reliability of Soviet population statistics (Baranova, 2014: 253–260).

European and American historiography on the famine in Kazakhstan is represented by the works of Sarah Cameron and Nicola Pianchiola, who not only examine the tragedy itself, but also analyze existing approaches in Western historiography. Sarah Cameron looks at how Western scholars interpret the famine. She criticises some of them for their simplistic perception of the situation, which often boils down to accusing the Soviet leadership of genocide against the Kazakh people. Cameron emphasises that such a view ignores the complex socio-economic factors that contributed to the famine and calls for a more in-depth analysis that considers both internal and external circumstances. She also notes the importance of using a variety of sources, including archival documents and oral testimonies, to avoid one-sided interpretations (Cameron, 2015).

Nicola Pianchiola, in his article published in the journal "Otan Tarihi" in 2015, also turns to Western historiography. He analyzes the works of American and European researchers and points out their tendency to focus on the political aspects of the famine, often ignoring the cultural and social contexts. Pianchiola emphasizes the need for a more balanced approach that would consider the diversity of opinions and assessments. He criticizes some studies for insufficient attention to local realities and for generalizations that can lead to a distortion of the historical truth (Pianchiola, 2015: 100–126).

Thus, the problem of studying the famine in Kazakhstan in the 1930s remains a relevant topic for scientific research both at the level of domestic and foreign historiography, requiring further analysis of sources and a deeper understanding of the historical context of this tragic event.

Results

The first major works were carried out by American historians Martha Brill Olcott and Robert Conquest in the 1980s. Their works were valuable analytical overviews of key aspects of the mass famine of the 1930s. However, the source base was extremely limited due to the lack of access to many Soviet archival funds. Martha Brill Olcott viewed the famine because of the authorities' miscalculations in understanding the peculiarities of the pastoral nomadic economy of the Kazakhs (Olcott, 1981). Robert Conquest included a chapter on the Kazakh famine in his book "The Harvest of Sorrow" (1986), dedicated to the famine in Ukraine. It was compiled based on Olcott's materials and contained a similar interpretation that the famine was a consequence of economic and political miscalculations and widespread cultural ignorance. His position coincided with theories of evolutionary development that suggest the inevitable disappearance of nomadic societies (Conquest, 1986).

However, this approach was later criticized. A new wave of researchers, formed in the late 1990s and early 2000s because of political changes and the related opening of access to a number of Soviet archival funds (NKVD, Communist Party organs), questioned the opinion that the Kazakh famine was, above all, a "natural" process, different from the more rigid collectivization policy carried out in other republics of the Soviet Union.

The greatest publication activity was demonstrated by Sarah Cameron, Niccolò Pianchiola, Robert Kindler, Isabel Ohayon, Matthew Payne, who used various sources: archival documents, published statistical collections, memoirs of famine victims and their descendants. Particular attention should be paid to Sarah Cameron's involvement of Kazakh-language sources in scientific circulation, in contrast to the earlier emphasis on Russian-language official documents.

An analysis of the works of these researchers revealed significant differences in their research methodologies. Isabelle Ohayon applied social history methods, examining the policy of sedentarism as a mechanism of social transformation. Niccolò Pianchiola focused on economic processes and ecological factors. He showed how the forced collectivization of nomadic households destroyed the traditional Kazakh economy, leading to ecological degradation and mass death of livestock. Pianchiola emphasized the economic interests of the Soviet state, which was more interested in the appropriation of resources than in the fate of nomads. Kindler focused on patterns of political violence. In "Stalin's Nomads", he pointed out the deliberate cruelty of collectivization policies, accompanied by the destruction of the social fabric of Kazakh society. The work of

Stephen Wheatcroft and R. Davis has contributed to clarifying the demographic consequences of the tragedy: they have suggested that the famine was a consequence of criminal negligence and economic policy, rather than genocide. An important part of their research was an attempt to reconstruct in detail the statistics of births, deaths and migration in Kazakhstan in the early 1930s, which has made it possible to challenge simplistic interpretations of the catastrophe.

Unlike Kazakh researchers, who focus on national tragedy and repression, Western authors often integrated the Kazakh famine into the context of Soviet-wide collectivization and forced modernization.

An analysis of Western historiography of the Kazakh famine of the 1930s reveals a wide range of themes and interpretations that reflect the political, social, and cultural complexity of the tragedy. In contrast to earlier approaches that focused on the structural failures of the Soviet leadership, a new wave of research emphasizes the violent and systemic nature of collectivization policies that destroyed the traditional way of life of Kazakhs and had large-scale humanitarian consequences.

Western scholars have focused on the political causes of the tragedy. Sarah Cameron argues that the Soviet Union's leadership was aware of the catastrophic situation in Kazakhstan. She writes: "Stalin and Filip Goloshchyokin, the First Secretary of the Kazakh Party, corresponded regularly throughout the famine, and Stalin was aware of the extent of the damage being done to the Kazakhs" (Cameron: 2015).

The economic aspect of the policy is covered in the works of Niccolò Pianchiola. He emphasizes that the regime's actions were motivated by the desire to make maximum use of the resources of the Kazakh steppe region – primarily livestock and grain – in the interests of industrialization. In his opinion, Moscow viewed the Kazakhs as "expendable material", not caring about the consequences of the destruction of the nomadic way of life (Pianchiola, 2021: 592). Pianchiola's analysis of archival materials and eyewitness accounts allowed him to conclude that the Soviet leadership carried out a deliberate policy of "freeing up space" for grain production, accompanied by the total confiscation of food and property, which led to mass starvation, the spread of disease and significant human losses among the Kazakh population (Pianchiola, 2004: 137–192).

The social and cultural aspects of the Kazakh famine are analyzed in detail in the studies of Cameron, Kindler, and Ohayon. Cameron focuses on the destruction of tribal ties and the disappearance of the nomadic way of life as the basis of Kazakh identity. In her opinion, the tragedy contributed to the formation of "a new Kazakh national identity that largely displaced the previous identification of Kazakhs with the pastoral nomadic system. After the famine, Kazakhs began to think of themselves as a national group, rather than a social group or a group oriented towards the pastoral nomadic system" (Cameron, 2020). She also points out that "through the most brutal means, the Kazakh famine contributed to the creation of Soviet Kazakhstan, a stable territory with clearly defined borders that became an integral part of the Soviet economic system. ... The cost of this state-building was horrific, both for the regime, which witnessed a sharp decline in agricultural productivity in the region in the years following the famine, and especially for Kazakh society itself, which bore a disproportionate burden of the dead in the aftermath of the disaster. Of the 1.5 million victims of the tragedy, some 1.3 million were Kazakhs. More than a third of all Kazakhs perished in the famine, and because of the disaster, Kazakhs became a minority in their own republic" (Cameron, 2015).

Robert Kindler views the tragedy as an example of violence perpetrated by the state (Kindler, 2017). He analyzes the behavior of the starving population, pointing to the erosion of social solidarity: under the constant threat of death, kinship and community ties weakened. He also interprets the mass migration of Kazakhs as a survival strategy, not a spontaneous flight. He writes: "Solidarity and social cohesion, weakening under the constant pressure, eventually gave way ... the famine 'broke the moral guidelines' of traditional society, leaving deep psychological trauma" (Kindler, 2012: 232).

The topic of demographic and ethnocultural consequences of the tragedy occupies a special place in the research. Cameron, Pianchiola and Wheatcroft cite data on the death of more than 1.3 million Kazakhs, which is a third of the entire nation.

The diversity of interpretations is also evident in the assessments of the nature of the famine. Payne qualifies it as genocide (Payne, 2019), Cameron, Pianchiola and Kindler emphasize that the mass deaths were a consequence of the repressive policy, but not its main goal. At the same time, they recognize that the actions of the Soviet leadership fall under the definitions of international humanitarian law in terms of the partial destruction of an ethnic group. R. Kindler noted that, although the Stalinist leadership did not set the direct goal of destroying certain "Soviet" nations, it consciously allowed the implementation of collectivization and dispossession, which entailed the death of millions of citizens. In his opinion, for Stalin and his entourage, human life was of no value: the priority was the achievement of economic goals, strengthening personal power and the complete subordination of society to the political regime.

The nature causes and consequences of the Kazakh famine of the 1930s is a key topic of debate in Western historiography. Researchers interpret the degree of guilt of the Soviet regime, the goals of its policy and the possible qualification of the tragedy as an act of genocide in different ways. These differences are associated not only with methodological approaches, but also with the choice of sources, scholarly traditions and emphases of research interest. Sarah Cameron and Robert Kindler, relying on archival documents and oral testimonies, argue that the Kazakh famine was not the result of a conscious intent to exterminate the people. At the same time, they emphasize that Stalin and his entourage knew about the humanitarian catastrophe, but did not take measures that could have stopped the tragedy. Cameron writes that the Kazakhs found themselves in conditions "leading to their partial physical destruction", which may meet several criteria of the UN Convention on Genocide. However, she also points out that there is no evidence of direct intent on the part of the USSR leadership to exterminate the Kazakhs as an ethnic group (Cameron, 2010). Kindler in his book "Stalin's Nomads" also rejects the thesis of a "genocidal program of mass murder", emphasizing that the goal of the authorities was not the physical destruction of the people, but the implementation of plans for the modernization and subjugation of the population (Kindler, 2017). At the same time, he focuses on the deliberate disregard for human lives: for Stalin, the Kazakhs were a political instrument, and not self-valuable subjects (Vzglyad, 2022).

According to Pianchiola, the Soviet campaigns were driven by the economic interests of the state, not by ideological motives. He argues that the Soviet regime was interested in the resources of the Kazakhs, not their lives. He writes: "the Kazakhs were deliberately allowed to die out en masse because Stalin and his collaborators were more interested in what the herders had than in what they were or could become" (Pianchiola, 2021: 590).

Igor Cașu, in his comparative analysis of the victims of Stalin's repressions, notes that in the early period, the collectivization of the Kazakhs served both economic and political purposes, but later became a more "man-made" tragedy associated with state policy (Cașu, 2020: 606).

Stephen Wheatcroft and R. Davies, in their book *The Famine Years*, view the Kazakh famine as a "crime of manslaughter and fraud" (Davies, Wheatcroft, 2004). They highlight the incompetence, negligence and brutality of the system, but reject the genocidal interpretation. However, Wheatcroft in 2012 argued that although millions died in the tragedy, there is no evidence that it was planned along ethnic lines (Wheatcroft: 190).

Direct qualification of The Kazakh famine as an act of genocide has found clear expression in the work of Matthew Payne. He calls the tragedy "modernization through genocide", describing the deliberate destruction of a nomadic culture and the physical extermination of a significant part of an ethnic group (Payne, 2019).

Irena Vladimirskaia, one of the first foreign researchers who worked in the central and regional archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan, showed on an extensive source base the deadly price of the socialist reorganization of agriculture in Kazakhstan in the 1920s and 1930s. As I. Vladimirskaia notes, "Soviet policy in Kazakhstan led to the death of a huge number of people as a result of socialist transformations aimed at creating class homogeneity of the entire Soviet society and, above all, the peasantry" (Vladimirsky, 2021).

Another controversial aspect of the famine study is the chronological framework of the tragedy. Pianchiola begins his analysis from the end of the XIXth century when the mass migration of peasants to the steppe regions began to undermine the traditional nomadic way of life of Kazakh society. In his view, the origins of the catastrophe are rooted in imperial policy, and he dates the end of the tragedy to 1934. In contrast, Robert Kindler dates the beginning of the crisis from the end of the Civil War and the first Soviet campaigns of forced sedentarization. Like Isabel Ohayon, he extends the time frame of his analysis to 1945, focusing on the long-term consequences of the destruction of traditional society, including social disintegration and a protracted process of reconstruction. The authors note that in several regions of the republic, the Soviet government was forced to restore nomadic cattle breeding – a way of life that had previously been deliberately eradicated by the regime – to return livestock numbers to pre-war levels (Kindler, 2017: 338; Ohayon, 2009: 355).

These differences in chronological approaches point to more fundamental questions about the nature of the Kazakh catastrophe. How important was the imperial legacy in its formation? Would the famine of the 1930s have been possible without the previous development of the steppes? How did the tragedy transform the politics of the center? These questions provide insights not only into the famine itself, but also into the transition from imperial to Soviet governance, as well as the specifics of Stalinist modernization and violence.

Differences in the interpretation of the 1930s famine and the implementation of memory politics in Ukraine and Kazakhstan are presented in the work of James Richter. He names the following distinctive features of Kazakhstan: the death of more than 1.5 million people, but the absence of official recognition of the famine as genocide; an emphasis on unity, stability, depoliticization of the past; weak memorialization until the 2010s, then a gradual strengthening; maintaining the regime of abnegation (refusal to politicize memory) (James Richter, 2020).

Conclusion

Western historiography of the Kazakh famine thus combines interdisciplinary approaches and diverse sources to provide a deeper understanding of the complex and multifaceted nature of the tragedy. Rather than providing simplistic explanations, it reveals the systemic nature of violence, demonstrating the connection between centralized modernization policies and the destruction of traditional Kazakh society.

Western historiography has focused on both the political mechanisms that created the crisis and its social and cultural consequences. Through a wide range of sources and an interdisciplinary approach, these studies have enriched the understanding of the tragedy of the Kazakh famine and challenged previous interpretations, viewing the disaster as an act of structural violence that had a defining impact on the fate of the Kazakh people and their identity.

A critical analysis shows the lack of a unified approach in Western historiography to interpreting the Kazakh famine. Researchers agree in assessing the disaster as an act of violence, but disagree in explaining its nature, motivation and consequences. This highlights the complexity of the topic and the need for further interdisciplinary analysis that considers the political, economic, ethnocultural and humanitarian aspects of the tragedy.

Western studies of the Kazakh famine of the 1930s have had a significant impact on both international and national views of the tragedy. By drawing on previously closed archival data, oral histories, and independent sources, Western historians have been able to show that the Kazakh famine was not simply the result of administrative miscalculations, but the consequence of systemic, often repressive, government policies.

The work of scholars such as Sarah Cameron, Niccolò Pianchiola, and Robert Kindler has highlighted the violent nature of the socio-economic transformation, the destruction of traditional ways of life, and the grave demographic consequences for the Kazakh people. These studies have allowed the tragedy to be reconsidered as part of a violent transition from a nomadic society to a socialist model imposed from outside.

The influence of Western historiography was also evident in the formation of a new scientific and public view of the famine as an act of systemic violence. This had a significant impact on the historical memory of the Kazakh people, intensifying discussions about national identity, historical justice and the need to revise the previous Soviet version of history. In modern Kazakh society, the desire for a deeper and more truthful understanding of the past has increased, which contributes to the formation of a mature historical memory.

Despite significant progress, important areas for further research remain. These include a more precise study of the demographic consequences of the famine using new statistical methods, research into the perception and memory of the famine in Kazakh culture and literature, and a comparative analysis of the famine in Kazakhstan with other Soviet republics.

Of particular importance is the development of dialogue between various historical traditions – Western, Kazakh and post-Soviet in general. Such dialogue can contribute not only to scientific progress, but also to a more balanced public perception of the complex past. Only through the recognition of the diversity of views and openness to new interpretations is it possible to further deepen the understanding of one of the most tragic pages in the history of Kazakhstan.

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