

## ARTÍCULOS

UTOPIA Y PRAXIS LATINOAMERICANA. AÑO: 25, n° EXTRA 5, 2020, pp. 279-289  
REVISTA INTERNACIONAL DE FILOSOFÍA Y TEORÍA SOCIAL  
CESA-FCES-UNIVERSIDAD DEL ZULIA. MARACAIBO-VENEZUELA  
ISSN 1316-5216 / ISSN-e: 2477-9555

# Historiographical Review of the Problem "Woman of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War – Hero or Victim?"

*Revisión historiográfica del problema "Mujer de la URSS en la Gran Guerra Patria: ¿Héroe o víctima?"*

**Zauresh SAKTAGANOVA**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8678-3629>

[zauresh63@mail.ru](mailto:zauresh63@mail.ru)

Karaganda State University named after E.A. Buketov, Kazakhstan

**Assem SAGATOVA**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7283-9380>

[asem.sagatova@list.ru](mailto:asem.sagatova@list.ru)

Karaganda State Technical University, Kazakhstan

**Zauresh NURLIGENOVA**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1309-6078>

[sauresch\\_nur@mail.ru](mailto:sauresch_nur@mail.ru)

Karaganda State Technical University, Kazakhstan

Este trabajo está depositado en Zenodo:

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3984253>

### RESUMEN

Los investigadores a menudo abordaron varios aspectos de la Gran Guerra Patria, pero el problema de "mujeres y guerra" rara vez ha atraído la atención de los investigadores. Dependiendo de los enfoques teórico-metodológicos y conceptuales, los detalles de las fuentes involucradas, el alcance y la profundidad de los problemas planteados, entre todo el conjunto de publicaciones disponibles, los autores del artículo destacaron tres tipos principales en historiografía: la Unión Soviética, la moderna Kazajstán e historiografía extranjera (rusa y occidental). Se han identificado las principales tendencias que caracterizan a cada uno de estos grupos. Se concluye que en la historiografía soviética y de Kazajstán mucho de los problemas estaban fuera del campo de investigación: las mujeres nunca se convirtieron en objeto de estudio exhaustivo

**Palabras clave:** Gran Guerra Patria, mujeres en guerra, historiografía del problema, guerra y violencia.

### ABSTRACT

The researchers often addressed various aspects of the Great Patriotic War, but the problem of "women and war" has rarely attracted the attention of researchers. Depending on the theoretic-methodological and conceptual approaches, the specifics of the sources involved, the range and depth of the problems raised among the whole set of available publications, the authors of the article highlighted three main types in historiography: Soviet, modern Kazakhstan and foreign (Russian and Western) historiography. The main trends that characterize each of these groups have been identified. It is concluded that in Soviet and Kazakhstan historiography many layers of problems were out of the research field: women never became objects of study.

**Keywords:** Great Patriotic War, women in war, historiography of the problem, war and violence

Recibido: 24.06.2020 • Aceptado: 15-07-2020



## **INTRODUCTION**

The researchers addressed various aspects of the Great Patriotic War quite often, the interest was stable and intensified in the connection with the jubilee dates of the Great Victory. In the Soviet historiography of the Great Patriotic War, the main attention was focused on the political causes of various events, on the major battles, military strategy and tactics, the evacuation and militarization of production, and the military heroic exploits of the peoples of the USSR. At the same time, there are many different topics, including the problems of the impact of this war on women, their place and role in military events and in the rear, the practices of women's survival in extreme conditions remained almost undeveloped in the twentieth century.

The main purpose of this article is to find an answer to the question: what is the role of the Soviet woman in the war? She is a hero who consciously went on a feat, who knew what was waiting for her at the front or a victim of war and violence, who found herself in unexpected circumstances, connected not only with the dangers of enemies, but also on the part of fellow soldiers, command, and all surrounding her men? Whether such a question was raised, whether there is an answer to it, we will look for, conducting a brief overview of the historiography of the Great Patriotic War and analyzing the general historiographical trends in the USSR and abroad.

Depending on the theoretical-methodological and conceptual approaches, the features of the sources involved, the range and depth of the problems raised, it is possible to distinguish three main sections in the historiography of the problem under study among the entire range of available publications: Soviet historiography (1941 – 1991), modern Kazakhstan historiography (1991 – 2000s) and foreign (Russian and Western) historiography.

Research methods: In the research, both general scientific (analysis, synthesis, grouping of information), and special historical methods were used (historical-typological method; problem-chronological method; historical-systematic method; comparative analysis method etc.).

## **DISCUSSION AND RESULTS**

### **Soviet historiography**

Women when studying the problem of war receded into the background: gender studies were unpopular in the USSR. In the Soviet historiography, there are 4 stages: the 1-st stage (1941 – 1945) – publications of the war years; the 2-nd stage (1945-mid-1950s) – the appearance of the first generalizing works, the first collections with diverse materials on the war; the 3-d stage (mid-1950s – mid 1980s) – the appearance of the first monographic works on women at the front and in the rear; the 4-th stage (1985 – 1991) – the shaft of publications on the gaps of the military, including women's issues. Describing the whole complex of the Soviet historiography, we believe that the most important features and essential features of this research stratum should be identified as follows: first, the primacy of the Marxist-Leninist methodology in the scientific literature, the lack of alternative scientific concepts, views in the study and analysis of facts; secondly, the domination of ideological clichés and propaganda of the superiority of the Soviet system and communist ideals, the absolutization of the role of the party in the successes and achievements of the Soviet society; thirdly, restrictions on the access to archival materials, when many of them remained classified as "secret", and their inaccessibility did not allow researchers to see the whole picture as a whole, which did not contribute to an objective coverage of the problem; fourth, restrictions on the treatment of researchers to foreign publications and publications (in the framework of the glasnost of the sample of the 1940s – 1980s, foreign historiography, which did not coincide with the "procrustean bed" of the Soviet ideology, was considered falsification, distortion of the Soviet reality); fifth, there was no freedom in choosing subjects of research on the history of wartime; sixthly, as a result and the consequence of all the above points, a one-sided coverage of the topic under consideration. It cannot be asserted that everything that was written in the Soviet period was of a purely

opportunistic nature, but party and state censorship clearly monitored the conformity of all works to the ideological vector, not passing alternative works in the open press. Undoubtedly, the Soviet people made an undeniable feat in the war against fascism, but the situation in the rear and on the front was characterized by serious problems that were not studied or reflected in the publications. The real situation in the war years was not given objective coverage, the miscalculations of the "leading and guiding Communist Party" were hiding. The contours of scientific interests were clearly outlined by censorship, and the way out of the ideological outline was not only not encouraged, but was actually impossible. The authors who allowed themselves research, creative, but unauthorized freedom, were doomed for significant periods in the Gulag camps. In general, in society in the post-war period, the so-called "sacrificial syndrome" was formed (Saktaganova: 2017, 113), when the Soviet ideological machine intensively planted the concept of "maximum sacrifice for the sake of the Motherland." It was this voluntary sacrifice of the Soviet people during the war that was to be presented in the research as the natural and the only correct state of a person.

Kazakhstan historiography was characterized by the features typical of all-Union publications. In 1943, the commission to collect materials on the history of the war was established in Kazakhstan as well; according to the incomplete data about 150 books, brochures, articles, etc. On the military subjects were published in the KazSSR (History of Kazakhstan (from ancient times to the present day): 2009, 35). These publications also were mostly agitational and propagandistic, were as much as possible censored and touched upon certain aspects of the contribution of the Kazakhstani (including women) to the victory in the war.

In 1945 – mid. 1950's the number of the publications on military topics was also multiplying in Kazakhstan, but of almost 1,200 books, pamphlets and articles there was no book or article on the special research problems on the contribution of the Kazakh women to the cause of the victory (History of Kazakhstan (from ancient times to the present day): 2009, 35). There were a number of other features that determined the general trends in the development of the historiography on the history of war in the national republics. For Kazakhstan studies (this is inherent in all national historiographies, with the exception of the RSFSR), there was a certain limited territorial (geographical) and problematic framework; the Kazakhstan historians were engaged in the history of their republic. There were unofficial canons on which the historians of the Union republics did not invade the subject of "union jurisdiction", there were no official prohibitions on this matter, but a certain historiographic tradition was already taking shape. It was fixed by obligatory approval of the themes of fundamental research, monographs, dissertations by academic councils of academic institutes of history and universities, coordination councils and other structures that quite rigidly coordinated these processes. All other features at this stage (both positive and negative) were typical for Kazakhstan studies as a segment of the Soviet Union historiography. Publications of the post-war years created an image of a heroic woman, toilers of the rear, a brave warrior on the fronts, an unbending example of a Soviet man. However, out of sight were the problems and hardships faced by the women during the Great Patriotic War; the female problems of the war years became the subject of a special study.

8 books, 24 brochures and more than 200 articles were published in the republic by 1965, and about 900 books, brochures, scientific and popular science articles on military and rear subjects were published in the republic by 1970 (History of Kazakhstan (from ancient times to the present day): 2009, 36). At this stage, the process of activating publications, expanding the subject in the study of the war period was underway. But all the works of these decades were characterized by a descriptive nature, the lack of a critical approach in assessing the events of the war years, smoothing the negative points and difficulties in overcoming wartime problems; the study of the fates of the women during the war years was extremely limited, Kazakhstan researchers almost ignored this problem.

The Soviet historiography of the 1960s – 1970s was characterized by five main features: first, the female theme became independent; second, the thematic specialization of researchers was manifested; thirdly, the process of intensification of regional studies began; fourthly, the inclusion into the scientific circulation of

numerous documents from the central and local archives in the region under study was expanding; fifth, there was a desire for an analytic representation of the events instead of the description.

During the years of restructuring (1985 – 1991), many archival funds were opened, and access to archival documents was simplified. Expansion of glasnost, weakening of party censorship made it possible to investigate poorly studied and unexplored problems, but the theme of "women and war" was still not developed, as it was lost against the background of other previously taboo topics. Ye. Volkova noted: almost all the works were historical and party in nature and "this approach to the problem led to the fact that sometimes researchers overestimated the role of party organizations, detracting from the merits of women" (Volkova: 2006, 40); the presentation of the material became dry and official, the recollections of war veterans were used less and less often. Studying these problems within the framework of the "official concept of war" did not contribute to an objective and in-depth study of the problem of "women and war", an the objective study of the "heroism and tragedy" of the Soviet women.

Summing up the stages of the Soviet historiography from 1941 to 1991, we should summarize that all works of the Soviet era were united by a common theoretical and methodological basis, paradigms dictated by the time and the censorship were characteristic for them. In Soviet historiography did not even voice stories, characterizing problematic moments in the military daily life of women. Exclusively "patriotism, heroism and feats of the Soviet woman" were the subject of study in the military history of the USSR.

### **Modern Kazakhstan historiography**

In the 1990s the studies on the basis of new archival sources continued to appear (M.K. Kozybayev (1995), etc.). By the anniversary of the Victory, a series of fundamental works "The Memory Book of Kazakhstan. Bozdaktar" was published. It was written according to the materials of the republic (Book of Memory of Kazakhstan. Bozdaktar: 1995) and the regions. In these publications, there was a brief account of the contribution of CEPS women to the Victory. Due to the young historians, a certain surge of the interest in the women's issues was revealed in the mid 1990s in the candidate dissertations written by S. Karypkova, A.D. Zhozhabekova, G.B. Byrbayeva, where the historiographical aspect of the problem was considered. According to the calculations made by G.B. Byrbayeva, 8 doctoral and 77 candidate dissertations on the topic "Kazakhstan during the Great Patriotic War" were defended in 1956-1996; and 18 doctoral and 18 candidate works examined the problems of the war in the context of a broader chronology (Byrbaeva: 1996, 17-18). However, of more than 100 dissertations only two - that of G.D. Nurbekova and Ye.S. Segizbayeva – were devoted to the actual women's themes, both defended during the Soviet era (Nurbekova: 1988, 17-18).

An analysis of the Kazakhstani historiography shows that there is still no accurate data on the number of the Kazakh women mobilized to the front (neither in the republic, nor in the regions of Kazakhstan). The often repeated figure of 5183 Kazakhstani women called up to the front requires clarification: according to the reports from the regional military registration and enlistment offices, by August 1944, 2352 women and girls were mobilized from Kazakhstan for the aviation units, 1335 persons – for the communications troops and military communications courses, 251 persons – for the rifle units, 63 persons – for the courses of snipers of the current army, 61 persons – for the air defense units and 12 persons- to the troops of the NKVD (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs). In total, according to the incomplete data, 5183 women and girls went into the army (Karam: 2000, 73).

To the jubilee dates of the Great Victory were written essays, documentary collections, etc. (The name of a geor in people's memory. Estelik kita: 2015). In particular, the collections of the documents and materials of various genres and various in nature (from veterans' memories to legislative documents) were prepared by the state archives of various regions of Kazakhstan in the 2000s. (Berkun et al.: 2015, 560; Cheat and duty. Participation of Kazakhs in the Second and Great Patriotic War: 2015). A number of essays on the women of Kazakhstan on the fronts of the war were published in various regions of the republic (Boranbaeva: 2015, 228). The researchers of the KazNU n.a. Al-Farabi were engaged in the development of the problems of the Great Patriotic War. In particular, R. Zharkynbaeva published a number of articles on women of the USSR

during the years of World War II. On the analysis of archival and published sources, examines the regulatory framework of the mobilization policy of the USSR; the main directions of mobilization work features the system of military training of youth to the front; analyzes changes in the gender order in the USSR, the specificity of the mass mobilization of women (Zharkynbaeva, Urazbaeva, Tian: 2019, 60-67). The researcher identifies four stages of the mass mobilization policy of women in the USSR in 1942. And one more mobilization of women in 1943 and 1944.

In the Karaganda State University at the Center for Ethnocultural and Historical Anthropological Studies the theme "Women of Kazakhstan during the Great Patriotic War" is under development. A series of scientific publications on the women of Kazakhstan in the war years was carried out by the Karaganda researchers Z.G. Saktaganova (Saktaganova: 2019, 232-247), K.K. Abdrakhmanova (Abdrakhmanova et al.: 2019, 8-16), etc.

Z.G. Saktaganova (co-authored) published a monograph about the women of Central Kazakhstan during the war (Saktaganova, Tursunova, Smagulov: 2016, 256). They involved a significant layer of new source materials (archival documents, photographs, memoirs, interviews), the problems of women's everyday life of Central Kazakhstan in the 1940s war years of the 20th century were touched upon. In the book, the authors for the first time in Kazakhstan's historiography talk about women's problems, bringing memories of war veterans. In particular, one of the characters - Serafima Ponomareva recalled that the whole war went through and married "completely without romance - such a female share fell to her in the war." "I didn't have a personal life. There was no," Serafima Grigoryevna said, wiping away tears. "There were four of us, and we all got married without love. I guess I never knew what love was. (Saktaganova, Tursunova, Smagulov: 2016, 104) Another women's story of Nina Mezhenaya is presented in the book. Her intercession for young girls-radios because of sexual harassment of the deputy led to the fact that she was sacked, later she was hit because of a lack of kit used in the used uniform for five years in Karlag (Saktaganova, Tursunova, Smagulov: 2016, 106). The authors conclude that Soviet women were sacrificed during the war.

An analysis of the Kazakhstani historiography shows that there is still no accurate data on the number of the Kazakh women mobilized to the front (neither in the republic, nor in the regions of Kazakhstan). The often repeated figure of 5183 Kazakhstani women called up to the front requires clarification: according to the reports from the regional military registration and enlistment offices, by August 1944, 2352 women and girls were mobilized from Kazakhstan for the aviation units, 1335 persons – for the communications troops and military communications courses, 251 persons – for the rifle units, 63 persons – for the courses of snipers of the current army, 61 persons – for the air defense units and 12 persons- to the troops of the NKVD (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs). In total, according to the incomplete data, 5183 women and girls went into the army (Belan: 1995, 73).

In the Archive of the President Republic of Kazakhstan in the fund 708 there are "The information about the number of military-obliged stock and recruits drafted into the Red Army and mobilized to work in industry from the beginning of the Patriotic War up to May 1, 1945", these data are signed by the temporary military commissar of the Kazakh SSR, Colonel Ostrovsky, and this information in the archive is presented in the original [Archive of the President Republic of Kazakhstan. Fund 708, Inventory 9, Case 1363, Sheet 11]. According to this information, the category of the women mobilized is estimated to 5250 persons of the sergeant and rank and file composition. Of these, by regions: 1780 from the Alma-Ata region, 368 from the Dzhabbulskaia region, 755 from the South Kazakhstan region, 457 from the Kyzyl-Orda region, 706 from the North Kazakhstan region, no data about the Kokchetav region, 574 from the Akmola region, 112 from the Karaganda region, 84 from the Pavlodar region, 74 from the Semipalatinsk region, 333 from the East Kazakhstan region, 7 from the Taldy-Kurgan region. We draw attention to the fact that these data include only the sergeant and the rank and file composition of the women, but there were the women officers, whose numbers were not included in the general data.

But in general, monographic studies devoted to the women of Kazakhstan during the war (including deported, evacuated, being in the camps of the Gulag, etc.), their activities on the fronts and in the rear, their daily lives, everyday, psychological and other problems, the works where a woman was placed in the center of the research, where she became the object of a special research practically lacked in the Kazakhstan historiography. Thus, it can be noted that the problem is insufficiently developed in Kazakhstan's historiography, which requires the researchers to address this topic. In modern Kazakh historiography, the problem of "sacrifice of women at the front," "woman and violence" during the war was not practically raised. The vast majority of publications reflect only the hero of female combatants, covering women's daily life and women's military stories on one sided manner.

### **Contemporary Russian historiography**

In the works of Russian authors written after the collapse of the USSR, Russian scientists continue research traditions in women's themes are continued by the following Russian scientists: V.S. Murmantseva, N.I. Kondakova, Ye.Yu. Volkova, N.V. Panina, E.S. Senyavskaya, G.V. Merzlyakova etc. Dozens of dissertations were defended in the 1990s and 2000s in the Russian Federation, many of them are developed on the basis of the materials from regions and regions of the RSFSR (Z.K. Radzhabova, N.V. Panina, I.V. Gordina, Ye.A. Bembeyeva, N.V. Barsukova, G.N. Kameneva, etc.). They reflected such aspects as the contribution of the women in the rear, their participation in the partisan and clandestine movements, the origins and motives of the labor heroism of the Soviet women, the military training of the female contingent for the front, women's labor in health and education institutions, etc. Already in the 1990s the centers were set up, the programs and projects on gender studies, including on the issue of "woman and war" began to work in the Russian Federation. In the development of these problems, the Russian historiography is much ahead of the Kazakh studies.

Theme of sexual crimes of military personnel during the military conflict is not new. The Soviet and Russian press wrote about the violence of the enemy army. However, the Soviet censorship erected a wall of silence around the similar sins of the Red Army. Books about women in the wars of the XX century, addressed to the female readership, did not exist until the end of the 1980s. Svetlana Aleksievich's documentary story "War has no female face" was the first one (Aleksievich: 1988). This book is a look at the war under another view. The book contained the information that they never wrote about in Soviet times, these problems were always soaked. Aleksievich collected women's stories for seven years since 1978, when many veterans were still alive. But they did not want to print them, since they did not have heroics, pathos, Communist Party's role. It was a book with memories of front-line weekdays, women's problems, difficulties, intimate feelings, love and despair. This book does not touch upon many problems; Soviet censorship still functioned. But it was a breakthrough for Soviet historiography: a new female view of women in the war.

In the late 1999-2000s there was a discussion about the role and place of the women in the war in the Russian press. Ye.S. Senyavskaya published the work "Psychology of War in the Twentieth Century: Historical Experience of Russia", where she identified the three categories of women on the basis of a certain range of the archival documents and memoirs of the front-line soldiers, based on the reasons for their participation in hostilities: the first one, the author writes, was led by the factors of the spiritual order (patriotism, romanticism, etc.), the second one – "the phenomenon of the mother Courage" and the third reason – "a clear psychological pathology" (Senyavskaya: 1999, 169). Agreeing with the Russian author that the reasons and circumstances of the women who left for the front could be different, we believe that it would be necessary to clarify the categories that determined the general patterns, the categories that were represented by an exceptional minority, etc. (it was impossible to calculate the percentage of each category among hundreds of thousands of mobilized women). This publication caused an ambiguous reaction, in particular, the sharp criticism of V.S. Murmantseva (participant in the war, the author of hundreds of works on the women in the war), who believed that in the USSR there were no such facts.

In the research Ye.S. Senyavskaya is voiced "the other side of the problem, which became the topic of gossip and anecdotes, which gave rise to the mockingly contemptuous term (the field wife). She gives the memories of the veteran of the war N.S.Posylev: "Let them forgive me, but I will talk about what I saw myself. As a rule, women who got to the front soon became mistresses of officers. And how else: if a woman is on her own, harassment will not end. It's a different matter if you have someone... "The field wives" were almost all officers... (Senyavskaya: 1999, 147). The author argues that the presence of women in the army is viewed from a certain and very specific perspective. And this view of the problem can be considered quite typical.

Doctor of historical sciences N.K. Petrova published several collections of the documents "Women of the Great Patriotic War", which included hundreds of valuable documents from the Russian archives (Petrova: 2018).

A significant part of the source materials is in the archival funds of the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI). A significant array of materials is contained in the Fund M-1 – the fund of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, which presents the documents on the orders for the mobilization of women on various fronts, certificates, reports, correspondence; materials on the involvement of girls in social production, etc. In the inventories 32-47 there are collected materials about the formation of women's voluntary rifle brigades in the USSR, references, correspondence about the mobilization of girls to the Red Army; statistical materials on the situation of the women in the USSR during the war years in the republics of Central Asia, etc. [RGASPI, Fund M-1, Inventory 32-47].

In modern Russian historiography, appear the work of military and rear in 1941-1945 (ZINICH: 2019).

Earlier taboo topics such as "woman, love and violence in war" began to rise more and more often in journalistic literature (GRUGMAN: 2018).

At the beginning of the new century, due to Western publications, Russia started talking about sexual crimes committed by members of the Red Army. But problems of violence within the Red Army were still tabooed. Today they are still not developed in a research environment. These kinds of problems are touched upon mainly in journalistic literature.

The problems are investigated in this publication which tabooed previously: "Trench love", "field wives", "violence and sexual crimes in the combat units of the Red Army". R. Grugman is trying to answer the question: what happens to women and men during prolonged hostilities, when the population imbalance is violated and on both sides of the front millions of women and men of childbearing age become lonely?

In recent years, a number of works by Russian researchers have been published, in particular, the work of Professor N.K. Petrova on women's destinies and women's stories during the war was published (Petrova: 2019). In this work, the author raises a problem that is that is kept quiet in most studies. In particular, the book provides examples of archival documents where women captured or stolen to Germany feared returning to their homeland. Many of them had the opinion that in the Red Army and in the USSR they are not considered Soviet people, that they can do anything: shoot, rape, beat, that they will not be allowed to enter the homeland (Petrova: 2019: 391). The mood of these women is reflected in the archival documents: "Everything would be fine if we were not laughed, mocked, raped, but treated us like Soviet people" [RGASPI, Fund M-1, Inventory 4a, Case 79, Sheet 101-102]. Another serious and complex problem is reflected in this book: the treatment of women after the war. The front-line women were not considered as a hero, they were treated as "women of easy behavior" who earned their orders and medals "on the bed front" due to sexual relations with commanders and political leaders. The archives reflect such manifestations as "negative attitudes on the part of the civilian population towards women soldiers" [RGASPI, Fund M-1, Inventory 32, Case 331, Sheet 76].

In the interviews with the veterans of the war, we had to face, for example, the fact that some of the women-front-line soldiers recalled that in the 1950s-1960s, they hid their frontal past because of the ambiguous assessment and attitude of the society towards the front-line soldiers, because of the problem of "field-wives".

## Western historiography

European scientists began to turn very often to the problem investigated in the article, in particular, a number of publications investigate the share of female labor in the industry of some European countries during the war years (Gazeley: 2008, 651-671). Azza Karam's article provides an overview of the situation of women in wars and argues that most of the publications written tend to view women as victims rather than active participants; it is argued that women actually play several different roles and create different fates for themselves. The article presents various situations and living conditions of women in war (Karam: 2000). A number of articles examine the experience of women participating in wars and their role in the Red Army (Glantz: 1999, 208-212). The history of Soviet everyday life, including the war period, is of interest to foreign researchers. They highlighted a number of problems of the war period: the sphere of consumption of Soviet people, the price of mobilizing resources in the wartime economy, the role of women in victory in the war, etc. (Barber, Harrison: 1991; Harrison: 2004; Markwick, Cardona Chard: 2012).

Scientific work of Markwick R., E. Charon Cardona (2012) is the first comprehensive study in English of Soviet women who fought against the genocidal, misogynist, Nazi enemy on the Eastern Front during the Second World War. Drawing on a vast array of original archival, memoir, and published sources, this book captures the everyday experiences of Soviet women fighting, living and dying on the front. This book offers both breadth and depth to the study of what Soviet women did as soldiers, sailors, airmen, and partisans, and why they did it. The authors used a variety of archives, memoir material, interviews, and secondary materials to make a solid evidentiary case for their observations and conclusions. «In fact, Soviet military and partisan women had to fight on a second front: against male contempt, sexual harassment and violence. Women soldiers were acutely aware that they had entered into a predominantly male world... Often, young women entered into sexual relationships with officers, willingly or otherwise: for many, such relations offered some protection from predatory male soldiers; but officers were often convinced that they had the 'right' to a 'trophy wife» (Markwick, Cardona Chard: 2012).

The Second World War in Europe continues to captivate the attention of scholars and the general public even as the generation that lived through and fought in the war passes. The military and political histories of the war reveal the contribution of the men who fought as well as the men who led. Less attention has been directed to the experiences of women during the conflict who also served alongside the men in the military as nurses or auxiliaries, or as wives of spies. The articles of Sandra Trudgen Dawson (2019) illustrate some of the hidden roles and choices women made during the conflict despite additional hurdles created by racism, and gender expectations.

In the book of Doris Weatherford (2009) For the first time, here is a vigorous overview of the diverse roles adopted by women in one of the most crucial periods of 20th century history, as depicted by new reports, magazine articles and personal diaries of the time. The author considers role of women during World War II from women as nurses, in support positions, as pilots, to women in factories manufacturing wartime materials to women on the home front. Each section is backed up with photographs and annotated with primary sources.

In Western historiography the problem of "Woman of the USSR in the Second World War - hero or victim?" was not a special subject of study, although there are works on the participation of women in the Second World War, including Soviet women.

## CONCLUSION

Concluding the historiography review, a number of conclusions should be drawn. In the Soviet historiography accumulated a considerable body of literature about the contribution of the women of the USSR to the victory, but only their achievements and feats were studied, the remaining layers of the problem were outside the research field. The women never became the object of a comprehensive monographic study of the Kazakhstani historians. Many problems remained outside the research field: women on the fronts of war,

everyday life, everyday, psychological and other problems, the fate of deported, evacuated, female prisoners, etc. Until now, the researchers do not focus on many aspects of the women's fates, in particular, on the socio-psychological portrait of the women during the war.

On military days, women remained women. The desire to love and be loved was characteristic of the feminine nature, and no war could repel that desire. Another problem that was not the subject of the study - the field wives, dramas and tragedies of their destinies were not the subject of research. The facts of "moral instability and domestic decomposition" were NOT investigated.

Such facts were recorded in reports and references, but they were tried not to spread. In RGASPI we found materials about "immoral behavior" and dissatisfaction in the personal lives of girls and women. These sentiments were reflected in the letters: "I volunteered for the Navy, I thought that the war would last at least a year, and it lasted, it has no end. Our years are gone, we must hurry to get married" [RGASPI, Fund M-1, Inventory 32, Case 331, Sheet 32]. There are statements of girls: "I will achieve by any means of dismissal from the army, at least for this I had to get pregnant" [RGASPI, Fund M-1, Inventory 32, Case 331, Sheet 36], suicides or suicide attempts, etc. [RGASPI, Fund M-1, Inventory 32, Case 331, Sheet 37]. These facts were also noted in the transcript at the meeting of the Central Committee of All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union in May 1943: "We need to think about spiritual education. The girls at the front are very misbehaving. They usually live with commanders. The middle and upper composition necessarily lives with girls. Many cases of sexually transmitted diseases..." [RGASPI, Fund M-1, Inventory 5, Case 47, Sheet 88]. Such facts were not disseminated en masse, but were not isolated or exceptions during the war. And not to mention them, even if these were non-massive cases, we believe it is wrong. All these facts reflect the problems of women in the war: heroism and drama, feats and routines, sacrifice and tragedies of women's destinies.

Soviet women were both hero and victims during the war years. It is necessary to agree, in our opinion, with the conclusion of Ye.S. Senyavskaya: "In any case, a woman becomes a victim of a war that breaks and cripples her destiny, life, soul" (Senyavskaya: 1999, 150).

The article was prepared as part of the grant project of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan AR05131992 "The Great Patriotic War and the women of Kazakhstan on the fronts and in the rear: women's stories and everyday life."

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

ABDRAKHMANOVA, K.K., SAKTAGANOVA, Z.G. (2019). Female doctors of the East Kazakhstan region during the Great Patriotic War: heroism and front-line daily routine. Bulletin of the Karaganda University: Series History, Philosophy, 1(93), 8-16.

ALEKSIEVICH, S.U. (1988). The war has no female face. Moscow: Sovetskij pisatel', 368.

BARBER, J., HARRISON, M. (1991). The Soviet Home Front, 1941-1945: A Social and Economic History of the USSR in World War II. London: Longman Pub Group, 272.

BELAN, P.S. (1995). On all fronts: Kazakhstans in the battles of the Great Patriotic War in 1941-1945. Almaty: Nauka, 336.

BERKUN, O.E., ZHUMASHEV, R.M., MIKHEEVA, L.V., SPODYRYAK, M.A. (2015). Karaganda region during the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945. Collection of documents and materials. Karaganda: KarSU, 560.

BOOK OF MEMORY OF KAZAKHSTAN. Bozdaktar. (1995). Alma-Ata, 518.

- BORANBAEVA, B.S. (2015). Kazakh women of the West Kazakhstan region in the Great Patriotic War. *Uralsk*, 228.
- BYRBAEVA, G.B. (1996). *Womens of Kazakhstan during the Great Patriotic War: author. dis... cand. hist sciences*. Almaty: Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, 90.
- DAWSON, S.T. (2019). Women and the Second World War, *International Journal of Military History and Historiography*, 39, 171-180.
- GAZELEY, I. (2008). Women's pay in British Industry during the second world War. *History Review*, 61, 651-671.
- GLANTZ, D.M. (1999). Women in war: The red army's experience. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 12, 208-212.
- GRUGMAN, R. (2018). *Woman and War. From love to violence*. Moscow: Alistorus, 368.
- HARRISON, M. (2004). *Accounting for War Soviet Production. Employment and the Defense Burden 1940-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 376.
- HISTORY OF KAZAKHSTAN (from ancient times to the present day). In 5 Volumes. (2009). Almaty: Atamura, Vol. 4, 768.
- KARAM, A. (2000). Women in War and Peace-building: The Roads Traversed, The Challenges Ahead. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 3, 2-25.
- KOZYBAEV, M.K. (1995). *Labor in the name of victory*. Almaty: Kazakhstan, 175.
- MARKWICK, R.D., CARDONA CHARD, E. (2012). *Soviet Women on the Frontline in the Second World War*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 305.
- NURBEKOVA, G.D. (1988). *Womens of Kazakhstan – to the front*. Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 304.
- PETROVA, N.K. (2018). *The women's of the Great Patriotic War*. Moscow: Veche, 696.
- PETROVA, N.K. (2019). *Women's fate of the war*. Moscow: Veche, 432.
- SAKTAGANOVA, Z.G. (2017). *Economic modernization of Kazakhstan, 1946-1970*. Karaganda: Publishing House of KarSU, 365.
- SAKTAGANOVA, Z.G. (2019). Fragments of the memories of deported women: adaptation and life in Kazakhstan. *World of Big Altai*, 5(2), 232-247.
- SAKTAGANOVA, Z.G., TURSUNOVA, J.ZH., SMAGULOV, A.ZH. (2016). *Women of Central Kazakhstan during the Great Patriotic War: monograph*. Karaganda: KarSU, 256.
- SENYAVSKAYA, YE.S. (1999). *Psychology of war in the twentieth century: Russia's historical experience*. Moscow: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 383.
- VOLKOVA, YE.YU. (2006). *Victory is one for all: the role of a Russian woman in creating a solid rear during the years of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945: Monograph*. Yaroslavl: P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University, 206.
- WEATHERFORD, D. (2009). *American Women and World War II (History of Women in America)*. Castle Books, 338.

ZHARKYNBAEVA, R.S. URAZBAEVA, A.M., TIAN, X. (2019). Social and gender aspects of the USSR mobilization policy in the years of the Great Patriotic war. *Primo Aspectu*, 3(39), 60-67.

ZINICH, M.S. (2019). *Everyday life of the people during the Great Patriotic War*. Moscow: Institute of Russian History of RAS, 349.

CHEAT AND DUTY. Participation of Kazakhs in the Second and Great Patriotic War. (2015). Almaty, 592.

The name of a geor in people's memory. *Estelik kitita*. (2015). Karaganda, 360.

## **BIODATA**

**Zauresh SAKTAGANOVA**: Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Director of the Center for Ethnocultural and Historical and Anthropological Studies KarSU. The best teacher of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2006, 2012). State scholarship of the Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan for scientists and specialists who have made an outstanding contribution to the development of science and technology (2019, 2013, 2008-2009). The author of more than 300 scientific publications, including 10 monographs. Scientific interests: Problems of recent history of Kazakhstan of the twentieth century; Problems of the economic history of Kazakhstan in the second half of the twentieth century; The history of Soviet urban everyday life of the second half of the twentieth century; The political history of Kazakhstan of the twentieth century.

**Assem SAGATOVA**: Candidate of Philosophy, Associate Professor, Head of the Department of History of Kazakhstan. Best teacher of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2019), Honorary teacher of Kazakhstan (2019). Author of 134 publications, including 3 monographs, 6 study guides. Scientific interests: history of Kazakhstan, history of Kazakh philosophy.

**Zauresh NURLIGENOVA**: Master of Education. The author of more than 80 publications. Scientific interests: Problems of the history of Kazakhstan of the twentieth century.