

# Public Value and Architectural Heritage in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan

TEMIRLAN NURPEISSOV

---

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Seit der Erlangung der Unabhängigkeit nach der Auflösung der UdSSR im Jahr 1991 hat Kasachstan den Weg zur Demokratie eingeschlagen und dabei bedeutende politische, sozioökonomische und demographische Veränderungen durchlaufen. Zu diesen Veränderungen gehörte auch die Schaffung eines neuen Rechtsrahmens für den Schutz des kulturellen Erbes. Ein System wurde geschaffen, um historische und kulturelle Denkmäler durch wichtige Gesetze und Richtlinien umfassend zu schützen.

In der Praxis wurde jedoch häufig der Erhaltung der weiter zurückliegenden Geschichte und des architektonischen Erbes Vorrang eingeräumt, so dass Denkmäler aus der russischen Kaiser- und Sowjetzeit dem unerlaubten Abriss, der Vernachlässigung und der radikalen Renovierung zum Opfer fielen. In den letzten drei Jahrzehnten wurden zahlreiche architektonische Wahrzeichen in ganz Almaty in Mitleidenschaft gezogen, darunter das denkmalgeschützte „VIP-Terminal“ des internationalen Flughafens Almaty (1947; 2022 abgerissen) und der Palast der Republik (1970). Diese beispiellosen städtebaulichen Veränderungen haben den Unmut der Öffentlichkeit über die Erhaltung des kulturellen Erbes in Kasachstan geweckt und zur Gründung mehrerer Nichtregierungsinitiativen geführt, die das Bewusstsein für das Schicksal des architektonischen Erbes des Landes schärfen sollen.

In diesem Beitrag wird untersucht, welche Rolle die Öffentlichkeit in den Diskursen und Praktiken der Verwaltung des kulturellen Erbes in Kasachstan spielt. Es wird auch erörtert, ob die Beteiligung der Öffentlichkeit dazu beitragen kann, ein stärkeres Gefühl der Demokratie in dem Land zu entwickeln, das sich vom sowjetischen System löst. Darüber hinaus wird die enge Verbindung zwischen dem Schutz des Kulturerbes und der Förderung der Demokratie in Kasachstan thematisiert und die bedeutende Rolle hervorgehoben, die die sowjetische Architektur bei der Stärkung dieser Beziehung in den letzten Jahren gespielt hat.

## ABSTRACT

Since gaining independence following the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, Kazakhstan has embarked on a path towards democracy, undergoing significant political, socio-economic, and demographic changes. These changes included the establishment of a new legislative framework for the protection of cultural heritage. This complex system was set up to comprehensively protect historical and cultural monuments through key laws and numerous regulatory documents. In practice, however, priority has often been given to the preservation of more distant history and architectural heritage, leaving monuments from the Russian Imperial and Soviet periods vulnerable to unauthorised demolition, neglect and radical renovation. Over the past three decades, numerous architectural landmarks across Almaty, such as the listed “VIP Terminal” of Almaty International Airport (1947; demolished 2022) and the Palace of the Republic (1970), have been impacted. These unprecedented urban transformations have sparked public discontent regarding heritage conservation in Kazakhstan, leading to the establishment of several non-governmental initiatives to raise awareness about the fate of the country’s architectural legacy. This paper will analyse the role that public plays in the discourses and practices of cultural heritage management in Kazakhstan. It will also discuss whether public participation can help to develop a stronger sense of democracy in the country as it transitions from the Soviet system. Furthermore, it will address the strong connection between heritage protection and the advancement of democracy in Kazakhstan, highlighting the significant role that Soviet architecture has played in strengthening this relationship in recent years.

### Monuments of Undemocratic Past

At the mention of its name, Kazakhstan is often affiliated with neighbouring Central Asian states (the *-stans*), while its Socialist past remains less outward. The names Soviet Union and Russia are certainly used interchangeably in both conversational and academic contexts, as the historical connection with the other 14 union republics, including Kazakhstan, may not be apparent. The strong link between Russia and Kazakhstan dates to the first imperial military presence in the country's territory in the 18th century. By the end of the 19th century, most territory that constitutes Kazakhstan today was effectively controlled by Russian imperial forces. Following the October 1917 Revolution in Russia, Kazakhstan became a part of the emergent Socialist Bloc. The Soviet period profoundly affected Kazakhstan's development, shaping the country's politics, economy and demographics. At an urban scale, the 20th-century architectural layer remains dominant across most of the country's cities, the growth of which was steered by the development-driven political will of the Communist Party.

The country's incredibly rapid growth was widely publicised, including in posters, banners and through slogans crowning prominent buildings. Persistent Soviet propaganda deeply ingrained as unquestionable achievements and success of the Great October Revolution. In her doctoral thesis of 1965 focusing on Soviet Kazakhstan, Marija Šaumjan stated that the Revolution "for the first time liberated previously oppressed peoples from national-colonial oppression and opened to them the path of great progress".<sup>1</sup> With limited freedom to question and discuss official rhetoric, many praised the supposed Soviet achievement of bringing people equal wealth and prosperity. However, little was told about the real cost of the Soviet miracle, paid by the people of its federated republics. The dark side of this history remained concealed.

For Kazakhstan and many other Union Republics, the formation of the Soviet Union was accompanied by utmost cruelty, suppression, and displacement, abandoning core democratic principles. Known as *dekulakisation*, the campaign to systematically eradicate "wealthy" peasants (kulaks) in pursuit of socialist equality was marked by unforgiving violence, with deportations and death sentences deemed appropriate means of achieving this equality. The sedentarisation of nomads was considered a great leap from archaism to Socialism, deep-

ly praised in Soviet history.<sup>2</sup> However, the process forced steppe dwellers to abandon their traditional nomadic pastoralism, leading to a famine known as the *Asharshylyk*. In just two years, between 1931 and 1933, the famine claimed the lives of approximately 1.5 million people, while another one million fled the country.<sup>3</sup> Displacement and repression continued beyond the first years of the Soviet system. A part of the GULAG system, *Karlag* (Karaganda Corrective Labour Camp) was one of the largest corrective labour camps in the USSR, operating from 1930 to 1959 in the Karaganda region, central Kazakhstan. The exploitation of unpaid inmate labour played a significant role in the Union's coal and steel production. The camp output greatly impacted the development of agriculture, industry and Kazakhstan's primary infrastructure. The undisputed growth and striking progress thus are intrinsically tied to the traumatic early Soviet history, making the Soviet heritage contested.

Architecture played a significant role in building up and promoting the Soviet regime. Beyond decorative building elements that often took the shape of sophisticated reliefs and sgraffiti, architectural objects were built as testimonies to the achievements of the Soviet people and the Party. Capitals and prominent cities across the Union were models for demonstrating advancement and setting aspirational goals for the whole nation. By the decree of the *Kazakhstani Soviet Socialist Republic Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars* on 3 April 1927, Almaty, back then known as Alma-Ata, became the capital of Soviet Kazakhstan, and by this, the country's administrative, industrial and cultural centre.<sup>4</sup> In the following years, Almaty served as the test ground for some of the most daring projects in the Soviet Union.<sup>5</sup> Distinctive and experimental in character, these projects were rapidly listed as historical and architectural monuments, commemorating and praising both technological advancement and the ingenuity of the national masters.

One prominent example from the Kazakhstani School of Architecture is the Lenin Palace, today known as the Palace of the Republic. The history of the building offers insight into the contestation of Soviet Architecture in Kazakhstan today. Architect Nikolaj Ripinskij, the co-author of the Palace project, was one amongst many who fell victim to Stalinist repressions and was forced to relocate to Kazakhstan.<sup>6</sup> Despite his arrest on espionage allegations and

his deportation from Moscow<sup>7</sup>, Ripinskij designed other notable objects in Almaty, significantly contributing to the formation of the Kazakh National School of Architecture. Constructed in 1970 and included in the State List of Monuments of History and Culture in 1982<sup>8</sup>, the Palace of the Republic was radically remodelled in 2010, leading to the irrevocable loss of its original qualities, authenticity and historical relevance (Figs. 1 and 2).<sup>9</sup> Inevitably, the recent interventions raise questions about the legitimacy of the action within the contemporary legal framework for heritage protection and the value of such prominent examples of Socialist architecture in post-Soviet Kazakhstan.

### Winds of Change

Embarking on its path to constructing a democratic society in 1991, Kazakhstan faced numerous challenges, including the need to replace the obsolete Soviet legal framework. Overall, this change has been slow and gradual, with some regulatory documents still relying on the earlier Soviet structures and terminology. Notably, one of the first documents to be

adopted was the 1992 law on the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage objects (1992 Heritage Law). It replaced the 1978 KazSSR law on the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments, which was conceptualised by the Soviet system. The Soviet law operated with definitions that went in hand with the patriotic ideology, whereas monuments of history were defined as “buildings, constructions [...] connected [...] with the Great October Socialist Revolution, the civil and the Great Patriotic War, the socialist and the communist developments, [...] with the lives of outstanding statesmen and politicians, national heroes, famous scientists, artists”. Instinctively, the 1992 Heritage Law established new classifications and definitions of heritage objects, resembling in its original publication those found in the 1970 and 1972 UNESCO Conventions.<sup>10</sup> Over the years, the regulatory document underwent numerous minor and significant changes, introducing new definitions and classifications (29 editions in total). This inevitably led to contradictions in conceptualising the notion of heritage and complexifying its protection, leaving pro-



Fig. 1: Lenin Palace (renamed Palace of the Republic), F. Sal'nikov, V. Sadčikov, Alma-Ata, CGA KFDZ Almaty (archive logo upper right corner) (09/29/1976).





Fig. 2: Palace of the Republic after the 2010 remodelling, Almaty, Temirlan Nurpeissov, (02/28/2021).

professionals perplexed by the status of relevant objects and mechanisms to protect them.<sup>11</sup> The 2019 law on the protection and use of historical and cultural heritage objects (2019 Heritage Law) finally replaced the 1992 document, and the newly introduced law, interestingly, combined terminology from the UNESCO documents and current Russian legislation, in addition to structural references to the preceding Soviet legislation.

In architectural practice, the socio-political and economic restructuring that accompanied Kazakhstan's independence directly impacted the built environment. In the first decade, the effort was directed toward building adaptation, stimulated by significant demand for updating the functionality and appearance of Soviet buildings. Designers relied on speedy and affordable methods, such as new glazing or metal façade panels, alongside rapidly applied interior finishes.<sup>12</sup> From the turn of the millennium onward, new construction in the residential and commercial sectors occasionally occurred through demolition.<sup>13</sup> This nationwide urban refurbishment process also affected listed architectural monuments to a great extent.<sup>14</sup> In Almaty, an extensive list of impacted objects includes Hotel Almaty (constructed in 1967 as Hotel Alma-Ata, remodelled in 2002<sup>15</sup> and 2014),<sup>16</sup>

Hotel Medeo (constructed in 1975, demolished in 2007),<sup>17</sup> the Arman cinema complex (constructed in 1968, remodelled in 2015, additional volumes in 2015) (Figs. 3 and 4),<sup>18</sup> as well as the previously mentioned Palace of the Republic. Hasty architectural alterations led to sudden and radical changes to the previously uniform Soviet ensembles, which were then concealed behind a new layer.

It is possible to hypothesise that the shortcomings and perplexities in the heritage conservation legal framework, starting from their ever-changing definitions of monuments, led to the sporadic, virtually uncontrollable alterations to listed objects. Simultaneously, the problem of definitions is not only terminological but is also linked to divergent opinions of what constitutes heritage. Some professionals refer only to medieval and temporally distant architectural objects as being in desperate need of attention,<sup>19</sup> whereas others highlight threats to recent architectural heritage and its internationally recognised value.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the discourse on value is self-contradictory, taking Soviet history and its colonial traces into account, which have in recent years been scrutinised by local scholars.<sup>21</sup> It is, however, certain that in the three decades of Kazakhstan's independence, its Soviet architectural heritage

has been subjected to vague terminology, diverging opinions and, with increasing public awareness, conflicting values.

### Democracy and Heritage

Abolishing the totalitarian regime of Soviet Socialist rule, Nursultan Nazarbayev became the republic's first president following historic democratic elections in 1991.<sup>22</sup> However, the preceding authoritarian system could not be merely left in the past by the transition to democracy. Hence, through numerous constitutional changes and adaptations, Nazarbayev remained in power for almost three decades (until 2019) before he was replaced by the current president, Kassim-Žomart Tokajev.<sup>23</sup> This underlines that setting out on the new development path has proven to be a great challenge for post-Soviet Kazakhstan, and the process of building democracy continues.

Notably, recent architectural heritage and its protection play a key role in this process. In recent years, rising discontent with the irreversible loss of numerous architectural monuments due to demolition and remodelling led to the formation of several

private, professional, and conspicuously public initiatives in Almaty. *Urban Forum Kazakhstan* is a nationwide independent organisation aiming to uphold dialogue between city authorities, developers, and the public as being indispensable to the creation of a more appropriate and balanced development model for cities. In Almaty, the team conducted several studies concerning the rapidly changing urban environment and the impacts of such change on architectural heritage. Their analysis of the “crown”, a highly detailed decorative metal frame crowning the building of the Arman cinema complex, revealed a complex history of the building and its designer (Nikolaj Ripinskij).<sup>24</sup> Lost during remodelling in 2000, the decorative elements alongside the interior and exterior reliefs were genuine artworks with significance and value: they encapsulated and mirrored the spirit of the time, namely space exploration and the first human flight by Yuri Gagarin in 1961.

Similarly, the demolition of the Celinnyj cinema building was also halted due to its outstanding artistic value.<sup>25</sup> The building was completely remodelled in 2000, and the sgraffiti by Je. Sidorkin was covered behind drywall and only rediscovered in 2018. Featuring the controversial motives of an *oriental* mystical lady, the artwork, nevertheless, has great historical value and relevance, which is also recognised by the public. In turn, this indicates a certain movement towards appropriating contested Soviet heritage.

In 2016, A group of young professionals and enthusiasts at *Archcode Almaty* launched an online repository of outstanding architectural objects across the city. The project aims to draw attention to the city's architectural identity and the threats posed by recent interventions. Moreover, the team set out to engage in dialogue with various actors involved in the city's development in order to ensure the preservation of architectural heritage for future generations. Over the years, the Archcode team has documented more than a hundred buildings in a publicly available repository, including some that no longer exist. This makes the web repository and the gathered photographic material invaluable resources. However, this also highlights the vulnerability of Almaty's architectural heritage, emphasising the importance of Archcode's work.

In an attempt to prevent the imminent removal of a listed architectural object, on 9 October 2022, a small group of activists gathered in front of the



Fig. 3: Arman cinema, Alma-Ata, S. Besarabov, CGA KFDZ Almaty (archive logo upper right corner) (1962).





Fig. 4: Arman cinema complex after the remodelling showing the evident the loss of the decorative elements, Almaty, Temirlan Nurpeissov (02/28/2021).

historic Almaty airport terminal building.<sup>26</sup> The building came in the way of the airport's expansion, and the private developer had a simple solution to move the structure to a better location. The 2019 Heritage Law strictly prohibits the relocation of monuments, apart from the loss of the monument (loss of more than 70% of the original structure, allowing for the relocation of the remaining 30%) or the loss of the monument's historical or cultural relevance. Moreover, relocation can be sustained in cases where such a move improves the preservation of the object (Article 29, Paragraph 2). The 2019 Law, however, states that the central competent authority and the local executive body for heritage protection would need to produce a relocation permit. The activists claimed that the developer failed to fulfil the requirements foreseen by the law, as such permits were not issued. Nevertheless, the developer proceeded with the airport's expansion plan, relocating the listed monument to a new location. Although the relocation project included a detailed survey of the building and removal of important building and decorative elements for reuse

in the reconstruction, the lack of historical cultural expertise and the absence of the necessary permits render the relocation illegal. This further frustrates the public with the incompetence of the responsible government officials.

Although far from wide-reaching in terms of participants, the protest was unprecedented in the recent urban development of Almaty for several reasons. Firstly, representing the public, the activists also expressed that they deemed the monuments of the Soviet period valuable. The terminal building was constructed in 1947 (architects G. Jelkin and B. Zavarzin). The neoclassical building is rather a common airport construction of the Stalinist period.<sup>27</sup> In Almaty, however, it is meticulously intertwined with the imposing building and decorative elements: pointed arches and traditional Central Asian ornamentation on the façade inserts and the capitols of the columns. Found in the exteriors and interiors of buildings across Almaty, these elements became the forms of the national style.<sup>28</sup> The synthesis of the traditional culture, or its interpretation by the Russian architects, and its translation into

architecture, is another trait of the Stalinist period. Despite the possible negative association with the previous Soviet regime, the activists claimed the building was an integral part of their heritage, and they assumed the responsibility of passing it on to future generations.

Moreover, this form of activism highlights the public's preparedness for direct engagement in the country's development. The protest demonstrated the recognition of the public's constitutional right to heritage and the shared responsibility to safeguard it. Additionally, it indicated a conscious departure from the Soviet system by challenging the historically shaped top-down approach to heritage conservation. This grassroots movement also suggests a shift towards democratising heritage, paving the path to a values-based approach to conservation.<sup>29</sup>

Through public activism and several non-governmental initiatives, heritage objects have come to play a central role in developing Kazakhstan's

democratic system, which should not be taken for granted. The protests and unrest that, in January 2022, briefly cut off Kazakhstan from the rest of the world (limited Internet access, grounded flights), together with the presence of Russian troops to restore peace, reminded many of the fragility of the emerging democracy.<sup>30</sup> The invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 confirmed Russia's persistent imperialism and desire for domination, which just a century ago led to devastating displacement, famine and repression in Kazakhstan, making the inherited Soviet architecture undoubtedly challenging to approach. It is, thus, of utmost interest to note that democratic awareness continues to thrive, and public input brings a fresh perspective to heritage conservation that the established system and experts have overlooked. The outcome of public involvement in heritage care remains uncertain. However, the significance of the relationship between heritage care and democracy should not be underestimated.

## Figures

- 1 Lenin Palace (renamed Palace of the Republic), Alma-Ata, F. Sal'nikov, V. Sadčikov, CGA KFDZ Almaty (09/29/1976).
- 2 Palace of the Republic, Almaty, Temirlan Nurpeissov (02/28/2021).
- 3 Arman cinema complex, Alma-Ata, S. Besarabov, CGA KFDZ Almaty (1962).
- 4 Arman cinema complex, Almaty, Temirlan Nurpeissov (02/28/2021).

## Endnotes

- 1 Marija Šaumjan, *Ot kočev'ja - k socializmu*. Alma-Ata 1965, p. 3.
- 2 Ibid, p. 3–9.
- 3 Sarah Cameron, *The Hungry Steppe: Famine, Violence, and the Making of Soviet Kazakhstan*, New York 2018.
- 4 M. Kozybaev (Ed.), *Ėnciklopedija Alma-Ata*, Alma-Ata 1983.
- 5 Anna Bronovickaja, Nikolaj Malinin, and Jurij Pal'min, *Alma-Ata: Arxitektura Sovetskogo Modernizma, 1955-1991. Spravočnik-putevoditel'*, Moskva 2018.
- 6 Elizaveta Malinovskaja, *Repressirovannaja Arxitektura - Stalinskie Novostrojki, Tvorčestvo i Sud'by Arxitektorov*, Almaty 2018.
- 7 Ibid, p.87–88.
- 8 As discovered in my doctoral research, most of the objects found in the 1982 Kazakh SSR State List of Monuments of History and Culture are still enlisted in contemporary lists, though their designation might have changed.
- 9 Elizaveta Malinovskaja, Pamjatnik Arxitektury Sovetskogo Modernizma: Dvorec im. V.I. Lenina, in: *Culture and Civilization*, 7 (2017), No. 4A, p. 426–445.
- 10 Referring to the *1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property and the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*; he documents' comparison and the legislative framework's formation in independent Kazakhstan is part of my ongoing doctoral research at TUM.
- 11 U. Džalilov, Zakonodatel'naja Baza i Gosudarstvennoe Upravlenie v Sfere Ochrany i Ispol'zovaniya Istoriko-kul'turnogo Nasledija, in: *Soxranenie i Razvitie Istoriko-kul'turnoj Sredy v Prirodnix i Gorodskix Uslovijax Sovremennoj Central'noj Azii*, Almaty 11–12 May 2004, p. 117–124; U. Džalilov, Normativnye akty JuNESKO i Nacional'noe Zakonodatel'stvo po Ochrane Kul'turnogo Nasledija. Voprosy ego Soveršenstvovanija, in: *Soxranenie i Ispol'zovanie Ob'ektov Kul'turnogo i Smešannogo Nasledija Sovremennoj Central'noj Azii*, Almaty 7–9 November 2005, p. 212–221.
- 12 Konstantin Samojlov, *Arxitektura Kazaxstana XX veka. Razvitie Arxitekturno-Xudožestvennyx Form*, Moskva/Almaty 2004, p. 630.
- 13 Ibid, p. 743.
- 14 Terminological changes in the legislation had little impact on the lists of protected monuments: Most of the monuments retained their protected status despite the changes to the classification (See note 9).
- 15 ARCHCODE, Gostinica Alma-Ata, <https://archcode.kz/objects/view?id=21> (30 January 2025).
- 16 Chapmen Taylor, Exterior Renovation of Hotel Almaty Completed in Kazakhstan, <https://www.chapmantaylor.com/news/exterior-renovation-of-hotel-almaty-completed-in-kazakhstan> (30 January 2025).
- 17 ARCHCODE, Hotel Medeo, <https://archcode.kz/objects/view?id=40> (30 January 2025).
- 18 ARCHCODE, Cinema Arman, <https://archcode.kz/objects/view?id=61> (30 January 2025).
- 19 Gul'nara Abdrasilova, Soxranenie Istoriko-kul'turnogo Nasledija v Processe Gradostroitel'noj Organizacii Regional'noj Sredy Obitanija, in: *Vestnik ENU im. L. N. Gumiljeva*, 4 (2010), 77, p. 261–267; Zubajda Suraganova, Analiz Opyta Formirovaniya Konceptii Kul'turnogo Nasledija v Respublike Kazaxstan, in: *Gosudarstvennoe Upravlenie i Gosudarstvennaja Služba*, 1 (2017), 60, p. 241–246; Kanat Tujakbaev, *Restavracija - Iskustvo Vozroždenija*, Almaty 2007.
- 20 Elizaveta Malinovskaja, *Pamjatnik Sovremennoj Arxitektury*, Almaty 2018.
- 21 Alima Bissenova (Ed.), *Qazaqstan. Kazaxstan, نانتسقازاق: Labirinty Sovremennoego Postkolonial'nogo Diskursa*, Almaty 2023; Madina Tlostanova, Dekolonizatsiia'nost' Bytija, Znaniya i Oščuščeniya, Almaty 2020.
- 22 Zrelye gody, <https://nazarbayev.kz/ru/zrelye-gody> (30 January 2025).
- 23 Mixail Bušuev, Kasym-Žomart Tokaev: Izbrannyj i.o. Prezidenta Kazaxstana, <https://www.dw.com/ru/касым-жомарт-токаев-избранный-ио-президента-казахстана/a-49099425> (8 June 2019).
- 24 David Kaminski and Adil'žan Psjaev, V Poiskax Uskol'zajuščej «Korony», <https://arman.urbanforum.kz/arman-searching-crown-ru> (30 January 2025).
- 25 Svetlana Romaškina, V kinoteatre «Celinnyj» Našli Bol'soe Sgraffito Sidorkina, <https://vlast.kz/gorod/28717-v-kino-teatre-celinnyj-nasli-bolsoe-sgraffito-sidorkina.html> (30 January 2025).
- 26 Alma Murzalieva, Aktivisty Protestovali Protiv Snosa Zdanija VIP-Terminala Aëroporta Almaty, <https://vlast.kz/novosti/52045-aktivisty-protestovali-protiv-snosa-zdanija-vip-terminala-aerporta-almaty.html> (9 October 2022).
- 27 Similar buildings could be found in Karaganda and Kostanaj, though neither currently serve their original function.
- 28 Elizaveta Malinovskaja, *Pamjatnik Sovremennoj Arxitektury*, Almaty 2018, p. 144–192.
- 29 Kate Clark, Values-Based Heritage Management and the Heritage Lottery Fund in the UK, in: *APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preservation Technology*, 45 (2014) 2/3, p. 65–71.
- 30 World Urges Peaceful Resolution to Kazakh Crisis, <https://www.dw.com/en/kazakhstan-protests-world-leaders-urge-peaceful-resolution/a-60351718> (1 January 2022).