

ON THE MATERIAL AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF GERMAN SPECIAL SETTLERS DURING THE DEPORTATION (ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE PAVLODAR REGION)

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Until recently, the topic of deportation has been closed to research as many archival collections were secret. The large-scale and seemingly even chaotic forced displacement of millions of Soviet people had very serious demographic and economic consequences for the deportees' regions of origin and displacement, and for the country as a whole.¹

Despite significant steps taken in this direction by historiography, many aspects of the subject have been insufficiently studied and require further research.

There is a need to explore problems locally, primarily using the huge regional source potential of the archives. The most striking example in this respect may be Pavlodar region, to which significant numbers of people were deported during the Second World War. Many ethnic groups (Poles, Koreans, Germans, Chechens, Ingush, etc.) were suddenly classified as "unreliable people" and deported to this region. Even today, scholarship has not fully covered the dimensions and consequences of the social strains between with these ethnicities. By examining the regional deportation of Russian Germans, we can also consider typical trends in Kazakhstan as a whole.

All of Soviet history since 1917 is full of numerous human rights violations and, in some cases, genocides. An example is the provoked collectivisation famine of 1920-1930s, when many nations and nationalities were almost destroyed. Then, a new wave rose during the Second World War. An important feature of those times was that whole nationalities were

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¹ Yarochkina 2009, p. 118.

targeted for deportation by sophisticated methods, while the process took place in difficult wartime conditions.

Nowadays it is known that more than forty USSR nationalities were subject to deportation. Many of them were totally resettled. In 1930-1950 approximately 3.5 million people had to leave their homelands, and significant number of people died.²

The chronology of deportation during the war was tragic, since different nationalities were deported almost every 2-3 years. The Soviet Germans became the main object of Soviet deportation policy on the outbreak of war. On 26 August 1941, the Soviet of National Commissars and the Central Committee of Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) adopted a resolution *On the resettlement of Germans from the Volga German Republic, Saratov and Stalingrad regions in other territories and regions*, a large-scale measure targeting the German nationality within the Soviet Union as a whole. On 28 August 1941 the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decree *On the resettlement of Germans living in the Volga area*, eliminating the autonomy of the Volga Germans. Groundless accusations of espionage and sabotage were used as a pretext for coercive measures to deport Germans from the Volga region to Kazakhstan. In general, a relocation of 400,000 Soviet Germans was planned to twelve regions: Alma-Ata, Akmola, Aktobe, East Kazakhstan, Dzhambul'skaya Karaganda, Kyzylorda, Kostanai, Pavlodar, North Kazakhstan, Semipalatinsk, South Kazakhstan.³

The mechanism of operation was defined in the Regulations for the resettlement of Germans and the Order of the National Commissariat of Internal Affairs from 28 August 1941.⁴

The operation was conducted vigorously and violently. It began on 3 September and finished on 21 September. The total number of deportees from the Volga German Republic to Kazakhstan was 67,400.⁵ During late August - mid September 1941, the plan to settle the deported Germans in Kazakhstan was increased from 163,000 to 467,000 people.⁶

N. F. Buhay presents data from 25 November 1941 describing the distribution of the German population through the regions of Kazakhstan.⁷ Analysing the data, it is possible to argue that the plan was to resettle a total of 525,000 Germans in Kazakhstan, including 45,000 deportees to the

² Kulbayev 2001, p. 28.

³ Khasanayev 1997, p. 30.

⁴ Auman, Chebotareva 1993, p. 160.

⁵ Herman 1994, p. 302.

⁶ CSARK, fund 1987, register 1, file 6, p. 8-19.

⁷ Buhay 1991, p. 48.

Pavlodar region, representing 8.6% of the total number of persons scheduled to all areas of Kazakhstan. In fact 315,630 people were settled by areas, including 43,202 deportees to the Pavlodar region (approximately 13.7%). These figures show a large gap between planned and actual resettlement among the regions. The percentage of settlement achieved in Pavlodar region is quite high at 94% of the planned amount, the highest in all areas of the country. These figures are confirmed by Major Babkin, national commissar for Internal Affairs of the Kazakh Soviet: “the first batch of settling of Germans was performed well and organised, with 30,590 people settled in the Akmola region and 21,146 in Pavlodar region.”⁸

At the beginning of 1942 the country had resettled 400,300 deportees.⁹

According to the Archives of the Committee of Legal Statistics and Special Registration of the General Prosecutor’s office of Kazakhstan in the *Report on Resettlement of Germans in the areas of the Kazakh SSR* of 10 December 1941, 34,970 people were affected. In total 1,209,430 Germans were resettled in Kazakhstan during 1941-1942.¹⁰

Reading the resolution gives the impression that the Soviet state cared for the resettled contingent and was concerned about their welfare, planning:

“to resettle the entire German population living in the Volga region to other areas, so that the resettled were endowed with land and received state support with placement in new areas.”¹¹

As has already been discussed, the territories in which resettlement was planned included Pavlodar region. O. L. Milova in her work *Deportatsiya Narodov SSSR (1930-50g.)* gives information about where Germans from the Volga region were deported and resettled into the Kazakh SSR in October 1941.¹²

This inquiry indicates that deportees were resettled in virtually all areas of Pavlodar region. The main thoroughfare for the transfer of the deportees in the Pavlodar region was the Omsk Railway, transporting 16,500 people. Two thousand deportees were sent to Semipalatinsk by the Turkestan-Siberian railway. The greatest number of people (more than 3 million) was settled in the Pavlodar region in Bayanaul, Cyuryupinsk and Lozovskiy areas, while the smallest number, a group of 500 deportees, were sent to Maximo-Gorki area in October 1941.

⁸ Kulbayev, Khagai 2000, p. 48.

⁹ CSARK, fund 1987, register 1, file 6, p. 19.

¹⁰ Buhay 1986, p. 140.

¹¹ Buhay 1991, p. 48.

¹² Milova 1995, part 2.

From 23 to 29 November 1941, 14 groups of 33,013 Germans in total came people to the Pavlodar region, of a planned 40,000.¹³

Based on these data, it is evident that the plan was not wholly fulfilled, which could be explained by several reasons; escapes during transfer, late arrivals, the withdrawal of seriously ill deportees from trains, and deaths.

The deportation of national groups was carefully planned to the last details: the number of trains provided, the points of embarkation, rest stops and the end points. However, changes to the resettlement plan highlight the chaos during the period of settlement and the target regions' inability to accept such a number of deportees, as evidenced by a resolution of the executive committee of the Pavlodar Regional Council of Deputies and the bureau of the regional committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Kazakhstan dated 2 September 1941 *On measures for reception and accommodation of displaced persons - Germans and their household placement*. This secret report describes a number of measures aimed at settling the deported Germans. It obliged regional executive chairmen and secretaries of the Republic Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Kazakhstan to prepare daily reports naming collective and state farms and the number of deportee households to be placed in each, to submit these plans to the Executive Committee of the Regional Council within two days, and to prepare the houses and buildings needed for the deportees, effective immediately.¹⁴

Analysing this fifteen-point document, we may note that the time for the completion of each task is extremely short: a “two-day” period, “immediately,” “daily,” “three days” and “ten days.” Limited time was given to allocate land plots for construction and settlement; to build the houses; to determine needs for building materials for the repair and construction of new houses; to transport timber and household equipment to the regions; to prepare livestock and grain for the deportees; to explain the new situation to the masses on the farms; and to ensure food for the newcomers.

The first point of this resolution states: “To state the plan for resettlement among the regional and state farms of the area ... in total ... including collective.”¹⁵

Omissions in the text suggest that during the first months of the war, planners had no clear information on how many deportees to expect.

¹³ Amanova 2010, p. 7.

¹⁴ SAPR, fund 646, register 1, file 175, p. 170.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Analysis of the situation after the deportees arrived in the republic clearly shows that regional organisations in Kazakhstan were not at all ready to receive and accommodate them. This was already evident in the lack of transport for deportees from the unloading stations to the settlement areas. There was simply not enough transport for the amount of people, and collective and state farms could not ensure its timely provision.¹⁶

The main means of transportation was the railroad. An inquiry about German deportees in the Kazakh SSR from 18 January 1942 reveals a larger picture throughout the country. As this paper aims to study deported Germans in the Pavlodar region, we concentrate on this region.

On 18 January 1942, 20 groups totalling 102,869 people arrived in Pavlodar region. One person escaped during transit, 624 were late and 38 people returned.¹⁷

This document shows that the German population did not resist eviction, in the hope that what was happening was a temporary misunderstanding. This could be proven by the cases of people escaping: 102,869 people. However, this information does not include fatalities during transportation, where deaths were caused by diverse factors, such as age, epidemiological factors and poor nutrition.

In reality, we cannot argue that there was a complete absence of nutrition and terrible organisation, since this issue was under the control of the ruling agencies. Archival material classified as “Top Secret” records data on this issue: “immediately pass through HF (recorded by hand)” and states the orders to ensure food supply en route:

- “1. Hot meals en route must be provided by railway buffets twice a day, the cost is three rubles per person, to be paid in cash by the head of group.
2. Depending on the length of the route, necessary funds should be issued to the supervisor under the report
3. The heads of groups should signal ahead regarding each buffet by telegraph 12 hours before arrival, indicating the number of the group and the number of meals required. To be signed: ‘The head of the NCIA group.’ The director of the commercial office must assure the bills for lunches.
4. Places of nutrition are provided in eight directions.”¹⁸

However, the organisation of the deportation met with obstacles and difficulties. The vast number of groups transported led to confusion. Many trains came into the wrong destinations. “For instance, train no. 883 was intended for the resettlement area in Barnaul. However, it was sent to the

¹⁶ Burgart 1997, p. 251.

¹⁷ Milova 1995.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Krasnoyarsk region by mistake, where it was left.”¹⁹

As a result, responsibilities were not met. According to a Decree of the executive committee of the Pavlodar Regional Council of Deputies and Bureau of Regional Committee of CP(b)K of 11 October 1941 titled *On the economic accommodation of German migrants*, the executive committee of the regional council and the bureau of regional committee CP(b) mention errors made by the Executive Committee of the Regional Council, by the Department of Resettlement and NCIA. The personnel needs of the regions were not considered at all in allocation of persons to areas. As a result, some regions where professionals were needed were left with no specialists in agriculture, while in some places there were too many of them. The document shows that collective farms in Tsyurupynsk, Lazovski and Beskaragai regions mainly received deportees from urban areas and regional centres, while farms in Maximo-Gorki, Kuibyshev and Irtysh regions mainly received farmers.²⁰

The entire management of resettlement was given to the NCIA agency. The groups responsible for receiving, disembarking and delivery to destinations were organised in the regions. Paragraph 10 of a Resolution of the executive committee of the Pavlodar regional Council of Deputies and the regional CP(b)K committee bureau of 2 September 1941 reports the need to identify groups of responsible workers to receive and disembark deportees and send them to their new places of destination. Paragraph 15 assigns the management of relocation to the regional Department of the NCIA, which was granted the right to involve the regional healthcare department in the resettlement process, to the state farms trust, resettlement department and their local agencies.²¹

218,328 people were registered on 1 July 1944 in the republic (71,151 families of German deportees). Further, according to an NCIA inquiry about deportees in the Kazakh SSR, by the end of the war on 1 January 1945, the number of German migrants was 243,722 people (79,017 families), distributed by region as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Alma-Aty Region | - 3,041 people (1,231 families). |
| 2. Karaganda region | - 20,538 people (7,567 families). |
| 3. Semipalatinsk region | - 24,030 people (7,975 families). |
| 4. Aktobe region | - 4,942 people (1,751 families). |
| 5. Akmola | - 35,644 people (10,705 families). |
| 6. East Kazakhstan region | - 13,526 people (4,841 families). |

¹⁹ Buhay 1991, p. 48.

²⁰ SAPR, fund 646, register 1, file 175, p. 170.

²¹ Ibid.

7. Guriev region - 1,199 people (1,197 families).
8. Dzhabul region - 5,561 people (1,790 families).
9. Kustanai region - 32,260 people (10,132 families).
10. Kokchetav region - 41,900 people (12,222 families).
11. Kyzyl-Orda region - 2,241 people (825 families).
12. Pavlodar - 24,939 people (8,082 families).
13. North Kazakhstan region - 20,103 people (6,124 families).
14. Taldykorgan region - 5,762 people (1,715 families).
15. South Kazakhstan region - 8,035 people (2,800 families).²²

The question of how many Germans were deported to Kazakhstan, and Pavlodar region in particular, is very complex, influenced by several factors: the absence of quantitative documents on the deported national groups; discrepancy among the official documents; a lack of uniform accounting for deported people, for example, “according to the plan, it was expected that 467,000 Germans would be deported to Kazakhstan in 1941, but in reality only 400,000 people were moved.”²³

Records of births and deaths were not conducted everywhere, nor were families reunified. During the first years the mortality rate was extremely high, greater than the birth rate. Moreover, the number of refugees was not always equal to the number of detainees. In most situations, the number of escapees was greater than the number of those who were caught. All these factors had a great impact on the changing number of deportees.

Thus, considering the organisational and technical preparations for the resettlement of deported nationalities in the Pavlodar region, the following factors should be noted:

1) Deportation of nationalities was planned and thought through: the number of trains provided, the location of the planned loading and unloading of people, the rest stops and points of arrival.

2) We can argue from reports and archival data that throughout the war, Pavlodar region was a major destination for deportees. It was a long way from their points of origin, but had access to water transport and railways and a low population density of the region.

3) Pavlodar region, and the country as a whole, was not ready to accept such a large number of deportees, because the issue unavoidably led to a number of problems that require time to solve.

4) The planned timescales for transportation, food supply and other services were impossible.

²² APRK, fund 716, register 1, file 30, p. 24.

²³ Romanov 1997, p. 42.

The arrival of a significant number of deportees to Pavlodar region gave rise to a whole range of issues that required immediate solution. From the very first days, housing was one such difficulty. It should be noted that the issue also remained unresolved in the post-war years. However, it would not be true to state that this issue had not been given any attention. The plan to construct and purchase houses for deportees in the republic shows that from 20 June 1945 to 1 July 1945, a total of 2,748 houses were built and bought. Alma-Aty, Kustanay, Taldykurgan and Pavlodar regions recorded significant growth during the decade. The turning point in improving housing in Kostanai and Pavlodar regions was the creation of large numbers of construction crews. Moreover, great attention was paid to local procurement of building materials, compared to other regions. 140 teams and 300 units of draft-cattle worked to build housing in Kustanai region, while 219 teams and 1,487 draft-cattle units worked in Pavlodar region.²⁴

A special report to the chairman of the regional committee of the CP(b) K on 7 August 1945 discussed the drawbacks in the household allocation of deportees in Pavlodar region. Household arrangements for deportees in Pavlodar, Galka, Kaganovicheskij and Tsyurupinsk areas were unsatisfactory. The approved plan to build new houses for deportees was in most cases not carried out, while repair of vacant houses was extremely slow and disorganised, with no construction crews available. The state loan for individual construction of new homes was in most cases not used, and where it was, terms of use were often violated.²⁵

A secret special report of 14 May 1947 no. 3/24854 states that material conditions for German deportees in particular places in Lebyazhinsky region were extremely unsatisfactory, and that some facts deserved serious attention.²⁶

In the first half of 1948 an inspection by the Internal Affairs Ministry noted that in areas of Pavlodar region, 1,180 families (3,697 people) of Chechen-Ingush and Germans were billeted with the local population and did not have their houses.²⁷

The territory of Pavlodar region includes forest zone as well as steppe areas, which helped in providing building materials. However, analysis of memorandums shows that where problems with the building material were

²⁴ SAPR, fund 221, register 1, file 31, p. 16.

²⁵ Ibid., fund 646, register 1, file 353, p. 143.

²⁶ Ibid., file 469, p. 127.

²⁷ Ibid., fund 646, register 1, file 175, p. 223.

not expected due to access to local stock, this opportunity was not fully used. As a consequence, the position of deportees remained unsatisfactory.

For example, although there was timber in Beskaragai region close to the collective farms, building work had not yet started on any houses, and state loans went unused.²⁸

Receiving no real help from the local authorities, deportees understood that in this situation it was necessary to survive on their own, and where possible the deportees tried to solve housing problems independently. Most migrants built houses themselves without state credit, were billeted in vacant houses or bought them. Construction was carried out in a very primitive and simple way without technical supervision and control. There were very few engineers in the area, and none of them was obliged to delve into the matter of technical control. Technician-builders were in areas where many migrants were settled and techniques were inexperienced.²⁹

According to the report of Pavlodar region in 1945 houses were built of different materials (adobe, wood, sod, stockade and brushwood, frames), usually in collective farms and enterprise territories, only on the unsuitable backyards away from the village. Such houses lasted from 10 to 20-25 years, depending on the building materials.³⁰

The question of providing ethnic diasporas with living space in their areas of deportation could be regarded as a complex and multifaceted. Solutions were difficult and painful, both for the people who were deported to Kazakhstan and for the local population.

The regional settlement department conducted inspections of the deportees' living conditions. The conclusions were reflected in a report on North Caucasus and German deportees, signed by Comrade Perevozchikov, head of the Internal Affairs Ministry and dated 2 September 1948 for no. 3/I-2931.

It should be noted that in Pavlodar region deportees were billeted on the local population up to the 1950s, with the German population worst affected. Comparative analysis of archival material shows that the living conditions of other ethnic groups in the 1950s were better than that of the Germans. It was found that 532 families were without permanent housing, of which 73 families were Chechen-Ingush, while the other 459 families were Germans, who received no support in building, by transport or by cash.

²⁸ Ibid., file 353, p. 143.

²⁹ Ibid., fund 646, register 1, file 176, p. 223.

³⁰ Ibid.

Although there were very few German deportees in the *Priirtysbyskaya Pravda* farm of Beskaragai region, only German migrants worked in animal husbandry, with many milkmaids, shepherds, etc. receiving wool, cattle, and milk as additional wages.³¹

The local authorities to some extent reflected the economic and the labour situation unit of the deportees in their memorandums and reports. Usually the reports raised the issue of housing; however this was almost ignored in the case of the local population and was solved instead by so-called “consolidation” - the billeting of deportees upon local populations. In Tsyurupinsk district 1,010 families were settled with local people.³²

Usually this kind of cohabitation adversely affected the relationship between newcomers and hosts, since it caused considerable inconvenience for the locals. Mutual ignorance of customs, traditions and lifestyles often led to conflicts. Material, psychological, religious and cultural aspects were not considered and this inevitably caused friction.

Local attitudes towards the deportees were no mere accident. Here it is important to distinguish several triggering factors: 1. There was an almost complete lack of information from the authorities about the deportees; 2. There was a local sense that the deportees were “enemies of the people,” “enemies of Soviet power” or “fascists.” Tensions increased, and sharing a roof with people, whom the government had identified as “enemies,” was psychologically difficult. 3. The housing and living conditions of the local population were poor; 4. Religious and cultural aspects were important; not every local Muslim could allow the consumption of pork in his house, or the storage of religious paraphernalia and performance of rituals. This factor may not have been as significant, but was still an integral part of the relationship at home. This again emphasises the characteristic feature of a totalitarian state constantly striving for unification, while neglecting the features of national psychology.

It should be noted that over the course of time, these relationships were less clear-cut. Closer acquaintance encouraged local residents to a friendly relationship with migrants and local citizens shared food and shelter, or brought up the orphaned children of migrants.³³

Local attitudes towards the Germans largely formed under the influence of the migrants’ behaviour. Rural workers, such as farmers, adapted most quickly to the new conditions of life.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., file 290, p. 80.

³³ Tokhmetova 2010a, p. 2-5.

The village and *aul* (traditional small Kazakh village) managed to resist the policy of equalisation and unification due to their multi-ethnicity, the hidden preservation of national traditions and practices, and close human communication.³⁴

Many leaders of collective farms and the local population provided great help, so that the position of the deportees improved.

Thus, the question of household provision for deportees was urgent during the Second World War and the post-war years. Although the legal basis of deportation considered household support, the reality was that in places there were issues which urgently needed solution. Deportees faced an unwillingness in the regions to accept contingents from different regions of the USSR; non-use of supplied cash loans; and a lack of flexibility in the banking system in questions of loans for the construction or purchase of housing. Inappropriate spending of credits by the deportees raised the question of the proper use of loans and their regulation. It was impossible to solve the housing question without providing building materials.

The deportees needed not only housing but also land, which caused a number of problems: strictly regulated seed fund and the provision of technology and draft-cattle for ploughing made it impossible to get individual farms.

From the very first days of their arrival in Kazakhstan, the food supply was the main problem. Their own supplies were already exhausted by the long journey to their destinations, and because of failures in the travel arrangements, hot meals were not served regularly at stations. There were constant problems with water supply, particularly when trains passed through the regions of Kazakhstan. Poor water quality and insanitary conditions led to outbreaks of infectious diseases in many groups, which mainly affected children. According to incomplete data on the 151st group, which transported citizens of the former Volga German Republic to the east, 129 people died, the vast majority children who died from dysentery and other infectious diseases.³⁵

Material on epidemic disease in Pavlodar region mention the possibility of preventing septic angina, a disease caused by eating grain from overwintered ears. Collective and state farms were unable to remove all the wheat from the fields in autumn. Deportees and residents were threatened with execution for collecting fallen grains and ears during wartime, as this was considered as violation of socialist property. Grains that remained under the snow would partially freeze, sprout and become unfit for

³⁴ Khasanayev 1997, p. 30.

³⁵ Herman 1998, p. 4.

consumption. With the arrival of spring deportees consumed the wheat, which would then cause poisoning and inflammation of the larynx. This disease was lethal.³⁶

One of the most difficult pages of this period is the fate of children who were left without parental care. Chairman Koychubaev of the executive committee of the regional council of the NKVD of Pavlodar region of Kazakh SSR received a report on 10 December 1943 on the territory of Lazouski's regional branch, where a large number of minors were left without their parents after the Germans were mobilised into labour brigades. 108 minors were left without parents on the collective farm *13-aya godovshina*, 37 on the collective farm *Proletariat*, 30 on the collective farm *Amangeldy*, 22 on the collective farm *Krasnoarmeyka* and 47 on the collective farm *Fortschritt*. The report also noted that those children were severely neglected and abused by the collective farm chairmen and district leaders; most of them were stripped, barefoot and left without any supervision. And it was also reported that some collective farms neglected the food supply; in most cases children were provided with unmilled grain instead of flour, which then led to 15 cases of typhus registered among German children in the collective farm *Amangeldy*.³⁷

In May 1945, 3.5 tons of desperately-needed food aid was ordered for the German deportees in the Galkinskii area, of which 2 tons were spent diverted by the district council.³⁸

The Central Committee of CP (B) of Kazakhstan knew about this situation. Resolution no. 276-51c. 26/04/45 *On the shortcomings in the economic apparatus of the deportees settled in the Kazakh SSR* of the People's Commissars and the Central Committee of CP (B) of Kazakhstan SNC and CCCP(b)K, stamped as "Top Secret," "special file," prohibited spending funds allocated for deportees to any other purposes. Squandering continued however, in some cases openly, and sometimes following direct orders from the leaders of regional and national organisations and commissariats.³⁹ "In *Krasnaya Niva* collective farm 30 people were considered exhausted and bloated by famine, and five people have died from malnutrition." "In order to avoid starving to death people were forced to eat the corpses of dead animals, cats, dogs, etc."⁴⁰ During the first period of deportation, the deportees solved the issues of food mostly by themselves. Most survived primarily by

³⁶ Tokhmetova 2010b, p. 120-130.

³⁷ SAPR, fund 646, register 1, file 245, p. 24.

³⁸ Ibid., file 351, p. 143.

³⁹ SAPR, fund 646, register 1, file 351, p. 59.

⁴⁰ Ibid., file 412, p. 350.

their own work and labour, and with the help of local residents.

A special report provided by the Office of the NCIA of the Pavlodar region on 12 April 1943 mentioned starvation in Kaganovicheskoy area.

Cases of mortality from malnutrition were registered among German immigrant families in the area, for example:

“[...] at the end of March, 4 people died of starvation, namely Gebert Gorna, Wiebe Zara Petrovna, and Wiebe Elena Yakovlena. Wiebe Peter Yakovlevich, who left the house to look for food at the beginning of April, is still missing and has not yet returned home.

In the collective farm named *Kzyl-Zhar*, the Germans Martynets Elena Ivanovna - 43 years old, Martynets Anganita - 73 years old, Martynets Ekaterina Petrovna, Genya Karolina Danilovna - 51 years old, etc. bloated because of starvation and are close to death.

Local residents Dubrovskaya Dar'ya Vasil'evna - 36 years old, and her 9-year-old son are in the same condition. Three citizens with two young children bloated from starvation on the Potinskii state farm.”⁴¹

Unfortunately, the situation was not satisfactory everywhere. Special messages classified as “Top Secret” from 20 March 1947 issued by Bayan-Aul District Council state that: “all deportees will be alive, they will be fed by indigenous farmers.”⁴²

Living conditions during the Second World War were extremely difficult. Although the region of Pavlodar was far from the front line, echoes of the war were felt even here. This was expressed not only in the loss of family members, but also in the absence of the most basic things: food, clothing and fuel for heating. Our research inclines us to conclude that although the local authorities were confronted with objective and subjective difficulties, they made attempts to solve the problems of supply. These issues demanded close attention from the state and local party agencies, as this supply determined how the deportees lived.

All of the above confirms that people subjected to deportation were on the brink of physical and spiritual destruction as a nation during the period of 1941-1945, which also was an extremely difficult period for the whole country.

Under conditions of stress caused by the forced mass migration of nationalities labelled as “unreliable,” under enormous pressure from the repressive policies of the totalitarian regime and its rabid propaganda, deportees who arrived in Kazakhstan without a livelihood could survive only due to their courage, hard work and moral and material assistance from the Kazakh population. During the deportation, people re-evaluated the

⁴¹ Ibid., fund 646, register 1, file 245, p. 24.

⁴² Ibid., file 469, p. 187.

important things in their lives. Relationships between the local population and the groups of deportees evolved from initial wariness into subsequent compassion, friendship and care. Examples of friendly relationships between expelled persons and residents are confirmed across all the regions of Kazakhstan. Deportees in Kazakhstan were able to find a second home for themselves and their descendants. Not only did they survive, and save their ethnic identities, but they also contributed their labour to the victory over the enemy. Kazakhstan's economy as a whole, and that of the Pavlodar region in particular, grew stronger thanks to their work in the post-war years, and they have taken a worthy place in the community of multinational Kazakhstan.

These facts emphasise the relevance of studying the role and place of the deportees, who created a foundation for the multinational character of Pavlodar region and contributed to the formation of the national economy. The topic is important since through studying it, we can analyse changes in the socio-political, economical and cultural life of nationalities and ethnic groups currently living in Kazakhstan. This paper has made a first attempt to show the reasons for poor living conditions and social services and the lack of flexibility of the banking system in addressing these issues. Objective study of this important issue, of course, will help to achieve the noble goal of strengthening national unity and civil identification of the multiethnic population of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In addition, a retrospective analysis of the political realities of Soviet society under Stalin's regime is crucial, including the problems of deportation, since it is impossible to build new democratic relations without having understood the nature, origins and consequences of this process. In this respect, studying the negative effects of national history and overcoming them is crucial in building the constitutional state.

- There is considerable scope for further research on the topic. Possible topics include:

- Analysis of the healthcare provided to people deported to the Pavlodar region;

- Childcare and schools in Pavlodar region under the regime of special settlements;

- The welfare status of the deportees and the supply of industrial goods;

- The contribution of Volga German labour to the economic development of Pavlodar region during World War II and the post-war period;

- The legal status of the deportees, the moral-psychological state of deported Germans and forms of protest against the genocide;
- The process of liberation of the deportees and problems of their repatriation and rehabilitation.

On the Material and Living Conditions of German Special Settlers during the Deportation (on the Example of Pavlodar Region)

(Abstract)

A tragic page in the history of Russian Germans in the Soviet period is deportation. For decades this topic had been prohibited, with access to archives of documents revealing the truth about deportation only possible with the advent of transparency. However, even today information about the deportations is not complete and study is needed of all regions where the Germans were sent. The objective of this work is to show the living conditions of the deported Volga Germans in Pavlodar region (north-eastern Kazakhstan) during the Second World War. The investigation covers the totalitarian period with its highly ideological control of economy, culture and government.

The study concentrates on Pavlodar region and describes the dynamics of population and peculiarities of intraregional placement of deportees; the poor organisation of the resettlement, for which Kazakhstan was not ready; and the lack of cadre analysis of resettled Germans that led to discrepancy with the needs in specialists. Healthcare, housing, material and social needs were not met; as a result, deportees died or became dispirited, leading to an increase in open and latent protest. Deportees experienced a difficult period of adjustment to their new ethnic and socio-cultural environment. For the first time, the reasons for these issues will be explored. This study uses material from the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, particularly, 708 Fund of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, cases of the “Special Folders”; and decrees of senior party and government authorities. From the archival material classified as “Confidential,” especially valuable was the 646 Fund of the Pavlodar Region Council of People’s Deputies, its Presidium and Executive Committee, which presents documents on socio-economic, demographic and cultural development of the region.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

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- APRK - Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.
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- CSARK - Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan.
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- SAPR - State Archive of Pavlodar Region.
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Keywords: deportation, discrimination, repressions, totalitarianism, German deportees.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskkiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archivesa. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestija Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotechnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolyucii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazahstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'ju "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennuyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologija. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Tradizionnaya kultura	- Tradizionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literaturny	- Voprosi Literaturny. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.