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## SETTLEMENT OF THE GERMAN DIASPORA IN EASTERN KAZAKHSTAN AND THEIR SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

### Abstract

The article deals with the formation of German diasporas in East Kazakhstan in the middle of the twentieth century, their deportation and social situation, demographics, migration movement, and cultural development. Therefore the history of formation and development of diasporas in Kazakhstan is analysed from the point of view of today's requirements. After independence, it only became possible to study the true history of the Germans, among the significant diasporas in Kazakhstan. Also, special attention is paid to the influence of Soviet policy, the living conditions of Germans in special settlements and their contribution to the region's economy. The features of German adaptation to new conditions and the preservation of national identity are revealed. The study emphasizes the importance of studying the history of diasporas for interethnic harmony and understanding historical mistakes.

Although historians have worked on the diasporas in our country, there are almost no studies on the development of the German diasporas in the East Kazakhstan and Semipalatinsk regions.

The study of the reasons for the settlement of this European race in eastern Kazakhstan, their contribution to the development and prosperity of the region from a historical perspective, and an assessment from a new perspective occupies a special place in regional history.

**Keywords:** diaspora, resettlement, demography, deportation, socio-demographic situation, resolution.

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## XX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫНДА НЕМІС ДИАСПОРАСЫН ШЫҒЫС ҚАЗАҚСТАН ОБЛЫСЫНА ҚОНЫСТАНДЫРЫЛУЫ ЖӘНЕ ӘЛЕУМЕТТІК-ДЕМОГРАФИЯЛЫҚ ЖАҒДАЙЫ

Аңдатпа

Мақалада ХХ ғасырдың ортасында Шығыс Қазақстандағы неміс диаспораларының қалыпта-суы, олардың депортацияға ұшырауы және әлеуметтік жағдайы, демографиялық, миграциялық қозғалысы, мәдени дамуы қарастырылған. Сондықтан да Қазақстандағы диаспоралардың қалыптасуы мен даму тарихын, бүгінгі күн талабы тұрғысынан талданған. Қазақстандағы қомақты диаспоралардың қатарына жататын немістердің шынайы тарихын зерттеуге тәуелсіздік алғаннан кейін ғана мүмкіндік болып отыр. Сондай-ақ, кеңестік саясаттың ықпалына, немістердің арнайы қоныстардағы өмір сүру жағдайларына және олардың аймақ экономикасына қосқан үлесіне ерекше назар аударылады. Немістердің жаңа жағдайларға бейімделуінің және ұлттық болмысы-ның сақталуының ерекшеліктері ашылды. Зерттеу этносаралық келісім мен тарихи қателіктерді түсіну үшін диаспоралар тарихын зерттеудің маңыздылығын көрсетеді.

Тарихшы ғалымдардың біздің еліміздегі диаспоралар жөнінде жазылған еңбектері болса да, нақты Шығыс Қазақстан мен Семей өңірлеріндегі неміс диаспораларының даму мәселелері, оның тарихы жөнінде жазылған зерттеулер жоқтың қасы.

Бұл Еуропалық нәсілдің шығыс Қазақстанда қоныстану себептерін, олардың аймақтың дамуы мен өркендеуіне қосқан үлесін тарихи тұрғыдан зерттеу, жаңа тұрғыдан бағалау облыс тарихында ерекше орын алады.

**Кілт сөздер:** Диаспора, қоныстандыру, демография, депортация, әлеуметтік-демографиялық жағдай, резалюция.

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## ПЕРЕСЕЛЕНИЕ НЕМЕЦКОЙ ДИАСПОРЫ В ВОСТОЧНО-КАЗАХСТАНСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ И СОЦИАЛЬНО-ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКАЯ СИТУАЦИЯ В НАЧАЛЕ ХХ ВЕКА

### Аннотация

В статье рассматривается формирование немецких диаспор в Восточном Казахстане в середине ХХ века, их депортация и социальное положение, демографическое, миграционное движение, культурное развитие. Поэтому анализируется история становления и развития диаспор в Казахстане с точки зрения требований сегодняшнего дня. Изучение подлинной истории немцев, относящихся к числу значительных диаспор в Казахстане, стало возможным только после обретения независимости. Также, особое внимание уделяется влиянию советской политики, условиям жизни немцев в спецпоселениях и их вкладу в экономику региона. Раскрываются особенности адаптации немцев к новым условиям и сохранения национальной идентичности. В исследовании подчеркивается важность изучения истории диаспор для межэтнического согласия и понимания исторических ошибок.

Несмотря на то, что у ученых-историков есть труды по диаспорам в нашей стране, практически нет исследований по проблемам развития немецких диаспор в Восточно-Казахстанском и Семейском регионах.

Изучение причин расселения этой европейской расы в Восточном Казахстане, их вклада в развитие и процветание региона с исторической точки зрения и оценка с новой точки зрения занимают особое место в региональной истории.

**Ключевые слова:** диаспора, расселение, демография, депортация, социально-демографическая ситуация, разрешение.

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## **Introduction**

Undoubtedly, an objective study of the white pages of that difficult period that fell to the people of the Soviet Union in the twentieth century will prevent mistakes in the future. Here we have to admit that the science of national history has great potential in the study of current problems of international relations. There have been many cases where the history of individual nations has not been studied or has been written in a distorted form, with constant ideological pressure and a class approach to every issue. The main requirement was to inculcate in the minds of every subsequent generation the idea that the Soviet Union was the "keeper" of many nations.

Today, we strictly adhere to the requirements of historical scholarship and demand to tell the people only the truth. From this point of view, historians still have many unresolved problems. That is why it is important to analyze the history of the formation and development of diasporas in Kazakhstan in terms of the requirements of today. The opportunity to study the true history of the Germans who make up the large diaspora in Kazakhstan appears only after independence. There are works written about the German diasporas. However, although works by historians on the diaspora in our country have been written, there are almost no studies on the development of the German diaspora and its history.

The formation and development of the population of modern multiethnic Kazakhstan are linked to the historical events that took place in the country in different periods. Similarly, the historical trends that took place at the world level in the twentieth century have greatly influenced it. The lands of Kazakhstan, which became a major source of colonization, continued to host representatives of many nationalities displaced for various reasons in the twentieth century.

Although the study of the history of diasporas and the publication of their results were undertaken later, much remains to be explored. The settlement and formation of the German diaspora in eastern Kazakhstan is full of peculiarities. The historical study of the reasons for the settlement of this European race in eastern Kazakhstan, their contribution to the development and prosperity of the region, and their evaluation from a new perspective occupy a special place in the history of the region.

## **Main part**

### **Research methods**

In the course of writing, in accordance with the theoretical and methodological requirements for historical science, we were guided by the changes arising from the modern development of our society. It is known that prior to independence, various works related to the formation and development of diasporas were analyzed from the perspective of the policy pursued by the CPSU. From this point of view, the study was conducted based on recommendations of today's domestic historical science of an objective, systemic, historical-comparative nature.

Archival data, studies, and articles from each period have been analyzed and used extensively from a theoretical and critical perspective. The works written from a new historical point of view have been guided by the scientific ideas of the new trends that have emerged in recent times. The article also used concrete-historical, comparative-historical analysis, summarising and generalizing methods, and logic-statistical methods. The article is written based on the principles of historicity, objectivity, complexity, systematic scientific analysis, and a new approach to the events in question.

Before the campaign of openness and glasnost, the "forcible displacement of peoples" was out of the question. With the democratization of society, the rigid dogmas of historical science were broken and previously closed topics were transformed. All nations had the opportunity to truly explore their

history. Secret documents began to fall into the hands of historians. Scientists got rid of the old stereotypes in research methodology and began to look at known events from a new perspective, which were evaluated according to the former Leninist-Marxist ideological methodology.

### **Literature review**

More than 130 nationalities live in Kazakhstan today. One such diaspora is the Germans. The history of the arrival of Germans in Kazakhstan has a two-century history. The fate of the Germans in Kazakhstan is similar to that of other deported peoples, but full of peculiarities. The small diasporas, for the most part because they went through a lot of hardships, were fluent in the law, and they were eager for art and education. Germans rank fifth among European nations living on the territory of Kazakhstan. Germans settled in Kazakhstan under different historical conditions.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, the foundations of German settlements started to be laid in the Kazakh steppe. This was influenced by the internal migration of Russian Germans. Some German families began to come voluntarily to Siberia and the steppe regions in search of a suitable place to live. No one pressured them on these "trips". [1, 31p]. The Germans were aiming for a beautiful place. The resettled Germans in the Kazakh land can be divided into two groups: poor peasants and wealthy people. Both groups were interested in the cheapness and vastness of the land in the Kazakh steppe. The poor wanted to make a living and the rich wanted to increase their wealth. They came here in order to revitalize their enterprises and make a profit.

If you pay attention to the history of the settlement, the Germans came to Russia in the 18th century. More precisely, in 1763, Catherine the Great permitted the settlement of European peoples on Russian territory. On 23 July of this year, Catherine II issued a manifesto. It states: "We allow all foreigners, except the Jews, to settle in our empire, wherever they wish, in whatever province they wish". This manifesto paved the way for German immigration to Russia. To support the immigrants, they were granted many benefits. For example, the state treasury allocated a lot of money for immigrants for building houses and opening farms. Each family was given 30 dessiatinas of land. No duties or taxes were levied. Wealthy people who wanted to open a factory were allowed to buy serfs. The result was 559 German colonies in Russia, built between 1764 and 1864, i.e. over 100 years. They were located in the following provinces: Taurida province - 161, Kherson province - 48, Bessarabia province - 70, Ekaterinoslav province - 53, Samara province - 131, Saratov province - 59, Volyn province - 2, Novgorod province - 3, Pskov province - 2, Petersburg province - 14. The Chernigov region had 6, Astrakhan 3, Voronezh 1, Podol 1, Kiev 14, Poltava 21 [2, p.201].

The settlement of Germans on Russian lands accelerated in the second half of the last century. At that time, the German imperialists were looking for efficient use of their capital in Russia. In 1880, the Reichstag approved the German government's proposed "Settlement Loan" bill. [2, p. 201]. The migration of Germans to Russia was supported and financially assisted. The question of migration was planned by the German General Staff. As shown above, the Germans settled in the western provinces of Russia, in the vicinity of Russian fortresses and other settlements of strategic importance.

Conditions were created for the people populated by Russia and they were exempted from taxation and military service. Russia's main aim was to develop free land for investors and to speed up the arrival of European civilization on the Russian steppes. The frequency of wars and social instability in Europe caused a rapid migration of the German nation to the Russian steppes. But in the sixties of the 19th century, it became difficult to find free land on the Volga coast.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Germans who had settled in Russia began to settle in Siberia, Kazakhstan, and the countries of Central Asia. They moved to Kazakhstan according to the law "On Temporary Settlement of Peasants" from the 10th of August 1881 and the regulation on the settlement from the 13th of August 1889.

The 'Regulations', issued on 13 May 1889, paved the way for changes in the national composition of the people of Kazakhstan. The government lifted some restrictions on migration. However, the influx of spontaneous arrivals increased more than the officially migrated.

The settlement of the German builders in the area of eastern Kazakhstan was accompanied by the migration tendencies of the Russian peasants. These included demands and laws for Russian peasants.

But the privileges given to the Russian peasants locally were not granted to the Germans. This can be seen from the correspondence of the migration authorities. The reason is that most of the citizens in charge of the migration office were of Russian nationality. Considering that the normal custom of the time was to support or help one's own people, it was natural for representatives of the Russian people to support each other and exclude others.

In 1895, the Russian Ministry of the Interior warned the field governor-general of the increase of German settlements in the Akmola region and instructed him to stop this phenomenon. The instructions wrote that the lands belonging to Germans in Russia were more fertile than those inhabited by Russian peasants and ordered him to ensure that fertile lands in Siberian and steppe areas were not taken over by German nationals [3, p.19].

In 1897 a census was carried out in the Russian Empire. According to the census, 684,590 people lived in the Semey region. Of these, 156,801 people lived in the Semey area, 95,072 in the Zaisan region, 171,655 in the Karkarala region, 157,487 in the Pavlodar region, and 103,575 in the Ustkemen uyezd [4, p.4].

Table 1 - According to the All-Russian Population Census of 1897, the sex and age composition of the Germans of the Semey region [4, p. 70-77].

Districts and cities	Children under age		1-9 age		10-19 age		20-29 age		30-39 age		40-49 age		50-59 age		Above 60	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Semey district	1	1	11	6	12	9	3	3	5	7	4	3	4	1	1	1
Zaisan district	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-
Pavlodar district	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	1	2	-	2	1	0	2	2	-
Ustkemen district	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
Semey city	1	1	5	5	8	5	3	2	3	4	4	2	1	1	1	1

It can be seen from the table that among the Germans in Semipalatinsk, men predominate, and there are many children between the ages of 1 and 19. That is, it can be seen that most of them were family people.

In 1898, the German village of Peremenovskoe was founded in the Semey region. There was a need to resettle representatives of other nationalities in the border regions of Russia to the interior regions. The reason is that Russia aimed at security issues. According to researcher L.V. Malinovsky, there are several reasons for the migration of Russian German settlers to the East [5, p. 19]. Researchers range from the opinion that the purpose of the resettlement was to renew, to the predictions of a "peaceful occupation of Siberia". In some scientific studies, the migration of Germans was connected with Russia's methods of solving agrarian problems, while some scientists preferred to look for reasons for religious conflicts. However, it is necessary to consider the settlement of Germans in the territory of East Kazakhstan from a political and socio-economic point of view.

### Results and Discussion

In a certain order the German diaspora, who had moved to Kazakh land in search of land and longed for freedom, began to arrive. They brought their relatives with them to form a community. Most of them had only working tools.

At the end of the XIX century, the total number of the population of Aleksandrovsky, Babrovsky, Buktyrmy, Vladimir, Narymsky, and Uskemen volosts located in the north of Eastern Kazakhstan made 95,972 people, including 434 Germans [6, 36 p.].

At the beginning of the 20th century, the main part of the personal subsidiary farms of Germans was in the Siberian military district, located in the counties of Akmola and Semey regions and the counties of Tomsk province. These lands were suitable for farming, as well as along the main trade routes and along the railroad connecting the West and East. Here are some of the reasons for the interest

of the Germans in the Kazakh land. On the one hand, the infrastructure of the settlements here was relatively well-developed.

After the establishment of Soviet power in all regions of Kazakhstan the struggle with the kulaks and rich men and Bols escalated. The German diaspora was not spared by this turn. Rich Germans and members of the middle class began to flee abroad. Many are trying to cross the ocean. Listening to various rumors, they dreamed of passing through Moscow to the United States. There were also not a few who left their private farms and went to Moscow. This situation caused concern to the Center. The Central Committee, concerned about the rapid relocation of "alien" diasporas, set special tasks for local organizations.

The message of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party to the regional party committees reads: "Attention to the regional committees of Crimea, Siberia, Lower Volga, Middle Volga, North Caucasus, Kazakhstan and the Caucasus slope. Representatives of the local German diaspora showed their discontent with the Soviet authorities by trying to emigrate. German kulaks and the clergy took advantage of the weakness of Party and Soviet organizations to encourage the middle and poor classes to emigrate from the USSR, urging them to gather in Moscow." The then Secretary of the Central Committee, A. Smirnov, makes several suggestions at the same time. On the basis of these recommendations, on April 12, 1929, the Central Committee issued a decree "On the revival of German settlements economically and culturally." The decree said to stop the movement of German peasants and temporarily stop their confiscation. It also took into account the need to strengthen party work in settlements inhabited by Germans [7, 30]. It is evident from the above data that the measures against the mass resettlement of the Germans were implemented by a strict order.

Local committees tried their best to fulfill the order from above. On November 18, 1929 Semey Fomin, executive secretary of the Central Committee, made the following conclusions in the Semey Regional Committee's resolution "On the situation of German settlements":

1. Shemonaikha, Belagash, Ustkemen district committees to carry out the following measures in German settlements: a) to impoverish Germans; b) to strengthen party work among them; c) to improve the system of cooperative services in German villages.

2. The district committees must save the poor and bourgeois Germans from the influence of the rich, and the party organizations must dispel the intention of mass migration of Germans. In solving this problem it must be taken into account that the majority of the population of German villages consists of members of the lower class. Therefore, the influence of the kulaks, who swell them, must be destroyed.

3. District committees are obliged to check those indifferent to the class point of view (those who tried to move).

4. Send to these districts two citizens who know German well, who should promote party activity among the population.

5. The district committees should report to the obkom on the implementation of the decree in a month [8, p. 32]

The decree, passed on November 18, 1929, was sent out to the districts and immediately began to be implemented. Local party organizations, strictly following the order, exaggerated and attacked the German settlements.

The local authorities of each region informed the higher authorities on a monthly basis about the condition and life of the Germans. The Secretariat of the Kazraikom issued another decree on November 21, 1929. From this decree, we can see how much stronger was the control of the Germans. The main directions of the resolution are as follows. First of all, it concerns the appointment of a responsible party member who would determine the political and social situation in the German villages, as well as revive the local party work and lead the satisfaction of the social and cultural needs of the Germans. This was followed by such matters as the recruitment of German-speaking citizens for leading positions in Party and Komsomol organizations, the strengthening of political propaganda, the awarding of German nationality representatives in red corners, the allocation of a special staff to Germans from within the Party to involve them in Party work, mass publications in German-language publications covering Party work [8, pp. 31]. The adopted resolutions focused on creating conditions

for the settlement of representatives of German nationality in Kazakhstan and their full participation in Party work. The implementation of these resolutions took several years. The local executive committees reported in detail on the work done and reported annually to the top. In a copy of the minutes of the closed meeting of the Kazraykom Bureau, which was held on February 25, 1930, there was a negative assessment that the measures taken in all the districts were unsatisfactory. In the Semey, Akmola, Aktyubinsk, Pavlodar, Petropavlovsk, and Ural regions warnings were issued in connection with the slow implementation of economic and cultural measures in the German settlements and inattention to the complete cessation of the emigration process. Warning, the Central Committee makes several amendments to the planned activities of the regions. These were tasks such as the re-election in March-April, the translation of official documents into German, and the urgent opening of seven-year German schools. Warned that these orders must be carried out immediately and reported to [8, p. 46].

The Soviet authorities noticed that the German settlements easily endured the hardships of post-revolutionary life and rapidly developed their economy. The authorities felt that it was necessary not to lose such a flexible and industrious nation. However, the large number of Mennonites among the Germans in the Semipalatinsk region strained relations between the Soviet authorities and them. Their religious activities could not reconcile with the Soviet policy. According to the report for January 1, 1928, there were 408 Mennonite communities in the Semey region [9, p. 97].

At that time, no one studied or paid attention to the fact that the spiritual roots of dexterity, industriousness, and thoroughness in doing any work for the German nation lay in their religious faith. The early establishment of capitalism in Germany was also influenced by concepts such as honest work and duty to God in the Protestant faith. The Germans' strong commitment to the work ethic was reinforced by their religious beliefs [9, p. 125].

According to the 1926 All-Union census, we see that Germans were more concentrated in the above-mentioned areas. There were no Germans in the areas where Kazakhs lived compactly. For example, there were no Germans in the districts of Ayakoz, Urzhar, Zharma, Makanshi, Aksuat until the eve of World War II. The census of 1926 shows the following data: there were 12 Germans in Semipalatinsk province, Polovinskaya zayem, Tavricheskaya - 5, Kalininskaya - 17. And in the Proletarian part of Ust-Kamenogorsk we see a cluster of Germans [10, p. 58]. According to the census, there are 133 people in the village of Gerasimovka, including 95 Germans. There were also 49 Germans living in the Poperechenskaya Sloboda [10, p. 59]. The number of Germans in Burassky district is 18 [11, p. 49].

Table 2 - Number of Germans living in Buras district in 1926 [11, p.49].

Village name	Number of Germans
Grachevsky village council	2
Bolshe-Vladimirovsky village council	2
Malo-Vladimirovsky rural council	4
Semenovsky Village Council	4
Komonersky Village Council	3
Sosnovsky village council	3

The table above shows that the proportion of Germans in the local population was very low. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were few Germans in the area of eastern Kazakhstan.

In 1928, 40 German village councils were established in Kazakhstan by the decision of the Central Committee. The number of such village councils in the Semey region reached 9 [12, p. 57].

The resettlement of Germans in the territory of Eastern Kazakhstan continued even after the formation of the Soviet Union. In 1929, a German citizen Leon Meinig wrote a letter in which he expressed his desire to move to Semipalatinsk. On August 12 of this year, the editorial board of the Batrak newspaper will write a reply to Leon Meinig. It states that labor immigration is allowed under the laws of the RSFSR, and benefits are given to immigrants for the purpose of agricultural development [12, p. 63]. On December 6, 1929, the District Settlement Office explained the resettlement laws and sent this person a reply [13, p. 21]. From this it can be understood that there were

those among the German citizens who wanted to resettle in the territory of Eastern Kazakhstan even after the establishment of Soviet power.

The forced resettlement of Germans in Kazakhstan began in the 1930s. At that time the persecution of kulaks began in Russia. Rich Germans were deported among them.

On March 31, 1931, Andreev, the 3rd People's Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the USSR, held a joint meeting with the OGPU (United State Political Department). The meeting discussed the resettlement of kulaks in Yakutia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia. The minutes said that Goloshchekin determined that he could be stationed in the Akmola and Karkarala regions of Kazakhstan, and chose these places as suitable for this purpose. At the end of the protocol, instructions were given to relocate 100 German farms from the Leningrad Region [14, pp. 7-8]. They were often sent to the camps for menial work.

On the eve of the war, there were several German villages in East Kazakhstan. Systematic farming in German settlements brought a certain income to the state [15, p. 47]. If we turn to the data of that time, the economic indicators of German villages were high. For example, in 1940 in the German village of Natzmann, located in the Ulan district, 66 households were sown with grain crops on 790 hectares. In autumn, 8 quintals were harvested from 1 hectare. In the Kalinin collective farm, located near this settlement, 89 homesteads cultivated 1,328 hectares of land and received 7 quintals of grain per hectare. The collective farm raised not only horses and cattle, but also 15 camels [16, p. 2]. The Germans quickly adapted to the economic system of the local population. For example, 348 in Ivanovka [17, p. 3], 226 in Landman, 348 in Nais-Leon, 358 in Nier-Anfong, 272 in Morgen-Rotte, 395 in Roth-Arbeiter, 578 in the "Way to Communism" settlement were engaged in productive agricultural work [18, p. 101]. They not only sowed crops, but also kept cattle. The Germans kept cattle only for their daily sustenance. Like the locals, they did not increase their livestock or become dependent on cattle.

At the beginning of 1941 14 districts of East Kazakhstan region were prepared to receive natives of internal areas of Russia. According to the plan the Bolshe-Narymsky district 320, Buktyrsky district 225, Ulbinsky district 100, Zyryansky district 430, Zaisansky district 350, Katonkaragaysky district 300, Kurchimsky district 250, Markakolsky district 400, Predgornensky district 150, Samarsky district 200, Taurinsky district 180, Tarbagatai district 225, Ulansky district 100, Shemonaikha district 300 people had to be moved [19, p.104].

In the spring of 1941, the leaders of the USSR saw that hostilities were approaching the border. Therefore, the higher authorities urgently began to make additions to the rules and instructions on camps and special settlements. In May 1941 L. Beria, People's Commissar of State Security of the NKVD of the USSR approved "Regulations on the Service of urgent notification of deportees to labor camps and special settlements of the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) of the USSR. On April 11, 1940, the order 00444 was issued. It approved a number of tasks on strengthening security in the special settlements, increasing penalties for those who escaped from the settlements, liquidation actions against the Soviet government, sending monthly reports on the situation in the special settlements of the republics, and increasing the responsibility of employees [20, pp. 7-13]. In three months the diasporas of some nationalities were to be relocated. And these changes and additions to the rules had to be strictly monitored.

These requirements and the monthly certificates that had to be sent began to burden local government representatives in remote areas. Their reports did not correspond to the real situation, and conflicts arose. The local NKVD organs evaded responsibility and began to avoid reporting on their regions. Reporting on the special settlers and prisoners in the camps in Kazakhstan was not fully implemented [20, p. 41].

On the eve of the war, the political pressure on the exiles increased day by day. NKVD departments were speeding up punishment for various reasons. Before the war, the number of Germans in black labor camps in the USSR was 7,067 [20, p. 184]. Now their ranks were joined by Germans exiled along the Volga.



In 1941, the number of Germans in East Kazakhstan increased sharply. Compared to the 1939 census, it increased eightfold and reached 28,000 people. At the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 the number of Germans in East Kazakhstan reached 32 thousand people [21, p.130].

In July 1941, V. M. Molotov and L. P. Beria visited the German autonomy of the Volga region. Soon after, on August, 28th, 1941 the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "About the resettlement of the Germans, living in the Volga (Povolzhskiy) region" was issued [22, p. 114].

Since the fall of that year, the Soviet organizations of Kazakhstan began organizing the placement of Germans. Apart from them, due to the continuous arrival in Kazakhstan of peoples urgently resettled from the war zone, a number of difficulties arose in the reception of Germans.

On 16 October 1941 a decree "On the removal of representatives of German nationality (including communists and Komsomol members) from leadership positions in Party and Soviet institutions in the regional cities of the Republic which were under martial law" came into force in Kazakhstan. [22, p. 116].

Another "wave" of Germans arrived in Kazakhstan in the fall of 1941. 438,280 Germans were deported to the regions of Kazakhstan. Most of the Germans in Russia were concentrated in the German Autonomous Republic along the Volga River. In 1941 almost all the Germans of the Volga region were forcibly relocated to Kazakhstan and Siberia. 29 thousand people were sent to the Altai region, 59 thousand to Ombi, 8.1 thousand to Novosibirsk, 19 thousand to Orinbor, and 92 thousand Germans to Kazakhstan. Not only Volga Germans, but also Germans from Saratov, Stalingrad, Moscow, Tula, Rostov-on-Don, Kuibyshev, Ordzhonokidze, Krasnodar, Zaporozh, Voroshilovgrad, Stalinsk, Kabardino-Balkaria, North Ossetia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia were massively resettled to Kazakhstan. Germans from Zaporizhzhya, Voroshilovgrad and Stalin regions of Ukraine were settled in the Semipalatinsk and Eastern Kazakhstan regions [23, pp. 39-43].

Although there was no close connection between the Germans of the USSR and Germany, the supreme power was afraid of them and tried to relocate all "alien" peoples in the areas bordering Europe to Central Asia. On August 28, 1941 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a resolution "On the resettlement of Germans living along the Volga". Since then the number of Germans in Kazakhstan began to increase. The Kazakh steppe became the center of settlement of the deported peoples. Every fourth German was exiled to Kazakhstan [24, p.262].

In 1941, 35,000 Germans were resettled to the territory of eastern Kazakhstan. The delivery of Germans to Central Asia was carried out by the Turkestan-Siberian and Tomsk railroad. From them, it was planned to move 18 thousand people to the Semipalatinsk region, and 17 thousand people to the East Kazakhstan region. About 350-400 thousand Germans were deported to different regions of Kazakhstan [25,50]. A lot of data about the resettled Germans during this period has been preserved in the Center of Documents of the Modern History of the East Kazakhstan Oblast.

In each district of the region from 500 to 5400 people were resettled instead of settling in one district. They were resettled mainly not in the areas where Kazakhs lived, but in the areas where Russian and Ukrainian nationalities were concentrated. The Germans were mainly divided into 12 districts of our region. However, Kazakhstan at that time was not ready to accept the special resettlers [25,52].

In 1941 along the Volga (Volga region) it was planned to relocate 374,225 people. It was impossible to transport everything in one day. On September 3 11 echelons were prepared, and in 10 of them 5,265 families, i.e. 23,607 people were placed. One echelon would not pass sanitation on time and would be late. It left for Kazakhstan a day late, on September 4 [p. 23, 71].

Their transfer was organized in an ironclad fashion. But there were shortcomings as well. The fact that the Germans en route were not given food upon arrival at the Uralskaya station testified to gaps in the organization [23, p.71]. Three echelons of people were starving. On August 8, 1941, NKVD deputy of the Kazakh SSR Bogdanov reported to Moscow that the local authorities were ready to accept special resettlers [23, p.84]. The real situation was hidden in the report. It follows from the document that train No. 725, which left for Semipalatinsk via Almaty on August 13 of this year, was not provided

with food. The case allocation of 32,000 soms from the budget to the Germans was delayed and they were repeatedly exposed [23, p.91].

The general conclusion arising from these data is that the state was not ready to accept specially displaced persons and organize their lives. The lack of food was added to the housing problem, and the situation of the Germans deteriorated. The construction of houses for them was not considered in previous years. Therefore it can be said that the Germans came to a barren land. At first the Germans settled in empty public buildings and abandoned houses that were about to collapse. Even those who could not fit in were given the support of the local population.

Employment for immigrants also became one of the difficult issues. For Germans, getting a job was tantamount to avoiding starvation. This is because in those days food was given as an income to the person who worked. Germans were also considered cheap labor, doing hard work on the home front. Most of the specially resettled Germans were skilled professionals. Among them could be found agronomists, zootechnicians, accountants, turners, engineers, and mechanics. There were quite a few teachers, doctors, and economists with higher education. About 12,000-14,000 resettled Germans were deemed fit for work. As of October 1941, the number of able-bodied in Kirov district was 959 people, in the Samara district - 1,251 people, in Buktyrma district - 442 people, in the Shemonaikha district - 1,058 people, in the Kurchum district - 913 people, in Ziryan district - 879 people, in Bolshenarym district - 1040 people [25, p.83]. The local authorities had to urgently involve specially displaced people in production and agriculture.

On October 9, 1942, Semipalatinsk District Bureau of the CPSU issued a decree on the mobilization of German settlements into work columns. All Germans evacuated from the North Caucasus, Belarus, and Ukraine, as well as those who arrived before the war, were mobilized to work in the rear. They were built for all the work. Women and men aged 15 to 55 were massively employed in the coal and oil companies [27, p.11]. Only pregnant women and women with children under 3 years old were exempted. Children over the age of 3 remained in the care of relatives or the collective.

Labor mobilization in the Semipalatinsk region was entrusted to the head of the regional NKVD department Plodova and the regional military commissar Meshkina. They organized points for recruiting workers in Belagashsky, Novo-Shulbinsky, Borodulikhinsky, Zhana-Semeyinsky, Abyralinsky, Abaysky, Kokpectinsky, Aksuatsky, Zharminsky, Sharsky, Georgiyevsky, Ayakozsky, Shubartausky, Urzharsky regions, where German settlements were located. It was determined up to the last points where the labor detachments were unloaded [27, p. 11].

For example, 51 thousand soms were allocated to the collective farm "New Life" of Urzhar district, 47 thousand soms to the collective farm of Molotov, 22 thousand soms to the village of Eltai and 22.5 thousand soms to the village of Kyzyl Birzhan. The funds were used to provide housing for the special resettlers. In addition, construction materials were distributed. Here and there we notice that construction equipment was not used for its intended purpose. There is information in the archives about the looting of 111 cubic meters of construction timber allocated to the Shar District [28, p. 231].

In the years after the war the life of the local population never recovered from the consequences of the war. Local residents also suffered from poverty. Therefore, the financial aid allocated to the special settlers was in some cases distributed to the local population as well. In 1945, Chairman of the Kokpek District Council Larin was reprimanded by the Committee of the Regional Executive Committee for distributing to the local population 8.9 tonnes of flour and 3.9 tonnes of grain from the fund of special resettlers [28, p. 232]. The local population was dissatisfied with the assistance rendered to the special resettlers. Considering them "settlers", they did not understand the reason for the assistance provided separately to them and protested against the local authorities. The chairmen of the village council, who were sympathetic to the poor local population, handed out foodstuffs specifically allocated to the displaced. When such cases became known, the chairmen of the village councils were reprimanded and some were even fired.

Between 1944 and 1946 in the Semipalatinsk region 5,000 pairs of felt boots, 1,782 pairs of boots, 3,640 kurdeks, 150 fur coats, 7,500 meters of fabric were distributed among people specially resettled from the North Caucasus who were in great need of clothing. Basically, each person was to be given 2.5 meters of cloth [28, p. 232].

For the May 1 holiday, 49 meters of fabric intended for distribution in Urzhar district were used, and 18 pieces of costumes for special settlers of Ayakoz district were given to lucky reindeer herders [28, p.233]. It is clear that the leaders wanted some of the allocated items to be given to the local population. They wanted to help citizens who honestly served the country.

Here it should be noted that the social situation of the local population was lower than that of the special settlers. They, too, were barely making any money for food and were helping the collective farm for free. However, the local leaders, who saw with their own eyes the people who worked on the home front during the war and earned only bread, were afraid of the nationalities who came from outside and were considered "unreliable" by the government. State aid specifically intended for them was not liked even by the local leaders. Therefore, there were times when these items were preferred to be shared with the local population. Although there were occasions when the aid allocated to the special settlers was distributed to the local population, it cannot be said that it was distributed in its entirety.

The situation of the Germans displaced to the countryside was created differently than that of the people settled in the cities. In summer they grew their own garden and provided themselves with food for the winter. Also the situation of the Germans brought to the urban areas for production was difficult. The living conditions of 53 families working at the Semipalatinsk meat plant were difficult. They were housed in old, dilapidated dormitories. Several rooms with doors that could not be closed were cold. You can't keep warm by lighting a fire in the dormitories. Families brought to the fur factory in Semipalatinsk were also housed in special camps. The windows and doors of the barracks were unfinished. The economic capacity of the factory was insufficient to provide conditions for these workers. Over time they were transferred to other farms [29, p.27], as they lived in poor conditions. The Germans lived on very low wages. When the monthly payment was not given on time, there was not enough food, and they starved.

The plan to eliminate illiteracy among the settlers was not implemented. Among the 393 adult residents of the Ulan district, three had higher education, and eight had only secondary education. 195 people completed only primary school and 166 could not write [30, 50].

On the whole the life of the Germans in the Kurchim district was not bad. Almost everyone was provided with housing. They had cattle. The locals were amazed at the industriousness of the Germans. From a small piece of land in the yard, a lot of crops were harvested every year. The Germans, who used the small land rationally, began to improve their lives.

The war had shaped the image of the Germans as the "sworn enemy" in the minds of the local population. That is why there were fewer Germans in the CPSU and Komsomol than Chechens. But because of the level of literacy, many Germans were involved in political affairs and the dissemination of information.

In the East Kazakhstan Oblast, the Shemanyhinski district was in first place for the concentration of Germans. According to the report, 5,291 specially displaced citizens were registered in the district. Among them were 3,487 Germans, 1,804 чеченца [31, p. 50]. All the settlers were provided with work, except the elderly or people with poor health. Most of them worked on collective and private farms, machine and tractor stations.

As diaspora migration became more frequent, the local authorities tried to regulate this process. The granting of freedom to diasporas by the CPSU Central Committee was accompanied by such things as appreciation and encouragement of the work of advanced representatives of other nationalities, awarding them various medals and orders. In addition, actions such as permanent employment and the issuing of permanent documents were carried out.

L.A. Burghart in his work "German population of East Kazakhstan in 1941-1956" wrote: "Local population regarded Germans as "enemies" or "fascists". There are several reasons why the local population felt this way. The image of Germany as "the enemy" has been firmly entrenched in the public consciousness since World War I. The welfare of the local population was also poor during the war. There were times when grieving families took black paper and expressed their anger. But no matter how much one may say, the generosity of the Kazakh people and other Kazakhs helped the German diaspora to take root on Kazakh soil.

The hardest period for Germans in the Soviet Union was between 1941 and 1955. During this time the control of the specially deported Germans was maximised. Their actions were monitored by local police officers. It was forbidden to go out into other areas without permission. Those who left on their own were persecuted as fugitives. Discrimination between 'fascists' and 'Germans' became widespread among the people" [26, 125]. [26, c.125]. In 1954, by decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, a decree was issued and legally approved, which fundamentally changed the attitude towards the Germans.

### **Conclusion**

Thus, when studying the process of settlement of German nationality in the territory of East Kazakhstan, we can see that their intensive settlement in the territory of East Kazakhstan and the impact on their fate of changes caused by various political conditions were associated with a very difficult twentieth century.

In general, the formation of German diasporas in our region has many features. It is a historical fact that the first period of settlement of the German nation was voluntary. It was born out of a policy of rapid settlement of new territories (which Russia annexed to itself) by new residents. Certain concessions were made in the resettlement of new places. In order to develop Siberia the tsarist government relocated Germans to Western Siberia and neighboring Kazakhstan in order to develop agriculture. The first arrival of representatives of German nationality in the territory of eastern Kazakhstan is directly connected with this.

When studying the history of the formation of German diasporas in the twentieth century, one cannot ignore the conditions of the late nineteenth century. In the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the foundations of German Diaspora in Kazakhstan were laid. Therefore the specified chronological period should be considered the beginning of the formation of the German diaspora in East Kazakhstan.

At the beginning of the 20th century German settlements in the region were socially developing. One of their characteristics was that they were able to communicate with each other, preserve their national traditions, and run their farms in peaceful conditions. And with the 20s of the 20th century the situation changed dramatically. The Soviet authorities began to directly interfere in the traditional life of the peaceful German population, with the result that the path of sustainable development was interrupted. The crisis of the traditional economy of the German colonists came in the 1930s, during the period of collectivization. They, too, suffered hardships like all other nations.

During this period, they lost their traditional culture and language, as did the Kazakhs. But the experiments carried out could not destroy the legendary purity and incorruptibility of the Germans.

For the implementation of the large socialist construction in Kazakhstan the necessary specialists and manpower were replenished by the natives of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and the Baltic republics. On the other hand, insufficient attention was paid to the employment of the local population. This was manifested as assistance to Kazakhstan by the peoples of the Union republics and was appreciated as such. The process of migration of peoples within the USSR, both as a whole and individually, mixed representatives of different nationalities and nations with each other. The German diasporas made a great contribution to the socio-economic and cultural development of East Kazakhstan. Germans were directly involved in the development of agriculture in East Kazakhstan. Among them there were many veterans of labor who achieved great results.

The kindness of the Kazakhs helped the representatives of German nationalities to remain in the territory of Kazakhstan as a diaspora. They always say that they showed great brotherhood to the Germans who settled in Kazakh auls, that they shared what they had.

At the end of the 19th and 20th centuries, seven censuses were conducted in Kazakhstan. The census of population in Eastern Kazakhstan resulted in one of the leading nationalities-Germans. In 1897 there were 100 of them, in 1926 - 9055, in 1959 - 65 748, in 1970 - 69136, in 1979 - 65610, in 1989 - 66 879, by results of census of 1999 they comprised over 32 000 people.

In short, the formation and development of the German diasporas is closely linked to the period under study. It is a historical fact that the Germans were subjected to violence and persecution.

The contribution of the German diaspora to the economy of our country is enormous. They were among the first to lay the foundations for small and medium-sized businesses.

Studying the history of the historically established German diasporas in Kazakhstan, knowing their work for our country by future generations, inspires respect for them and opens the way to inter-ethnic and inter-state peace. It is therefore advisable to study the history of the German nationalities who have called Kazakhstan a country for many years, brought up offspring and benefited our society.

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