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FORCED RESETTLEMENT AND ADAPTATION OF SOVIET GERMANS IN KAZAKHSTAN: DEPORTATION, LABOR MOBILIZATION AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The article examines the ways of violent resettlements and adaptation of Soviet Germans in Kazakhstan during the twentieth century as one of the key episodes of Soviet nationalities policy realization. However, research on Stalinist governance highlights relationship between state control and economic development and repression. *Goals and objectives* of the study are to analyze the political, economic, and social mechanisms of resettlements, including deportation; reveal the latter's dual purpose as both punishment and mobilization; and trace how Germans found the paths to integrate into Kazakhstan's life. *Results.* The study uses historical-comparative and hermeneutic methods to study archival materials and government decrees and memoirs. Theoretical frameworks by R. Brubaker and N. De Genova are employed to interpret the hierarchy of Soviet citizenship and the “economy of deportability”. The research demonstrates that deportation served to fulfill two main goals which included both suppressing the population and helping to recruit workers for wartime labor and rebuild the country after the war. *Conclusion.* The Germans showed excellent adaptability through their ability to create united communities which earned them recognition as important contributors to Kazakhstan's growth. The Soviet Germans demonstrate how shared traumatic experiences develop into survival strength while Kazakhstan built its multicultural identity.

Keywords: German, deportation, Soviet Kazakhstan, forced migration, adaptation, Soviet nationality policy, collective memory

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ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ КЕҢЕС НЕМІСТЕРІНІҢ КУШТЕП ҚОНЫС АУДАРЫЛУЫ МЕН БЕЙІМДЕЛУІ: ДЕПОРТАЦИЯ, ЕҢБЕК МОБИЛИЗАЦИЯСЫ ЖӘНЕ ҰЖЫМДЫҚ ЖАДЫ

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Аңдатпа. *Kіріспе.* Мақалада XX ғасырда Кеңес Одағындағы немістердің Қазақстанға жер аударылуы мен олардың бейімделу тәжірибесі қарастырылады. Бұл тақырып кеңестік ұлт саясаты мен мәжбүрлі көші-қонның өзара байланысын түсіну тұрғысынан өзекті болып табылады. Зерттеудің негізгі мақсаты – жер аудару саясатының саяси, экономикалық және әлеуметтік тетіктерін талдау; оның жазалау және экономикалық жұмылдыру құралы ретіндегі екіжақты сипатын ашу; сондай-ақ жер аударылған немістердің Қазақстанның өнеркәсіптік, ауылшаруашылық және мәдени өміріне интеграциялану үрдісін көрсету. *Әдістер.* Зерттеу тарихи-салыстырмалы және герменевтикалық әдістерге негізделген, архивтік деректер, үкімет қаулылары мен естеліктер қолданылды. *Нәтижелер.* Р. Брубейкер мен Н. Де Генова теориялары кеңестік азаматтық иерархиясы мен «депортация экономикасын» түсіндіру үшін пайдаланылды. Талдау нәтижелері депортацияның тек репрессиялық емес, сонымен бірге соғыс және соғыстан кейінгі кезеңдегі еңбек жұмылдырудың маңызды тетігі болғанын көрсетеді. Қиындықтарға қарамастан, неміс қауымдастығы жоғары бейімделгіштік пен бірлікті сақтап, Қазақстан дамуының ажырамас бөлігіне айналды. *Қорытынды.* Кеңес немістерінің тәжірибесі ұжымдық жаракаттың төзімділікке айналатынын және Қазақстанның көпэтносты бірегейлігі ортақ тарихи сынақтар мен өзара көмектің негізінде қалыптасқанын дәлелдейді.

Түйінді сөздер: Немістер, депортация, кеңес Қазақстан, мәжбүрлі көші-қон, бейімделу, КСРО-ның ұлт саясаты, ұжымдық жады

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НАСИЛЬСТВЕННОЕ ПЕРЕСЕЛЕНИЕ И АДАПТАЦИЯ СОВЕТСКИХ НЕМЦЕВ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ: ДЕПОРТАЦИЯ, ТРУДОВАЯ МОБИЛИЗАЦИЯ И КОЛЛЕКТИВНАЯ ПАМЯТЬ

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В статье рассматриваются формы насильственных переселений и процессы адаптации советских немцев в Казахстане в XX веке как один из ключевых эпизодов реализации советской национальной политики. Исследования сталинской модели управления подчеркивают взаимосвязь между государственным контролем, экономическим развитием и репрессивными практиками, что позволяет рассматривать депортации как элемент системы социально-политического регулирования. *Цель и задачи исследования* – проанализировать политические, экономические и социальные механизмы переселений, включая депортацию; выявить их двойную функцию — наказания и мобилизации; а также проследить пути интеграции немецкого населения в казахстанское общество. *Результаты.* Методологическую основу составляют историко-сравнительный и герменевтический методы, использованные при изучении архивных источников, правительственных постановлений и мемуаров. Концепции Р. Брубейкера и Н. Де Дженовы применяются для анализа иерархии советского гражданства и концепта «экономики депортируемости». Результаты показывают, что депортация сочетала функции репрессий и трудовой мобилизации. *Заключение.* Советские немцы проявили высокую адаптивность, формируя сплочённые общины и внося значительный вклад в развитие Казахстана и становление его мультикультурной идентичности.

Ключевые слова: Немцы, депортация, советский Казахстан, принудительная миграция, адаптация, национальная политика СССР, коллективная память

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Introduction

The Soviet forced relocation of ethnic Germans to Kazakhstan during World War II revealed some acute episodes of Soviet history. The event exposed Stalinist brutality during state-controlled forced population resettlements which served as the primary instrument for development and economic growth. The Soviet German population in Kazakhstan serves as a striking example to analyze how political systems together with work environments influenced personal identity development throughout the twentieth century.

The mass deportations of 1941–1942 were officially justified by the Soviet leadership as preventive security measures of wartime. State’s government used these forced internal migrations as part of a larger system which redistributed labor resources throughout the country. More than 1.2 million ethnic Germans were displaced from the Volga region, Ukraine, and other territories; over 400,000 were resettled in Kazakhstan. These population movements transformed the republic into a multi-ethnic society by creating a new socio-economic environment through the deportation of various groups.

Historians have studied German deportations since the 1990s but previous research focused mainly on administrative details and statistics leaving social and cultural aspects of the problem understudied. Now scholarship focuses on deportation as a complex system which allows people to adapt while they create memories and transform their identities during Soviet modernization.

The German experience in Kazakhstan stands as a unique historical event. The republic became one of the largest destinations for deported populations and one of the few regions where their

descendants still constitute a significant minority. The German integration process in Kazakhstan differs because local Kazakh communities showed hospitality and shared difficulties which reduced traumatic effects of exile. The interethnic relationship demonstrates how forced living together developed into successful collaboration of different groups.

Zemskov (1990) and Volkova (2004) and Erofeeva (1999) and Belger (2005) have previously studied the deportation timeline and special-settlement system characteristics within the framework of traditional history. Western scholars Pohl (1999) and diaspora researchers Mertens (2013) and Sanders (2018) studied deportation as part of migration systems by using comparative research methods. These works studied Kazakhstan through an independent analytical framework yet they mostly viewed it as a peripheral location.

Brubaker (1992), Martin (2001) and De Genova (2010) research on forced migration and totalitarian governance established theoretical models to analyze citizenship and exclusion and the “economy of deportability.” Yet their application to Soviet Central Asia remains limited. We can state that current scholarship recognizes deportation as a state control mechanism and as a state-led process of social transformation and modernization.

The Central State Archive and the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan store important empirical evidence through their collection of government decrees and NKVD correspondence and reports about German population relocation and work activities. The documents show the human side of forced migration through personal stories about survival methods and adaptation techniques and dignity recovery processes. During 1990 and especially in early 2000s were published collections of the archival materials devoted to the problems of deportations, ways of its realization in Kazakhstan and also republican authorities’ measures to solve deportees’ troubles and problems. (From the history of Germans deportation, 2022).

The research on German deportations to Kazakhstan helps expand the existing body of knowledge about memory studies. Since the 1990s public interest in this subject has grown which resulted in German-Kazakh associations creating commemorative programs and academic initiatives. The rehabilitation of deported people together with the unsealing of archives enables historians to reassess this tragic historical period.

The subject matter of this research has implications that reach further than academic historical studies. The modern-day nation of Kazakhstan with its more than 100 ethnic groups maintains the historical memory of deportation which influences how different groups relate to each other and how they define themselves as a nation. The study reveals the development of German society from enforced cohabitation to effective teamwork and shows how communities preserve their cultural heritage during emergency situations.

This article therefore pursues such objectives as: to explain how current scholarship tries to reconstruct the political and administrative mechanisms of the deportation of Germans to Kazakhstan; to analyze the adaptation and labor contribution of deported populations within the republic’s wartime and postwar economy.

The research foundation draws its knowledge from academic studies which unite historical investigations with sociological research methods and theoretical frameworks. The research draws from historical records and individual testimonies and theoretical models about citizenship and immigration.

The research introduces a new approach through its combined analysis of deportation as an active process which influenced both economic growth and social identity formation in Kazakhstan. The study links personal experiences to major social developments which establishes a link between official documents and cultural heritage.

The German settlers in Kazakhstan experienced both the harsh effects of state relocation policies and their ability to create new social bonds and discover fresh life purpose. The story provides essential knowledge about Soviet historical events and current multicultural elements of Kazakhstan.

Materials and Methods

The research uses a multi-disciplinary methodological framework which unites historical and sociological and theoretical approaches to analyze German population deportation and their adaptation in Kazakhstan. The research incorporates traditional and modern perspectives about Soviet citizenship and identity together with the study of forced migration.

The research adopts Brubaker's (1992) definition of citizenship which describes it as a permanent individual status that establishes both official state membership and social standing within the state system. The Soviet system established a connection between citizenship and national identity because it provided superior symbolic treatment to citizens from preferred republics compared to those from underprivileged ethnic groups. The Volga Germans lost their autonomy which resulted in their loss of civic identity as well as their forced relocation from their homeland.

The framework receives additional support from De Genova (2010) who explains how states develop the concept of deportable subjects through his theory of migration detention. The system was built for modern migration systems but delivers valuable information about Soviet internal forced relocation operations. The USSR established an “economy of deportability” which allowed the government to relocate entire communities for cheap labor purposes despite its official stance of equality for all citizens. The system allowed Soviet authorities to deny full rights to citizens while maintaining their official status as citizens.

The wartime economic mobilization includes deportation according to Pohl (1999) as he explained in his book “Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937–1949”. The policy achieved dual objectives by removing potential threats and creating a workforce for industrial and agricultural growth in Kazakhstan. The deportation process served two purposes for the state by acting as a tool for suppressing opposition while also advancing state-led modernization efforts.

Kazakhstan was chosen as the main case study because it became one of the largest destinations for deported ethnic Germans within the Soviet Union. Between 1941 and 1942, nearly 80% of all deported Germans were resettled in Kazakhstan and Siberia, with the majority concentrated in northern and central regions such as Karaganda, Akmola, and Pavlodar. The republic stands as an optimal research location because it existed at the Soviet empire's outer border while undergoing rapid industrial growth during World War II.

The research draws its empirical evidence from official decrees and statistical documents and personal memoirs and archival materials. Primary sources were obtained from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK) and the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which hold correspondence between republican authorities and the NKVD concerning deportation procedures, housing allocations, and labor mobilization. Key archival collections include fund No. 708 (“Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh SSR”) and fund No. 940 (“People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs”) contains decrees and instructions and reports from 1941–1946.

The USSR population resettlement documentation collections and German special settler memoirs published in books provide additional evidence about how people adapted socially and psychologically to their new environment. The 1990s publications of Wiedergeburt Association of Soviet Germans and personal family journals show how deportees experienced their first shock and fear before they learned to adapt to their new environment. The public discussion of population deportations during the 1940s–1950s became accessible through historical newspapers and periodicals which also showed how propaganda presented these events.

The historical research of Soviet and post-Soviet historians through their monographs and articles (Zemskov 1990; Erofeeva 1999; Volkova 2004; Belger 2005; Herman & Pleve 2002) provides context to archival evidence while confirming economic and demographic statistics. Population censuses (1939, 1959, 1970, 1979) and reports of the Central Statistical Administration (TsSU USSR) trace long-term demographic shifts in the number and distribution of Germans in Kazakhstan. The combination of quantitative data with qualitative narratives through cross-referencing enables researchers to gain a more comprehensive understanding of adaptation strategies.

The source-critical method of Soviet historiography studies archival documents through two analytical approaches which view them as administrative documents and as indicators of power relationships. The content analysis of letters and diaries shows that deported Germans expressed main themes which include nostalgia and endurance and faith to reveal their inner experiences.

The research incorporates memory studies' findings from Assmann (2006) and Nora (1989) to understand the development of deportation collective memory following the USSR breakup. The research investigates memory as an individual and institutional concept through its exploration of German stories against the backdrop of national healing and unification in independent Kazakhstan.

All archival sources were verified against published compilations and secondary literature. The research recognizes that Soviet documentation includes inherent limitations because of censorship practices and bureaucratic distortions and statistical irregularities. Memoirs serve as personal accounts which offer vital emotional insights and ordinary life experiences that official documents fail to include.

The analysis encounters difficulties because regional archives have different levels of accessibility which hinders full comparison of oblast-level materials because certain records remain classified or were destroyed during the 1950s. The research aims to obtain correct interpretations rather than exact numerical data.

The research design of this study combines Soviet historical research methods with modern migration research approaches. The economic system of deportability provides a framework to analyze Soviet Kazakhstan because it demonstrates how worldwide migration theories explain Soviet population shifts during totalitarian rule. Historical demography together with labor history and migration sociology research allows scholars to study how deportation affected state policies and personal human conduct. The study of Soviet history becomes decolonized through peripheral experience research which establishes Kazakhstan as a leading Soviet modernity laboratory.

Discussion

Historical research about Soviet German deportations has undergone significant development during the last thirty years because of changes in historical research approaches and improved access to archival records. The late Soviet period saw researchers conduct their first studies through descriptive methods which analyzed deportation orders and special-settlement administrative systems. They relied heavily on official statistics and often reproduced the ideological justifications of the Soviet state. First German migration to Kazakhstan's lands coincided with the extensive movement of Russian population to the empire's eastern regions from XVIII century. At the initial stage they represented mainly military personal of the Russian army and their families (Volkova, 2015). As the Russian army officers and part of local administration they were not considered as separate ethnic group but rather Russian empire citizens. Thus, local historiography viewed the Germans as part of the colonial apparatus that alienated Kazakh lands in favor of Russian settlers. Meanwhile, migration flows in the end of 1920s-early 1930s are explained by the fact that all German national-territorial units except Volga republic in RSFSR were abolished so people tried to escape arrests and negative attitude of the other Soviet citizens. Thus, the concept of Germans as respected citizens of the country gradually disappeared from the Soviet reality. These steps of the Soviet government can be accepted as rehearsal of the future deportations aimed to force people to downgraded in the Soviet hierarchy. To be German was not any more to be respected, opposite people try to change their last names, if possible, to avoid accusation in being Germans. Archival collections became accessible to the public during the 1990s because previously restricted materials entered the public domain. Historians Zemskov (1990), Erofeeva (1999) and Volkova (2004) from Russia and Kazakhstan established the basis of deportation research through their studies which measured deportation numbers and explained special settlement management in Kazakhstan. The researchers provided crucial empirical findings but their research stayed limited to political and demographic aspects while ignoring the human and cultural aspects of exile. Belger (2005) and Herman and Pleve (2002) conducted further research to understand how deported Germans kept their moral values and social connections intact while upholding their cultural traditions during their post-war reconstruction

of Kazakhstan. The works used a commemorative method to display victim suffering yet they did not link this suffering to the Soviet governance system. The process of analyzing the text created a distance between readers who experienced the story emotionally and those who studied it through analysis. Rita Sanders insists that with reasonable safety this phenomenon can be called “labor metanarrative” that depicted Germans as responsible, industrious and decent citizens of their new *petite patrie*. The newcomers in Kazakhstan were rapidly recognized as one of the most industrious and educated groups of republic’s population. Surprisingly enough, as some German researchers indicate new settlers instead of keeping memory about their tragedies and losses preferred to concentrate their efforts improving life conditions as effective labor force. (Sanders, 2016).

Western scholars and diaspora experts brought analytical methods to the field which shifted its focus from tracking historical events to studying entire systems. The study by Pohl (1999) examines the German deportation through the Soviet wartime mobilization framework which used forced migration for both punishment and economic gain. The Soviet government used deportation as a nationality policy instrument to form ethnic groups while actively working to eliminate their public expression through forceful methods according to Martin (2001) in *The Affirmative Action Empire*. The interpretations demonstrate how Soviet citizenship existed as a dual system which included both citizens and non-citizens.

Brubaker (1992) developed social closure as a core theory which enables researchers to analyze how ethnic ranking systems influenced Soviet identity politics. The framework shows that Volga Germans lost their social status because they were moved from their original position to a lower level of trust in society. The concept of “economy of deportability” which De Genova (2010) developed for modern migration systems provides useful comparisons to explain how states keep control systems operational through ongoing deportation threats. By adapting this theory to the Soviet case, the present study interprets deportation as an institutionalized mechanism of labor regulation within the command economy.

Research expanded its scope through the interdisciplinary method which developed during the 2000s. The scholars Hirsch (2005) and Viola (2007) and Polian (2010) studied deportation by using memory studies and sociological and anthropological perspectives. The authors studied how deportees experienced life and their identity reconstruction process while illustrating the transmission of traumatic events across multiple generations. Yet, few of these studies focused specifically on Kazakhstan as an analytical unit, often treating it as part of the larger “Siberian exile” narrative.

In Kazakhstani historiography, more recent contributions by Erofeeva (2015), Shaimerdenova (2018), and Paizova, Dadabayeva and Park (2021) have sought to “localize” this history, examining the interaction between deported Germans and Kazakh communities. The authors emphasize the human aspect of living together with different ethnic groups through their examples of mutual support and cultural sharing which helped reduce the difficulties of being displaced. The authors perform descriptive analysis but they do not establish complete theoretical links between Soviet modernization and citizenship development.

The deportation of Germans has become the subject of international comparative research which links this event to other forced relocations that occurred within the USSR including the removals of Koreans and Poles and Crimean Tatars and Chechens (Viola, 2014; Bugay, 2016; Naimark, 2017). The research shows that political suspicion led to population control measures which served economic requirements. The region of Central Asia shows little interest in its particular adaptation systems because Kazakhstan has its own economic development path and multiple ethnic groups.

Academic researchers study deportation through memory studies and migration history research to understand how deportation has evolved throughout time and how it shapes contemporary identity development. Nora (1989) and Assmann (2006) define collective memory as an area which contains both traumatic experiences and reconciliation processes. The authors establish a method to study how post-Soviet Kazakhstan uses deportation history to build its national story about tolerance and multiculturalism.

The study has achieved several important results but researchers need to address multiple remaining research gaps. First, the economic logic of deportation in the context of Kazakhstan's wartime industrialization has received insufficient attention. The majority of research studies view Germans as victims who did not take an active role in their adaptation process. The research fails to examine how state policies affect local communities and their collective historical memories by using both archival research and theoretical frameworks together.

The research fills these knowledge gaps by studying both large-scale and detailed individual-level data. The study analyzes historical documents together with modern citizenship and migration and memory theories to demonstrate deportation served as a social engineering tool which continues to influence Kazakhstan's cultural identity. The study uses Soviet Germans to analyze worldwide migration patterns and Central Asian regional activities which create new historical perspectives about the Soviet period while challenging traditional Moscow-focused historical narratives.

Results

The research findings of this study build upon the theoretical and historiographical bases which were established in the previous section. The historical path of Germans in Kazakhstan emerges through a combination of archival records and statistical information and personal accounts from memoirs. The research validates its results by comparing them to academic studies which show how local records and individual accounts enhance knowledge about Soviet deportation operations and changes in community identity.

The study of German settlement in Kazakhstan requires analysis of Russian Empire migration patterns which occurred before this period. The Volga region served as the initial location for German colonization when Catherine II issued a manifesto to bring European settlers for agricultural development during the 18th century. Exempted from taxes for thirty years, German colonists developed successful agricultural communities and became known for their industriousness and technical skill (Herman, 2000). By 1914 there were about 400,000 Germans in more than 200 colonies along the Volga River, many of whom belonged to the middle and wealthy peasant strata.

German migration to Kazakhstan began during the late 1800s and early 1900s when Russian peasants also moved to the eastern regions of the empire. The Stolypin agrarian reforms which operated from 1906 to 1911 provided free land plots of fifteen desyatins to settlers who wanted to establish new settlements. By 1915, there were fifty-eight German villages with 27,000 inhabitants in the Akmola region. The Germans also founded several Mennonite settlements in southern Kazakhstan during the 1880s. The 1897 census showed that 7,049 Germans lived in Kazakhstan at that time and they mostly resided in rural settings. The communities achieved better literacy results and employment diversity because their members worked in trade and medical services and administrative positions (Erofeeva, 1999).

During the Soviet period, the establishment of the Volga German Autonomous Republic in 1924 represented a temporary recognition of German cultural and political rights. The collectivization drive along with mass repression operations brought a complete transformation to the situation during the late 1920s. Prosperous German farmers were branded as "kulaks," arrested, and exiled. Many fled from the Volga region and Ukraine to Kazakhstan to escape persecution. The early 1940s migration wave indicated the extensive deportation operations which would take place during the following decade (Volkova, 2004).

The Germans established dense agricultural settlements in northern Kazakhstan before World War II because their expertise in animal care and crop management and farm machinery operation attracted local interest. The immigrants constructed windmills and schools and prayer houses which earned them acceptance as valued members of rural communities. The immigrants developed their work ethic and community spirit which enabled their integration into society but they preserved their cultural identity through language maintenance and religious practices and educational systems. The first settlements built fundamental infrastructure which allowed for the mass reception of deported people when the 1940s began.

The outbreak of war between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, marked the beginning of one of the most tragic chapters in the history of Soviet Germans. The decree of August 28, 1941, "On the resettlement of Germans living in the Volga region," abolished the Volga German Autonomous Republic and ordered the deportation of its inhabitants to Siberia and Central Asia (Zemskov, 1990). Approximately 1.25 million people were displaced; Kazakhstan received more than 80% of them (Pohl, 1999).

The deportation process lacked proper organization. The transportation conditions were disastrous because the absence of heating systems and food and proper sanitation facilities resulted in numerous deaths during the journey. Those who survived were placed under the jurisdiction of the NKVD and settled in collective farms, mines, and construction sites across the republic. Archival evidence indicates that by 1942 about 420,000 Germans were concentrated in Kazakhstan. (AP RK, F. 708. Inv. 1. C. 3. P. 73-76). The authorities took away their possessions and their animals which they sold at low prices to people living in the area. The company did not fulfill its commitments about payment terms and home financing solutions.

The deportees faced two major problems which included insufficient housing and insufficient food supply. In 1942, the Soviet authorities planned to construct 1,609 houses for German settlers, but only 548 were completed due to a lack of materials. Local officials sent reports to Moscow which described the severe situation by warning about both epidemic outbreaks and food shortages. The harsh environment and economic challenges did not stop Kazakh communities from providing support to the new arrivals who received food assistance and received help to survive in the difficult climate and economic situation (Volkova, 2004).

The eyewitnesses reported that deported families received housing in clay huts and barns and unfinished buildings which lacked heating systems. The people of the colony had to share their homes with local families because the living spaces were extremely crowded. The first years of exile brought temperatures down to -40°C which resulted in the deaths of thousands of deportees from cold exposure and starvation and illness. The Germans kept their internal organization intact while the local people demonstrated unity which enabled them to endure the crisis. German women established communal kitchens and used old materials to mend clothes and provided Russian and German literacy education to children. The first survival networks developed into the foundation which communities used to start their recovery process.

Geographically, the deportees were distributed unevenly. The Karaganda and Pavlodar and Kostanay and Akmola regions became the biggest settlements because industrialization and mining operations needed permanent workers. The authorities distributed smaller groups of people to work in rural collective farms located in North Kazakhstan and Aktobe and Semipalatinsk region. Some were placed near strategic construction sites such as the Karaganda coal basin and Balkhash copper smelter. The high population density of workers created lasting demographic patterns which established the ethnic makeup of northern Kazakhstan for many years to come.

From 1942, the situation of deported Germans worsened with the introduction of forced labor mobilization. The State Defense Committee decrees of January 10, February 14, and October 7, 1942, mandated the formation of the "Labor Army" (Trudarmiya) consisting of deported men aged 16–55 and women aged 16–45 (Zemskov, 1991). Many were assigned to mining enterprises, railway construction, and industrial plants in Karaganda, Balkhash, and the Ural region.

Labor and living conditions were harsh and comparable to those of GULAG prisoners. The people endured endless hunger and freezing cold weather which resulted in numerous deaths. The archival letters from deported workers reveal their experience of extreme fatigue together with non-payment of wages. Women mobilized to the Labor Army faced particularly extreme hardships due to the absence of adequate clothing and sanitation. The deportees showed both determination and self-control when they encountered their difficult situation.

The largest concentration of deported laborers was in Karlag, the Karaganda Corrective Labor Camp, one of the largest branches of the GULAG system. By 1943, more than 85,000 special settlers – including Germans – were exploited as free labor. They worked in agriculture, construction, and food supply for the growing industrial centers of Central Kazakhstan (Vashkau, 1993). The archival

records show that 60,000 special settlers worked in 30 different ministries and commissariats which focused on metallurgy energy and construction.

The industrial sector of Germany took the lead in reconstructing the war-torn infrastructure that suffered damage from combat operations. The workers at the Karaganda coal mines and Balkhash Copper Combine operated as machinists and electricians and engineers. The construction of roads and bridges received support from other workers who built railway tracks in harsh weather conditions. The NKVD monitored these workers but they exceeded production targets which Soviet officials described them as "disciplined and technically skilled laborers."

The agricultural sector of Germany heavily depended on women for its operation. With most men conscripted into the Labor Army, women became the backbone of collective farms. The people worked in the fields to plow and harvest crops and to tend to the animals. The archival records show that women made up between 80% of the total workforce in particular districts. The NKVD internal evaluations recognized their work dedication through "model behavior" assessments while keeping their activities under strict control.

The German military introduced new mobilization waves in 1943 which required participation from all able-bodied citizens including women and elderly people. The harsh deportation environment did not stop deportees from creating united communities which sustained their cultural heritage and mutual support networks. The Kazakh neighbors observed that the people were very diligent and accurate and organized. The development of these characteristics led to step-by-step social approval which established Germans as "model workers" in both collective farms and industrial facilities (Sanders, 2016).

The people of the city managed to restore their religious and cultural traditions through hidden practices while they adapted to their new work environment. The ban on formal worship did not stop families from maintaining their home prayer rituals and Easter and Christmas celebrations and their transmission of hymns and traditional stories. Underground pastors and elders created new informal church communities throughout northern Kazakhstan when the late 1940s arrived. People used these practices to preserve their emotional stability while keeping their sense of connection to their ancestral heritage during their forced migration.

The deportation process led to changes in both the ethnic makeup and work activities of Kazakhstan. The German population established themselves throughout the entire republic by 1955 while the highest numbers of Germans lived in Karaganda, Kostanay, Akmola, Pavlodar and Jambyl oblasts. The postwar development of Kazakhstan became possible because of people who lost their freedom of movement due to legal barriers.

German families took part in rebuilding destroyed infrastructure and building new urban centers across the country during the early 1950s. The workers in Karaganda operated at brick factories and coal plants and housing cooperatives while Kostanay and Pavlodar employees supervised grain farms and dairy businesses. Some were recruited into teacher-training programs to alleviate the postwar shortage of educators. The archival records indicate that by 1956 the republic employed more than 1,200 ethnic Germans in educational institutions where they taught mathematics and technical drawing and German language.

The 1955 decree of the Soviet government allowed partial relaxation of movement restrictions but prohibited return to former homelands. Only after 1972 were Germans formally permitted to choose their place of residence freely. The population of Germans in Kazakhstan reached almost one million by the late 1970s which made them the biggest ethnic minority group in the republic (Belger, 2005).

Soviet authorities briefly considered creating a new German autonomous region in northern Kazakhstan in 1979, centered in Yermantau, to compensate for the loss of the Volga Republic. However, widespread protests by the Kazakh population led to the abandonment of this plan (Erofeeva, 1999). The episode served as a pivotal moment which led to numerous ethnic Germans leaving for the Federal Republic of Germany through repatriation schemes.

The German population in Kazakhstan maintained their professional standing and civic participation throughout the demographic changes. The members of collective farms and enterprises

held positions of trust which included brigade leadership as well as agronomist and engineer roles. The educational system developed into a vital adaptation method when German youth started attending universities in Almaty Karaganda and Pavlodar during the 1970s to study economics and pedagogy and technical sciences. The increasing number of deportees who achieved educational success proved their successful adaptation to Soviet society.

The German diaspora underwent continuous changes to its cultural aspects throughout its complete historical span. The younger generation who studied in Russian-language schools lost their German fluency but kept their German heritage alive through their food traditions and their celebrations and musical heritage. Older teachers in specific villages started bilingual education through informal German language instruction as an additional subject. The community established a unique cultural identity which combined German ethnicity with Russian language and Soviet social affiliation during the late Soviet era.

The German community in Kazakhstan demonstrated impressive adaptability throughout their time of displacement which brought them great suffering. The 1960s–1980s period brought recognition of their work in agriculture and education and industrial development. The group members became part of Kazakh society through cultural integration yet they maintained their linguistic and cultural heritage.

The research findings demonstrate that deportation operated through multiple factors which included political doubts and economic requirements and social control measures. The Soviet state treated Germans in two ways at once because they saw them as dangerous enemies while also needing their labor. The local adaptation patterns in Kazakhstan helped reduce some of the traumatic effects by bringing together different ethnic groups for cooperative work.

The archival records show that Kazakh-German relations worked together mainly in rural areas. The 1990s oral records showed that Kazakh families used milk and bread exchanges for survival during their first winter of exile and German settlers provided assistance to kolkhozes through equipment maintenance and well construction. The two groups developed enduring peaceful connections because of their interactions.

The archival records show that deportation policies fulfilled two main objectives which extended past punishment because they provided the government with necessary human resources for both wartime activities and postwar reconstruction work. The experiences of deported Germans demonstrate both the harsh nature of Soviet rule and the ability of people to survive in harsh environments.

Conclusion

Concluding this article, we can state that German issues were closely interconnected in two tracks: modernization of the republic as it was realized by Soviet leadership and nation-building processes. Forced migration of the Soviet Germans, particularly in wartime had become part of the strategy to use high qualified labor which would have been impossible on a voluntary basis on the part of the Germans. The research demonstrates how deportation operated as two separate systems: keeping control and generated production. The policy removed political opponents from power while simultaneously using their skills for war efforts and post-war reconstruction. Labeled initially as “enemies of the state,” Germans became essential participants of the republic transformation.

Meanwhile, the research also reveals the contradictory nature of Soviet citizenship when the state maintained the formal equality of its citizens while kept some groups as “deportable subjects.” The German case shows that being part of the Soviet system did not necessarily mean having access to all its rights and protections.

The findings also highlight the profound resilience and adaptability of the deported population. The German community showed outstanding skills for reconstruction during times of poverty and discrimination. The community established organized systems which connected work activities to educational programs and cultural preservation initiatives.

The local Kazakh communities take an active role in this process. The early years of exile became survivable for deportees because people assisted each other through basic acts of help such

as food sharing and shelter provision as documented by archival records and oral testimonies. The way local people interacted with newcomers created a foundation for long-term collaboration between various ethnic communities.

However, the process of successful integration of German population into nation-building process in Soviet Kazakhstan was affected by opposing tendencies, reflecting the tension between the impossibility of implementing both the ethnic and territorial models of the nation. In 1978 the Soviet authorities decided to found a new autonomic republic with the center in *Yermentau*, in the center of virgin lands. The main reason behind this political move was a desire of civil rehabilitation of the deportees and their legitimization in new environment. Part of the Soviet elite in Moscow still were convince in necessity to continue construction of territorial nation. However, these plans were not realized due mass demonstrations of the Kazakh people in Tselinograd, Atbasar, Kokchetav and Yermantau: they were indirectly supported by republican administration headed by D. Kunayev. Due to these protests Moscow decided to quit this project.

With the reasonable safety it is possible to say that this failure was a turning point in changing whole situation with “German questions” in the USSR. German Federative Republic accelerated Germans’ repatriation process from the USSR. The German settlers who arrived in Kazakhstan endured the loss of their native land while they worked to establish themselves in their new surroundings. The German population relocation process became a beneficial factor for Kazakhstan as they built their new life in the country which created permanent historical changes for the nation.

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