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**ИСТОРИЯ, ФИЛОСОФИЯ И СОЦИОЛОГИЯ**  
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**FROM THE HISTORY OF THE DEPORTATION OF GERMANS TO THE**  
**AKTOBE REGION**

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**Abstract.** The article discusses the history of the deportation of the Germans, their arrival in the Aktobe region, resettlement in the regions, economic, social security, historical fate after arriving in new places. The authors, on the basis of archival documents, study the categories, quantitative composition and distribution of German settlers in the Aktobe region by districts. Provides local history data on the places of concentration of German settlers, settlements created on their basis. The article also analyzes the issues of providing the German migrants with housing and work. At the same time, the authors note that they were involved in heavy construction and collective farm work.

Particular attention in the article is paid to the problem of repressions of German settlers for the second time after their arrival in new places. The authors note that the able-bodied part of the Germans was forcibly mobilized into labor columns and used as labor force at large construction projects. These facilities became subdivisions of the Aktobe labor camp. Labor mobilized were kept in the camp regime. All their rights were not respected and they worked in unbearable conditions. The authors also note that some German special settlers were persecuted and tried on false charges. Based on archival data, describes the plight of prisoners in the camps, the facts of their death and infection with various infectious diseases. At the end of the article, the main conclusions are drawn.

**Key words:** Repressions, Deportation, Special settlers, Labor columns, Camp, Kempirsay.

**Introduction.** The Germans were one of the ethnic groups subjected to persecution and exile in the Aktobe region during the harsh Soviet times. The forced resettlement of Germans to Kazakhstan, including the Aktobe region, began in 1936. This year, Soviet Poles and Germans were evacuated from the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR. According to the documents of the local Aktobe regional state archive, it is planned to take 15,000 German and Polish collective farms to Kazakhstan, of which 1,000 are planned to be resettled in the Aktobe region [1, 23-25].

In general, from the beginning of the 1930s, representatives of the local German nationality in the Aktobe region were also under strict control. According to the 1926 census, there were 1673 representatives of German nationality in the Aktobe district [2, 5]. These activities were carried out in accordance with the policy of «search for the enemy from within». For example, on December 23, 1934, the secretary of the regional committee of the CPSU (B), Dosov, in his directive to the chiefs of Kostanay, Semiozerny, Mendikar, Fedorov, Zhetykar, Kobda, Martuk, Stepnoy and Temir districts, indicated that «in a number of German settlements counter-revolutionary activities of religious, especially sectarian movements, kulak elements, that these class-hostile elements intensified their activities after the fascists came to power in Germany» [3, 1-3], emphasizing the intensification of party-mass work among the German population, the elimination of kulak elements, the influence of counter-revolutionary enemy elements on German refugees is strictly ordered to be destroyed.

During the Second World War, the image of the enemy, which was given to Soviet citizens as «unreliable nations», gradually began to correlate with real nations and reached its climax, when "the cleansing of individual territories turned into the destruction of entire nations". From this point of view, the deportation of Germans in 1941 was a model for all subsequent forced resettlements during the war period [4, 167].

At the beginning of the war, thousands of Germans living in the territory of the former Soviet Union took up arms against German fascism. Nevertheless, the Soviet leadership, headed by Stalin, invented the «spy connection» of the Soviet Germans with the German Nazis.

On August 26, 1941, the Sovnarkom and the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party adopted a resolution «On the resettlement of Germans from the Republic of Volga Germans, Saratov and Stalingrad regions», followed by the approval of the «Plan for the resettlement of residents of German nationality from the Republic of Volga Germans, Stalingrad and Saratov regions» and issued a pre-prepared order of the NKVD USSR №001158 «On measures to carry out the operation to resettle Germans from the Republic of the Volga Germans, Saratov and Stalingrad regions». The forced nature of this «resettlement» is evidenced by the fact that 1550 NKVD officers, 3250 police officers and 12150 Red Army soldiers were involved in this operation, and each echelon was escorted to the unloading station by NKVD officers and Red Army men [5, 288-293].

The leadership of Kazakhstan also promptly responded to government directives. On August 30 and September 1, 1941, the Sovnarkom of Kazakhstan and the SNK of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) dated August 26 of this year «On the reception of resettled Germans

from the Saratov and Stalingrad regions and the Volga German Republic» [6, 94-96] and the resolutions of the Akmola Soviet and party apparatus on the resettlement of resettled Germans along the Volga [7, 167-168]. By written order of L. Beria, it was supposed to place most of the resettled Germans in Kazakhstan [8, 195]. Germans and Finns from the Leningrad region, Germans from Moscow, Rostov, Kuibyshev and other regions of the RSFSR, Germans from the Georgian, Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR, Dagestan, Kalmak and Chechen-Ingush SSR were resettled in Kazakhstan. In the autumn of 1941 and the summer of 1942, Germans began to arrive from Ukraine from the front-line regions [9, 20]. For forced exiles were given a day to pack for the journey. They suddenly lost all their wealth and entered a period of uncertain future in their lives.

**Materials and methods.** When preparing the article, the documents of funds 13, 63, 85 and 515 of the Aktobe Regional State Archive were used as data. According to these documents, categories, numbers, age, sex, composition, their distribution by region, socio-economic security, use as a labor force, and persecution were studied. Also, in the course of writing the article, collections of documents related to the history of the forced deportation of Germans were used.

In the process of writing the article, guided by the principles of historicity, scientificity, objectivity and consistency established in historical science, the methods of retrospective review, determining the level of data reliability, comparative and statistical analysis were used.

**Discussion.** In domestic historical science, the issue of forced migration of other nations to Kazakhstan has been intensively studied since the early 90s of the last century. At the same time, studies on this topic were also carried out in Russia. Among Russian authors, N.F.Bugai can be distinguished. He made a great contribution to the formation of the theoretical and methodological foundations of this problem. He has many works related to the history of repressive politics in the USSR [10, 11]. The works of the historian-scientist A.A.German [12, 13] are devoted to the history of the forced resettlement of the Volga Germans.

A number of special studies related to this topic have been published in Kazakhstan. Among them are the works of N.E.Masanov [14], T.Kulbaev, A.Khegai [15], Zh.U.Kydyralina [16], M.Ch.Kalybekova [17]. These studies describe the history of nations forcibly resettled in Kazakhstan, the socio-demographic consequences of forced migration. And in the works of historians L.A.Burgart [18], A.N.Tabuldenov [19], B.R.Naimanbaev and G.M.Syzdykova [20], the history of the settlement of the peoples of the USSR, including Germans, into separate regions of the republic. Thus, the discussion of the level of knowledge of the problem shows that the history of the resettlement of nations, including the Germans, forcibly resettled in the Aktobe region, has not been studied.

**Results.** Thus, by October 25, 1941, it was planned to receive 467,000 Volga Germans in Kazakhstan. Of these, 15 thousand people are planned to be resettled in the Aktobe region. According to the plan of resettlement by regions, the bulk of the resettled Germans are planned to be resettled in the northern and northeastern regions. And the displaced Germans were not sent to the Guryev and West Kazakhstan regions to the front line, close to the German Republic along the destroyed Volga River. In fact, 420,000 people arrived in the republic during this period [8, 196].

The first flow of Germans forcibly resettled in Kazakhstan began to arrive in September 1941. On October 14, the next three echelons of displaced Germans arrived in Kazakhstan. One of them was sent to the Akmola region, the second - to the North Kazakhstan region, and the third echelon №476 - to the Martuk region of the Aktobe region. Echelon №476 consisted of 1983 people. Among them were 5 sick children, 2 of them with typhoid fever, 3 with scarlet fever. These 5 people were hospitalized and two cars were disinfected. Passengers who were together were placed in empty buildings of the regional center and placed on 14-day quarantine. From there, within 3 days, it will be sent to the distribution points of the Martuk region. On November 3, 1941, 2 more echelons arrived in the Aktobe region. Its total number was 5554 people. The local authorities planned to resettle these migrants in the Stepnoy and Rodnikovskiy districts [9, 56-57, 61].

Local ethnographic materials also confirm the given data. According to one of them, “On November 7, 1941, 2,700 hungry and naked Germans were delivered to the Kempirsay station in the Stepnoy region at that time. These were civilians resettled from Western Ukraine and the Volga region, among them were old people, men and children. Because they were Germans, they were exiled as «infidel people». Later, Chechens, Koreans and Belarusians also settled in the area. This is evidenced by the fact that Badamsha, the center of the current Kargaly region, at that time was divided into conditional regions, such as Berlin, Chechen, Central and Zone. Only adults knew where these names came from.

With this theme of deportation and the creation of the Kempirsai camp, which became part of the IIXK GULAG system, the history of the creation of the modern village of Badamsha is connected. These Germans from Zaporozhye and Gdansk were the founders of this settlement and the first producers of nickel, chromium and iron ores. Later they were transferred to a labor camp. These memories are brought by Inge Smolinets, the former chairman of the Aktobe regional society «Vozrozhdeniye». He is the great-grandson of the exiled Abram Esau and Maria Reimer.

The situation of the displaced persons was very difficult. Local Kazakh families helped them even if they were hungry. The autumn and winter of 1941 were very difficult. The resettled

Germans suffered a lot from hunger and disease. In that first winter, displaced casualties reached about 1,000. The place where they were buried later became the village's civil cemetery. Thus, next to the settlement, next to the quarries that they built while walking naked, a mass burial ground appeared. There are two such graves in Badamsha. One of them is near the farm, a kilometer from the settlement, and the other is near the cemetery of the current regional center [21].

During the resettlement of the resettled Germans, the government of Kazakhstan changed the plan of the Aktobe region. In addition to the 15,000 people in the original plan, an additional 5,000 people are expected to be accommodated. The rate of resettlement of Germans in the region as a whole and their age and sex composition can be seen in the table below (1 table).

**1 table. Dynamics of the number of displaced Germans**

№	Date of arrival	Echelon №	Total:	Including		
				men	women	children
1	1941, 6 october	475	1983	121	1045	817
2	1941, 12 october	476	3500	134	1347	219
3	1941, 25 november	426	1796	745	1061	987
4	1941, 5 december	425	2356	-	-	-
	Total	-	9635	-	-	-

Echelon No. 425, which arrived on December 5, was unloaded at the Martuk station and placed on the territory of the Kobdinsky district. The resettlement of internally displaced persons is delayed due to weather conditions, the length of the road (100-200 km) and the lack of vehicles. Among the children who arrived, 156 died on the way and 127 at the points of departure - a total of 283 children. Children mostly died from measles.

The contingent from Krasnodar, Ordzhonikidzevsky districts and rural settlements of the Zaporozhye region was placed in 5 districts of the region in order of compaction: Stepnoy district - 2800 people, Martoksky district - 2383 people, Novoreseysky district - 700 people, Klyuchevoy district - 1796 people and in the Kobdinsky district 1956 people.

In addition to the above echelons, on December 13, 1941, train №1003 arrived from Astrakhan, consisting of 1900 people. These were persons transferred in an administrative order as socially dangerous elements (convicts, family members of enemies of the people and those under investigation). With the echelon, 798 registration cases and forms were provided. 808 people were relocated to the Zhuryyn district, 560 people to the Shalkar district, and 532 people to the Rodnikov district. All migrants had passports stamped with the right to reside on the territory of the Kazakh SSR [9, 84-85].

The local leadership faced difficulties in accommodating the migrants, providing them with housing, food and work. Because during the war, many evacuees came to the region. Therefore, the resettled Germans were closely settled on collective farms. For example, in accordance with the

decision of the executive committee of the Aktobe Regional Council dated December 11, 1941, additional funds in the amount of 126 thousand soms were allocated for the delivery and accommodation of resettled Germans, and it was also planned to settle 1,750 families of forced migrants with distribution by districts: Shalkar district - 170 families, Irgiz district - 100 families, Oil district - 100 families, Baiganin district - 100 families, Martuk district - 170 families, Rodnikov district - 100 families, Klyuchevoi district - 200 families, Kobda district - 170 families, Zhurynsky district - 270 families, Karabutak region - 100 families and to Temir region - 270 families [22, 45].

It seems that in December of this year the plan for the Aktobe region changed again. Now it is planned to place 26,600 people here [9, 195]. If we sum up the above number of people who were transferred and settled in the region, it turns out that by December 13, 11535 people arrived. This is 43.3% of the total plan. The deportation of the Germans continued into 1942.

In general, it should be noted that there were several categories of Germans resettled to the territory of the Aktobe region during the war years and in subsequent years. These were forced exiles released from the Soviet army and joined the labor columns of the GULAG, Germans (interned Germans) arrested from the countries of Eastern Europe, liberated by the Soviet army and sent to the USSR as a labor force. All of them were marked as «specially displaced people».

The specially resettled Germans were under the strict control of the relevant authorities. Even after the end of the war, this regime extended to Kazakh Germans. They were forbidden to leave their places of residence voluntarily, and other restrictions were applied. The local Aktobe regional state archive contains such documents as an alphabetical magazine of special settlers, their lists, lists of communists who are members of the party, lists of candidates for it by districts. These documents refer to 1941-1946. The lists indicate nationality, years of birth, places of residence, current places of work, etc. displaced persons. In one of these documents, the KCP(b) of the Kobdinsky district committee dated July 1, 1942 lists the German communists who have arrived in the order of resettlement to date (2 table) [23, 16]. We have provided a condensed table in the document.

**Table 2. List of Communist Germans who arrived in the order of resettlement in the Kobdinsky district**

№	Full name, year of birth	The reason for leaving, what document he came with	Current workplace, position
1	Miller Gustav Henrikovich, 1906 y.	Special relocated by appointment of 11/06/41 y.	Collective farm «Pobeda», chairman
2	Moore Teodor Khrestyanovich, 1906 y.	Special relocated by appointment of 06/10/41 y.	Collective farm «Serp i molot», carpenter
3	Gigul Teodor Albertovich, 1903 y.	Special relocated by appointment of 06/10/41 y.	Collective farm «N.Moskva», farm manager

As can be seen from the table, representatives of this German nationality, located on the collective farms of the Kobda district, came from the Ordzhonikidzevsk district (now Stavropol territory, North Caucasus). The document also contains information about ticket numbers as a party member, characteristics as a candidate, party experience, places of work and positions before arriving in the Kazakh SSR. According to the same information, these communists occupied such high positions as the chairman of the district executive committee, the head of the fire department, and the chairman of the collective farm. All were highly educated.

The specially resettled Germans were repressed a second time after arriving in new lands. The first expulsion was their forced expulsion from their homeland without any guilt. After resettlement to new places, able-bodied men were herded into labor convoys as labor force. The rest of the settlers, that is, the elderly, women and children, were involved in collective farm work. There were also cases of women working alongside men in heavy construction work. Being in a state of hunger and poverty, they could not produce the required daily quota of labor. And for this they were punished. Thus, the exiled Germans could not live in peace even in new places. All their political and civil rights were violated and their social conditions were very difficult. There was a lack of food and other basic necessities, and food loans issued by the state could not fully cover their needs.

Forced resettlement of people on a national basis was carried out in close connection with measures of forced labor mobilization. Forced labor mobilization was practiced in the USSR even before the war. At the beginning of the war, due to the recruitment of men to the front in all regions of the USSR, there was a shortage of labor. That is why this practice was legalized and widely used during the war.

The deported Germans, mobilized for work, were kept in the Aktobe labor camp, which was part of the IIXK GULAG system. All camp attributes, such as armed guards, work under the control of the armed forces, violation of human rights and other complaints, have been preserved in the labor columns of the camp. The Aktobe forced labor camp was located in the city of Aktobe and was organized in February 1940 and closed in 1946.

Every year, between 4,500 and 16,000 prisoners were held in this camp. The prisoners of the Aktobe correctional labor camp were engaged in the construction of the Aktobe ferroalloy plant, the extraction and shipment of chrome and iron-nickel ore from the Don and Kempirsay deposits, the operation of the quarries of the Badamsha nickel mine. They also built the Kempirsai combine "South Ural nickel", opened the Mugalzhar quartzite quarry, serviced the Bershugir coal mine. Of

course, the convicts also performed minor side jobs, such as sewing production, housing construction, plumbing, brick production, quarry development.

Over time, large construction sites of the Aktobe labor camp (Aktobelag, Aktobe Combine, Aktobe Sroy) were turned into separate shift camps. One of these large formations was the Kempirsay camp. Camp Kempirsay was located near the village of Badamsha, the center of the current Kargaly district of Aktobe region. As mentioned above, the German contingent was used as a labor force in the camp. In the description of the activities of the camp dated March 1, 1942: «The labor force of the camp consisted mainly of Germans resettled from Ukraine, mobilized for work. According to the decree of the Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs Chernyshev, in October 1941, 2398 people aged 16 to 70 from among the above-mentioned Germans arrived in the camp. This stream included about 300 people over 50 and about 100 teenagers. After a long journey, the contingent arrived in a very weak condition, having eaten poorly. For 5 months, 747 people have decreased from those who came. 42 of them were convicted and are under investigation for sabotage and counter-revolutionary propaganda, 390 people were released from the camps due to disability and old age, and at least 100 people of this category will be released again, 100 people died and 215 people fled» [24, 1, 5], - was written. As we can see, the Soviet government treated the displaced Germans primarily as a labor force. Those who opposed him were persecuted on false charges.

At the beginning of 1943, there were 20,480 workers, employees and engineers at the Aktobe plant, including 3,414 volunteers, 15,499 prisoners and 1,667 displaced Germans. There are 10 production units in total. These are: the Aktobe ferroalloy plant, the Don and Kempirsai mines, a brick factory, a lime quarry, the Kotlubankinsky forestry enterprise, a fish farm in the Aral Sea, and others [25, 56].

During the first 8 months of 1943, the number of prisoners at the Aktobe plant amounted to 13,472 people, of which 326 were representatives of German nationality. As for the youth composition of the prisoners, according to this year's data, there were even 17 children under the age of 17. Most of the prisoners were between 17 and 30 years old and between 31 and 50 years old. Their number was 6999 and 6224, respectively [26, 10 p.]. It is interesting that in this document the captured Germans are presented as citizens of other countries. It is possible that these are not citizens of the USSR, but arrested and deported from the liberated European countries.

Living conditions in the camp were very poor. Due to the poor heating of the barracks, people had to huddle to keep warm. This situation led to the spread of various epidemics. The



barracks were completely unprepared for winter. Since the prisoners were not given any beds, they had to sleep in outer clothing that was brought in for lice.

From such difficult living conditions and diseases in November 1942, 313 people died, and in December 1942 - 400 people. Patients died mainly from pellagra, tuberculosis and pneumonia. The prisoners tried to escape from the camp because of such a difficult situation. In 1942, 295 cases of escapes were registered, including 105 cases of escape attempts by German prisoners of war. Prisoners often ran away in the middle of the night. Because the problem of providing light at night was difficult. The condition of the German labor columns was also unsatisfactory. They did not have enough food, so the workers were physically weak, and because of this, they had hot limbs and were often injured [27, 35, 37, 51].

The local archives also contain information about special settlers for the period after 1943. Archival data show that the Germans live mainly in the northern and central regions of the region, in the city of Aktobe and its environs. According to information dated October 10, 1945, a large group of Germans was recruited to meet the needs of stud farm №52, established on the territory of the present Mugalzhar region. Their number and age composition can be seen in the table (3 table) below [28, 29].

**3 table. Displaced Germans living in the settlement of stud farm No. 52**

№	Nations	Number of families	Number of people in them	Those who are fit for work	Those who are employed	Children of school age	Those who went to school
1	Немістер	50	163	65	65	41	19

As can be seen from this document, the Germans were the second people after the Chechens in terms of numbers. In the village where the plant was located, 64 Chechen families out of 255 people lived. In addition to them lived seven families of Ukrainians, Greeks, Poles and Russians.

On the territory of the operating Aktobe ferroalloy plant, a large settlement of immigrants was formed. At the request of the workers working there, land was allocated near the Aktobe ferroalloy plant and allowed to build houses. The management of the plant helped them with building materials. So in the vicinity of the plant, the current areas of Makhambetovka, Vohr. Later, a settlement was founded on the territory of the current Zhilgorodskoy district. In all these buildings, captured Germans participated. German labor columns built houses in the Kirpichny district, which is part of the city of Aktobe.

**Conclusion.** Thus, the Germans forcibly deported to Kazakhstan could not get rid of false accusations of «unreliable nation», «fascist German spy»G. After they arrived in new places, they were again pursued. The deportation of Germans and their persecution on various charges continued

until Stalin's death. Only after subsequent changes in the leadership of the USSR, in 1955, the Germans were released from the administrative supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. From now on, they are not supposed to be at the commandant's office in the morning and evening. However, they were not allowed to return to their homeland. The political rehabilitation of the German people took place only in 1964. However, even this law did not allow them to choose their place of residence. This limit was taken only in 1972. The fate of the Germans forcibly deported to Kazakhstan was such difficult.

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## АҚТӨБЕ ОБЛЫСЫНА НЕМІСТЕРДІҢ КҮШТЕП КӨШІРЛҮ ТАРИХЫНАН

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**Андатпа.** Мақалада немістердің күштеп көшірілу тарихы, олардың Ақтөбе облысына келуі, аудандар бойынша орналастырылуы, шаруашылықтық, әлеуметтік жағынан қамтамасыз етілуі, жаңа жерлерге келгеннен кейінгі тарихи тағдыры қарастырылады. Авторлар жергілікті архив деректері негізінде Ақтөбе облысына қоныс аударылған немістердің категорияларын, сандық құрамын және аудандар бойынша бөлінісін зерделейді. Қоныс аударылған немістердің шоғырланған жерлері, солардың негізінде құрылған елді мекендер туралы өлкетанулық мәліметтер келтіреді. Сондай-ақ мақалада қоныс аударылған немістердің үй-жаймен, жұмыспен қамтамасыз етілу мәселелері талданады. Авторлар бұл ретте олардың ауыр құрылыс және колхоз жұмыстарына тартылғандығын атап өтеді.

Мақалада қоныс аударылған немістердің жаңа жерлерге келгеннен кейінгі екінші рет қуғын-сүргінге ұшыратылу мәселесіне ерекше көңіл бөлінген. Авторлар немістердің еңбекке жарамды бөлігінің еңбек колонналарына алынып, ірі құрылыс нысандарына жұмысшы күші ретінде жегілгендігін атап өтеді. Бұл құрылыс нысандары Ақтөбе еңбекпен түзеу лагерінің бөлімшелері болды. Еңбекке жұмылдырылғандар лагерлік режимде өмір сүрді. Олардың барлық құқықтары тапталып, адам төзгісіз жағдайларда жұмыс жасады. Авторлар кейбір арнайы қоныс аударылған немістердің жалған айыптармен тергеуге алынып, сотты болғандығын да атап өтеді. Тұтқындардың лагерлердегі ауыр жағдайын, олардың түрлі жұқпалы індеттерге шалдығып, өлу фактілерін архив деректерінің негізінде баяндайды. Мақала соңында негізгі түйіндер жасалған.

**Түйін сөздер:** Қуғын-сүргін, күштеп жер аудару, арнайы қоныс аударылғандар, еңбек колонналары, лагерь, Кемпірсай.

## ИЗ ИСТОРИИ ДЕПОРТАЦИИ НЕМЦЕВ В АКТЮБИНСКУЮ ОБЛАСТЬ

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**Аннотация.** В статье рассматривается история депортации немцев, их прибытие в Актыбинскую область, расселение по районам, хозяйственное, социальное обеспечение, историческая судьба после прибытия на новые места. Авторы на основе архивных документов изучают категории, количественный состав и распределение по районам немцев-переселенцев Актыбинской области. Приводит краеведческие данные о местах сосредоточения немцев-переселенцев, населенных пунктах, созданных на их основе. Также в статье анализируются вопросы обеспеченности немцев-переселенцев жильем, работой. При этом авторы отмечают, что они были привлечены к тяжелым строительным и колхозным работам.

Особое внимание в статье уделено проблеме репрессий немцев-переселенцев во второй раз после их прибытия на новые места. Авторы отмечают, что трудоспособная часть немцев была принудительно мобилизовано в трудовые колонны и использовано в качестве рабочей силы на крупных строительных объектах. Эти объекты стали подразделениями Актыбинского исправительно-трудового лагеря. Трудмобилизованные содержались в лагерном режиме. Все их права не соблюдались и работали в невыносимых условиях. Авторы также отмечают, что некоторые немцы-спецпереселенцы по ложным обвинениям подвергались гонениям и суду. Описывает на основе архивных данных тяжелое положение заключенных в лагерях, факты их гибели и заражения различными инфекционными болезнями. В конце статьи сделаны основные выводы.

**Ключевые слова:** Репрессии, Депортация, Спецпереселенцы, Трудовые колонны, Лагерь, Кемпирсай.