

ADAPTATION OF DEPORTED GERMANS IN KAZAKHSTAN IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XX CENTURY

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Abstract. The main purpose is the study of the peculiarities of adaptation and accommodation of Germans deported to Kazakhstan in the mid-twentieth century, who turned into a stable component of the demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural life of the republic, showing an example of successful adaptation of an ethnic group in a foreign cultural environment. In the course of studying the presented problem, authors relied on works and documents, having studied which we were able to trace the processes of adaptation and accommodation of Germans on the territory of Kazakhstan.

The article highlights the features and types of adaptation of Germans in Kazakhstan during the deportation during the Second World War and in the post-war years. Along with the periods of forced resettlement and the number of deportees, the types of adaptation are described in detail: economic, social, household, cultural. The process of creating settlements is sanctified as a necessary condition for collective adaptation to the natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan. Household adaptation, which provided for the construction of dwellings adapted to the natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan, is described in detail. The socio-cultural relations of migrants with representatives of other ethnic groups are highlighted.

The materials are of practical value, since the application of this experience by the government will undoubtedly become the basis for practical application in the field of creating an atmosphere of interethnic harmony.

Key words: Kazakhstan, adaptation, accommodation, acculturation, migration, deportation

Introduction

Since gaining independence in 1991, Kazakhstan has faced the task of building a stable, multi-ethnic society. The young republic faced many problems, including the preservation of interethnic harmony in the republic. Although for 30 years of independence it was possible to keep stability in relations between ethnic groups, this area will always be one of the important strategic directions in the internal policy of the country. In our

opinion, an important role in its solution will be played by the use of the unique experience of adaptation of the ethnic groups of Kazakhstan, which took place since the annexation of the region to the Russian Empire, as a result of the active resettlement policy of tsarism.

Despite the numerous works on the resettlement policy of tsarism in Kazakhstan in the XIX-early XX century, researchers have not sufficiently highlighted the problem of adaptation of ethnic groups, although this aspect is an important part of the problem. Undoubtedly, this process played a major role in the process of sustainable development of Kazakhstan, in the sphere of interethnic relations in subsequent periods of development.

Materials and methods of research

Before proceeding to the study of the processes of formation of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan, we consider it necessary to understand the definitions of concepts used in ethnography and social anthropology to denote the processes of interaction between ethnic groups. Thus, in ethnology it was common to use such a concept as adaptation, assimilation.

According to the Russian researcher G. Tavadov, the concept of ethnic adaptation is understood as a process of active adaptation of ethnic groups (community) to the changed natural and socio-cultural environment. The main way of ethnic adaptation, the scientist writes, is the adoption of norms and values of the new socio-ethnic environment (cultural-linguistic, economic-cultural, political, moral, domestic, etc.), forms of interethnic interaction (formal and informal ties, style of behavior, family and neighborhood relations, etc.). He also includes forms of subject activities (e.g., ways of professional work performance or family responsibilities) [1].

The Great Soviet Encyclopedia interpreted the concept of assimilation (ethnographic) as the fusion of the language, culture and national identity of one people with the language, culture and national identity of another people. In ethnology, it is the interaction of two ethnic groups, as a result of which one of them is absorbed by the other and loses its ethnic identity. Based on these principles in sociology, "assimilation is when a part of a society or an entire people **loses its individual characteristics** and becomes part of something larger".

As it seems to us, these definitions and concepts do not sufficiently cover the processes that concern our research. Germans living in Kazakhstan did not lose their faith, way of life, preserving their national features. As for the language, in the places of compact residence they preserved their language. Where they were scattered and lived in a non-ethnic environment, a significant part of Germans spoke the language spoken by the majority of the population. In this respect, the notion of accommodation would be more appropriate when referring to the processes taking place among the German diaspora. In the UNESCO dictionary, in the section "Ethnicity. F. Riggs writes "Ethnic accommodation is an ethnic practice that leads to mutual adaptation between ethno-organizations and those who govern society. Ethnic accommodation means that the dominant group in the society allows the immigrant group to self-organize economically and in everyday life, which provides for the adaptation of the immigrant group to the dominant patterns of behavior already existing in the society" [2].

In the course of studying this problem, we relied on works and documents, having studied which we were able to trace the processes of resettlement and accommodation of Germans in the territory of Kazakhstan. Important sources for us were archival materials published in various collections of documents, as well as Internet resources, where there is a large body of information about this problem. In preparing this publication we used the following methods of scientific research: case study (method of concrete situations), which includes analysis and synthesis of information, revealing the regularity, interrelation and interdependence of processes. We also used the method of analogy, which requires the establishment of similarity in some aspects, properties and relations between non-identical objects of research, on the basis of which we made the appropriate conclusion - inference by analogy. In addition, the method of induction and deduction allowed us to evaluate the obtained conclusions. We also used bibliometric quantitative methods, with the help of which we study the structure, dynamics and interrelationships of various phenomena in the field of library and information and documentation activities. Bibliometric methods include

the method of counting the number of publications, the method of analyzing literature citation ("citation-index"), thesaurus, content analysis.

Discussion

Several groups represent sources on the history of adaptation and accommodation of Germans in Kazakhstan. One group consists of sources on the issues of resettlement and adaptation in the pre-revolutionary period.

They include materials of the Resettlement Department - plans and reports, reviews and reference books ("books"), journals of meetings and commissions, audit materials. Most of them have been brought into scientific circulation by domestic and foreign scholars, becoming the subject of special or general studies.

These include numerous statistical materials. Among this group we can single out the materials of the First General Population Census of the Russian Empire in 1897 and the All-Union Population Censuses of 1926, 1939, 1959, which contained the first official data on the number of the main ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan, including Germans.

Numerous works by researchers contain reviews of the life activities of the Germans of Kazakhstan, provide numerical data, and analyze their socio-economic situation.

I.V.Erofeeva considers migration processes among Kazakhstani Germans, including the types of migration of Germans in the pre-revolutionary period [3].

V.E.Krieger investigates the socio-economic development of the German resettlement village of Kazakhstan in the XIX - early XX centuries [4].

P.P.Vibe examines the process of adaptation of German colonists in Akmola and Semipalatinsk oblasts in the mentioned period [5].

Y.I.Podoprighora, N.D.Nikiforov investigated the socio-economic situation of the Germans of northeastern Kazakhstan [6] [7].

The issues of deportation of the German people to the territory of the region were given the main attention in the first years of independence of the republic. One of the first to engage in historical research in this area was L.A. Burgard, who investigated these problems in the regional aspect, singling out the East Kazakhstan region as the place of the greatest concentration of deported German people, studied the problems of adaptation and other aspects of socio-economic development of the German population of Kazakhstan in 1959-1999 [8].

The works of K. Aldazhumanov, K. Sakenov, V. Ivanov highlight the history of the Germans of Kazakhstan, including examples of ethnic adaptation and accommodation [9], [10], [11].

E.Y. Sadovskaya devoted her research to the migration of the Germans of Kazakhstan in the late XX-early XXI centuries [12].

E. Schlegel studied the ethnic identity of the Germans of Russia and the Germans of Kazakhstan [13].

In Germany, R. Karsten, S. Heitman, G-A Riek, I. Fleischhauer, B. Pinkus, D. Brandes, M. Busch, K. Pavlovic, Karsten, S.Heitman, G-A Riek, I.Fleischhauer, B.Pinkus, D. Brandes, M. Busch, K. Pavlovic [14]; [15]; [16], [17], [18].

In their monographs, they touched upon the issues of socio-political, economic situation, national identity, demographic development, and migration behavior of the German population in the USSR.

Materials of the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan were used in the study of this topic.

In 2008 and 2013, employees of the Institute of Philosophy and Political Science of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan conducted a comprehensive sociological study of adaptive practices of the Germans of Kazakhstan. It was aimed at finding out the social, economic, cultural problems important for Germans and finding solutions to them through the study of public opinion of Kazakhstani Germans themselves. In 2018, a comprehensive sociological study of ethnic Germans of Kazakhstan was conducted. Over the past few years, a number of works have been published that examine the history and contemporary ethno-social processes among the Germans of Kazakhstan.

Results

The most tragic period in the history of the Germans of Kazakhstan is associated with the forced deportation during World War II, 1939-1945. This event was one of the crimes of Stalin's totalitarian regime in the Soviet Union. From August 1941 to January 1942, in the initial period of the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet authorities carried out a forced resettlement, deportation, of Germans from the European part of the USSR to Kazakhstan and Siberia. In August 1941, the USSR government, having falsely accused the Soviet Germans of collaborating with Hitler's Nazi regime in Germany, adopted a number of documents, according to which their deportation began. Thus, on August 26, 1941, the Decree of the USSR Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (b) "On the resettlement of Germans from the Republic of Volga Germans, Saratov and Stalingrad regions to other krais and regions" was issued, and on August 28, 1941, the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR No. 21-160 "On the resettlement of Germans living in the Volga region" was issued. By the end of September 1941, more than 400,000 Germans had been deported from the Volga region, where Germans had lived for more than 180 years and where the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Volga Germans had existed since 1918, to Kazakhstan and Siberia. In addition to Volga Germans, the German population of the occupied territories of the Baltic States, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldavia were also deported [19].

There is no consensus on the number of Germans deported to Kazakhstan, researchers cite different data. For example, K.S. Aldazhumanov, based on archival data, believes that over 462,000 Germans were evicted to Kazakhstan during the Patriotic War, and by the end of 1945, 300,600 Germans remained in the Republic [20].

Y. Romanov gives data on 400,300 deported Germans [21].

H. F. Bugai reports that a total of 432,872 Germans were settled in Kazakhstan. In the reference of the NKVD of the Republic it is stated that during the entire period of the war 393,711 Germans arrived in Kazakhstan and 95,705 left [22].

All deportees were mobilized to industry and construction sites in the republic. Thus, as a result of forced (compulsory) migration of Germans from August 1941 to January 1942, the number of German population in Kazakhstan increased manifold. During the period under consideration, the number of rural German population in Kazakhstan increased sharply, which is explained by the following. The increase in the number of rural Germans in Kazakhstan was facilitated by the fact that according to the original plan, all deported German population was sent exclusively to rural areas. The settlement of the deported Germans was done on a case-by-case basis. A certain number of families were sent to each district, which, in turn, were further divided by villages and [23].

In addition, the growth of the number of Germans in the rural areas of the republic was also influenced by the fact that since the fall of 1941 the residence of Germans in the regional towns of Kazakhstan and Siberia was forbidden. On November 10, 1941, the local German population living in Kazakhstan was evicted from the regional towns and sent to the MTS, state and collective farms. Thus, the Germans deported to the territory of Kazakhstan, both from rural settlements and from cities, found themselves settled in rural settlements. Local authorities organized new collective and state farms and resettled Germans both in German collective farms, where Germans made up the majority of the population, and in villages with mixed populations: Russian, Ukrainian villages and Kazakh auls [24].

The process of adaptation of deported Germans in Kazakhstan was difficult. Scattered over a vast territory and limited in contacts with compatriots, the special settlers were exposed to the danger of ethno-cultural assimilation with the local population. The housing problem was very acute in the new places of settlement. It should be noted that in the period under consideration not only the special settlers, but also the local population was in dire need of food and goods. Due to the weak material situation, extreme shortage of food supplies, warm clothes and shoes, the process of adaptation to the conditions of life in the special settlement and to work was difficult.

Despite all the difficulties, the deported Germans demonstrated a high level of

adaptability to the new conditions. They earned the respect of the local population by their industriousness, non-conflict and respect for Kazakh traditions and customs. Germans settled in Kazakh auls quickly learned the Kazakh language. In the village of Kirovka, North Kazakhstan Oblast, Kazakh became the second native language of all local Germans. Germans adopted Kazakhs' skills of animal husbandry, especially horse breeding. In turn, Kazakhs and Russians borrowed much from Germans in the methods of rational farming and housing. The Kazakhs of the northern regions had a respectful saying towards the Germans: "If you want to live in prosperity, marry a German". Germans marrying Kazakh men strictly observed Kazakh folk traditions. In the post-war period, Germans were reliable social partners for Kazakhs and Kazakh Russians [25].

As a result of the deportation of Germans during and after World War II, a special, not only demographic and social, but also linguistic situation developed in some regions of Kazakhstan. Multinational villages with a significant proportion of German population emerged. Often a peculiar multilingualism was observed in one and the same family. If the speakers of Upper German dialects understood each other relatively well, the Lower German dialects differed so significantly that mutual understanding was impossible. The "common language" in this case is either Russian or dialectally colored literary German. Many speakers of the dialect, especially of the Lower German ("Mennonite") dialect, had great difficulties in learning literary German (Bugai, 2000: 19).

The abolition of the special settlement regime against Germans and the liquidation of the system of special settlements occurred only in 1954 - 1955, and full restoration in political rights - in 1964 [26].

Subsequently, the legal rehabilitation and restoration of the rights of Soviet Germans took place through the adoption of the following acts: the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of November 3, 1972 "On the removal of restrictions in the choice of place of residence provided in the past for certain categories of citizens", the Declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of November 14, 1989 "On the recognition of illegal and criminal repressive acts against the peoples subjected to forced resettlement and ensuring their rights", the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan of April 14, 1993 "On the rehabilitation of the same". Thus, after 1941, the number of the German population of the republic increased manifold, and as a result of the placement of deported Germans in the regions and districts of Kazakhstan, the geography of German settlement expanded significantly [27].

In the following years, until the early 1990s, the territorial structure of the German population did not undergo major changes. Changes in the settlement of Germans in the settlements of the republic were related to the administrative and economic transformations of the 1950s and 1980s. For example, in order to improve economic results, new districts were created, unpromising villages were liquidated, and several settlements were consolidated. As a result, the population from unpromising villages moved to the new administrative entity. Such changes either increased or decreased the area of German settlement, led to a decrease in the ethnic homogeneity of rural German settlements, as well as to an increase in the dispersion of Germans in the study area.

According to the results of the All-Union population census of 1959, 659751 Germans lived on the territory of Kazakhstan, of which 204098 were urban population, 455653 - rural population. The increase in the number of Germans in relation to 1939 amounted to 612.7%. The share of Germans in the population of the Republic was 7.1%. The largest number of Germans lived in Karaganda, Akmola, Kustanai, Kokchetav and Pavlodar regions. The group of rural German population amounted to 69.1% of the ethnos, the group of urban German population - 30.9%. For the first time the growth of urban German population was noted in the regions of Kazakhstan⁹⁶. In three oblasts of Kazakhstan, the urban German population was numerically predominant: Guryevskaya (urban population - 1907, rural - 69), Karaganda (83,605 - 27,439 respectively) and Kyzyl-Orda (1869 - 1023 respectively), which can be explained by the specifics of the industrial development of these regions. One can get an idea of the number of Germans in 1960s Kazakhstan with the help of the results of

the All-Union Population Census of 1970. By 1970 the share of urban German population in Kazakhstan increased by 40.4%. In total in 1970 in Kazakhstan lived 346,240 urban German population and 511,837 - rural German population, which, in total, amounted to 858,077 people of the German population. The increase in relation to 1959 amounted to 30.1%. Germans were the fourth largest in the ethnic structure of Kazakhstan's population [28].

By the end of the 1970s, there was a further increase in the German population of the republic. According to the results of the All-Union census of 1979, 900,207 Germans lived in Kazakhstan, which is 42,130 more than in 1970. Germans were the third largest ethnic group in the republic. There were 495,716 rural Germans in Kazakhstan and 404,49198 urban Germans. The 1980s became the peak of demographic development of the German population of Kazakhstan in the twentieth century. According to the results of the All-Union population census of 1989, there were 957,518 Germans in the republic and they were the third largest population after Kazakhs and Russians [29].

Compared to 1979, there was a 6.4% increase in the number of Germans. The urban German population group accounted for a relatively high result with a 5.0 percent share of the population (or 469,803 persons). The rural German population group was still predominant with 6.9 percent of the population share (or 487,715 persons). Thus, from the late 1950s to the late 1980s, there was an increase in the number of Germans in Kazakhstan. If in 1936 there were 92,571 Germans in Kazakhstan, then as a result of the so-called mechanical increase (mass forced deportation, special settlement regime that existed until 1954), the number of Germans in the republic increased many times and by 1959 amounted to 659,751 people [30].

In the 1960s-1980s, the growth of the total number of Germans in Kazakhstan continued, due to a relatively high natural increase (especially in the rural population) and a decline in mortality rates. The growth rate of the German population for 1959 - 1970 was 30%; for 1970 - 1979 - 4.9% and for 1979 - 1989 - 6.4% [31].

Ethnolinguistic studies conducted in 1978-1989 in the oblasts of the north-eastern and central regions of Kazakhstan revealed the following level of proficiency of Kazakh Germans in literary German and dialect. The intelligentsia and people over 60 years of age had a good command of literary German, regardless of their level of education (since informants over 60 were educated in German in German elementary schools; they were the main speakers of German dialects). Germans aged 20-35 had poor command of their native language (they did not have the opportunity to study German literary language in educational institutions, learned the dialect only in the family). 31% of the urban population actively spoke the dialect, 69% - passively; 57% of the rural population actively spoke the dialect, 43% - passively. The entire German population living in both rural and urban areas spoke Russian (as a language of interethnic communication). Thus, in the north-eastern and central regions of Kazakhstan, both in urban and rural settlements, in everyday life communication (in the intra-family sphere and at the household level) Kazakhstani Germans predominantly used dialect [32].

In addition, in the villages of these regions of Kazakhstan, the dialect was predominantly used in production and labor activities. A different ethno-linguistic situation had developed by the end of the 1980s in the south of Kazakhstan, in rural settlements, places of compact residence of the German population. According to the results of ethno-sociological survey, conducted in 1989 in rural settlements of Alma-Ata region, it was found that Germans used their native language in their speech activity in intra-family and domestic spheres, and never used it in the production sphere. By this period there was a tendency to displace the German language from the level of everyday communication. There was an extremely low degree of use of German when reading newspapers, magazines and books, listening to or watching radio and television programs; only 0.8% to 1.0% of the interviewed Germans used their native language in these spheres.

In comparison with the first half of the twentieth century, the interfering influence of the Kazakh language on the language of the German population of Kazakhstan is increasing, in particular, trilingualism (German-Russian-Kazakh) continues to develop. In

the 1970s, Kazakh linguists in their works singled out a qualitatively new class of words - Kazakhisms - in the lexical system of the German language. Researchers offer as an example the Kazakhisms actively used in the speech of Germans from the village of Aktogai in the Aktogai district, Aktogai district, Dzhezkazgan region. Heute kommezu uns kopak - We have guests coming today (Kazakh word kopak - guest; German equivalent - der Gast). Morgen gibt es zu Haus ein Toi - Tomorrow we will have a feast at home (Kazakh word Toi - feast; German equivalent - Gastmahl Festmahe), etc. (Burgart, 2002: 230)

The reason for the penetration of Kazakh national-specific words-realities (primarily words related to everyday life and customs, culture and traditions of Kazakhs) in the language of Soviet Germans was the direct contact between the German and Kazakh population at the production, household and other levels.

Since the early 1990s there has been a sharp decline in the German population of Kazakhstan due to the mass emigration of Germans to Germany. This was due to the dire socio-economic situation that overwhelmed the republic after the collapse of the USSR in 1991 and the fear of socio-political cataclysms in Kazakhstan. The program of the German government on reunification of compatriots and high standard of living became the reason that by the end of 1990s about 80% of Kazakhstani Germans left Kazakhstan. From 1987 to 1989, 28,656 people received permission to leave, in 1989 - 1993 - 366,386 people.

Since the late 1980s - early 1990s, the natural increase in the German population did not cover the outflow of Germans from Kazakhstan due to migration to other republics and increasing emigration abroad.

After the independence of the Republic, the process of accommodation of Kazakhstani Germans, supported by the Government of Kazakhstan, continues. Work is underway to familiarize Germans living in Kazakhstan with German culture and improve the teaching of the German language. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany allocates significant funds to assist in this endeavor. Regions that received significant assistance from the FRG were, for example, Pavlodar, Karaganda and Kustanai regions in Kazakhstan.

The beginning of the process of activation of national consciousness in Kazakhstan, including German consciousness, was in 1989. Everywhere by the efforts of enthusiasts "Revival" societies and national cultural centers of Germans were created. At two convened congresses of the Germans of Kazakhstan (in 1992 and 1995), the Council of Germans was elected, representing the interests of half a million people of the republic at that time. And in 1994 the German House was opened in Almaty, which is now known throughout Kazakhstan and beyond. For a short period of its existence, the House managed to become the center of cultural and socio-political life of Germans. And the Council of Germans became a reliable bridge between Kazakhstan and Germany, a point of contact of mutual interests of our countries, first of all, connected with the life activity of the German ethnic group in Kazakhstan. He developed the Comprehensive Program of ethnic revival of Germans (approved in October 1993 by the Resolution of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan). On the basis of this program, regional programs of ethnic revival were developed and adopted. In December 1994, a decision was made to extend its validity and additional measures to this program were approved.

The Council of Germans attaches great importance to work on the revival of the native language. In Astana, a German complex, including a kindergarten, elementary school and gymnasium, was created through the efforts of the regional society "Renaissance". A German progymnasium (elementary classes) and a German kindergarten have been opened in Karaganda.

A significant role in the activities of German voluntary associations is played by cultural and leisure work aimed at revitalizing and disseminating culture. Choral and vocal groups, folklore, musical and family ensembles, and dance groups operate at regional, city, and district national-cultural centers. Libraries and German children's Sunday schools operate at the centers. Two music colleges in the cities of Pavlodar and Rudny train personnel for cultural centers.

The only German drama theater in the CIS operates in Almaty. The inhabitants

of Kazakhstan and beyond learn about the life of Germans from the permanent weekly TV program "Guten Abend", regular republican radio programs in German language, newspaper "Deutsche Allgemeine", which receive subsidies from the republican budget. Since 1958 there has been a German editorial office on the Kazakh State Radio. The German literary-artistic and socio-political almanac "Phoenix" also receives state support.

Since the fall of 1997, a popular publication "Euroasian Courier" has been published in Germany, aimed at both natives of Kazakhstan and other readers. The association of German scientists of Kazakhstan deserves special mention.

For the first time after half a century of oblivion, the Kazakh Germans truly felt themselves as an ethnic community, which is characterized by national self-consciousness and the desire for ethnic self-preservation.

Thus, Kazakhstani Germans in places of compact residence, even being in a foreign ethnic environment in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, preserved themselves as a continuous community, preserved their language, their culture, their traditions. The German diaspora of Kazakhstan in the process of its development and formation turned into a stable component of demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural life of the republic, showing an example of successful adaptation and accumulation of ethnos in a foreign cultural environment.

The German Diaspora, being a part of the multinational people of Kazakhstan, stands for national harmony and makes a great contribution to the development of the Republic. Germans of Kazakhstan are actively represented in politics, business, science and culture. Among the representatives of this ethnos, who made a great contribution to the development of the republic can be named writer G. Belger, politician A. Rau, journalists K. Ehrlich and R. Steinmark, archeologist W. Seibert and many others. Care about preservation of ties between Kazakhstani and German compatriots, their versatile cooperation is an indispensable condition for preservation and development of the German ethnic group in multinational Kazakhstan.

Conclusion

The German diaspora of Kazakhstan in the process of its development and formation in the second half of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has become a stable component of demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural life of the republic, showing an example of successful adaptation of the ethnos in a foreign cultural environment.

Kazakhstan Germans showed an example of active adaptation of ethnic groups (community) to the changed natural and socio-cultural environment, which is expressed in the adoption of norms and values of the new socio-ethnic environment (cultural-linguistic, economic-cultural, political, moral, domestic, etc.), forms of inter-ethnic interaction (formal and informal ties, behavioral style, family and neighborhood relations, etc.).

In addition to adaptation, Kazakhstani Germans have also undergone the process of accommodation, that is, they were able to self-organize economically and in everyday life in a foreign cultural environment, to adapt to the dominant patterns of behavior already existing in society.

Germans living on the territory of Kazakhstan did not lose their faith, way of life, preserving their national features and language.

Practical application of this experience of adaptation and accommodation of Kazakhstani Germans by the government will undoubtedly become the basis for practical application in the sphere of creating an atmosphere of interethnic harmony.

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