

The Employment of Politically Repressed and Special Settlers During the Development of the Virgin Lands of Northern Kazakhstan

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Abstract: This study deals with the problems of Virgin and Fallow lands development using the labor of political repression victims and the special settlers during the implementation of the Soviet Union's ambitious project within the Northern Kazakhstan. The active use of Gulag prisoners cheap labor for the solution of economic problems was a fairly common matter for the Soviet power. A Virgin Land was not an exception. The researchers rely on unpublished materials of various departmental and state archives, the published sources and narratives, the methods of historical descriptions and specific analysis are used.

Key words: Special settlers, camps, farms, Virgin Land, Northern Kazakhstan, repression

INTRODUCTION

The development of Virgin and Fallow lands is one of the Soviet Union ambitious projects in the 20th century. Kazakh Land with Russian Siberia became a platform for the implementation of this "greatest" project. He radically changed the face of the country, made an impact on the fate of many nations of the former Soviet Union. People from almost all Soviet republics arrived in Kazakhstan during the 1st year (1954-1955). Total 97,600 young patriots and 6200 communists arrived to develop feather grass steppe to give bread and industrial raw materials for the country. This was written in all print media of the USSR. These people became known as "Virgin landers."

The local population of Northern Kazakhstan was engaged in cattle breeding for centuries. The authorities understand that it would be difficult for the Kazakh people oriented on nomadic culture to grow wheat. Moreover, people were not familiar with agricultural machinery, which is also a difficult problem. Therefore, the Soviet government needed a huge labor force and human resources for the project implementation.

The following opinion developed in the Soviet and in the modern historiography of Kazakhstan: the development of Virgin and Fallow lands was due to enthusiasts from all over the Soviet Union on a purely voluntary basis. Without prejudice to the work of volunteers and the local population, it is necessary to show another side of this dramatic problem. It is important for the formation of adequate memory politics in modern multinational Kazakhstan.

To complete the picture about "Virgin land epic" we shall take into account the following facts. Firstly, the functioning of the Main Directorate of camps (Gulag) system in Kazakhstan during the early period of Virgin and fallow lands development (1954). Secondly, the absence of rehabilitation among such deported peoples as Germans and Crimean Tatars, even after the 20th Congress in 1956. Thirdly, Kazakhstan was the Soviet Union Republic with the largest number of special settlers. Special settlers is the phenomenon of the totalitarian Soviet Regime. People were forcibly evicted from the place of residence according to social, ethnic, political signs without any trial. This is the category of the Soviet Union repressed people, limited by civil rights. In Kazakhstan, during the Second World War and in the postwar years, they carried out the heaviest works (in coal mines of Karaganda and Dzhezkazgan in the building of Western Kazakhstan refinery in the gold mines of Northern Kazakhstan). It was a common thing to use the repression victims at any time as a cheap or even free labor for Soviet power. American Journalist Ann Applebaum in her work "Gulag". The web of great terror comes to the conclusion that the share of special settlers at the industrial enterprises of the Urals makes 40-80% and in the forest industry it makes 50-90% of employees (Anne, 2006). This is the forced labor based on violence. A.B. Suslov noted that in the USSR only different kinds of forced labor existed. There was no free labor (Anonymous, 2005). This is one of the "Stalinist modernization" aspects.

The problem of forced labor in the "great" projects of the Soviet Union was studied actively after 1990th years of the 20th century by the scientists in the former Soviet

Union, especially the Russian ones (Papkov, 1997). These studies based on the regional data show a real contribution of the special contingent into the economic development of the country. The researchers use as archival material so as people's memories. The comprehensive study of these people employment methods and forms, their contribution to the economy demonstrates R.S. Bikmetov study "The use of special contingent for the creation and the enhancement of Kuzbass economic potential in the late 1920s the second half of the 1950s". A.A. Dolgoliuk in his study "Special contingents in North-Western Siberia during the 1930s and early 1950s" identifies different categories of special contingent. These are prisoners, Vlasov people, the prisoners of war and internees. They made the conclusion about the impossibility of Siberia region social and economic development without the use of these people labour. In some studies the term marginal person is used to denote this category of the population.

It can be argued that a great job was done during the economics camp sector study. The situation is different with the study of the special settlers employment, the repressed and various marginalized groups in the development of Virgin lands even when Kazakhstan gained independence. There is a comprehensive study of the Russian researcher N.A. Efremova-Shershukova "Germans of Kazakhstan: deportation, special settlement, rehabilitation" (2009). The researcher also considers the integration processes for special German settlers in the structure of the labor army.

In Soviet historiography, this theme is almost not represented. And, it is not only due to the fact that not all materials are available. The reason is based on the stereotypes of thinking. A Virgin Land uniquely embodies the idea of heroic labor and friendship among peoples. And this discourse is the dominant one. This is evidenced by all the commemorative activities related to the Virgin Land. There is a critical discourse. It is associated primarily with emerging environmental problems, the destruction of the traditional way of life and economy of the Kazakhs and hence of identity. This causes a certain tension in society.

In this study, we rely on unpublished materials of various departmental and state archives, published sources and narratives using the methods of historical descriptions, specific analysis.

The study is important for the restoration of the Virgin Land development full picture, updating of a previously closed topic concerning the methods of the Soviet Union economic potential development. It is the matter of historical justice relevant for the multinational Kazakhstan, experiencing the processes of modernization.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Main part

Stalin's camps of northern Kazakhstan during the period of Virgin Land (Atbasarsky camp department of Akmola region):

The Soviet government actively used the cheap labor of the Gulag prisoners to solve economic problems. A Virgin Land was not an exception. A Virgin Land developer A. Strel'yanny recalls that the former prisoners were a common case in 1956. Then for the first time we revealed what these Stalinist camps meant. In steppe they were called "points" "point number" "point number" then they turned into state farms. One of the latest workhouses in Akmola region was the camping department no. 19 established in Atbasar in 1955-1956. The camp branch number 154 was a part of state farms and was subordinate to the management of labor camps. This institution created after Stalin's death lasted only one and a half years. Nevertheless, the administration of the camp during the period of >1 year managed to conclude the agreements with local establishments. Accounting entries were made using prison labor. Even the annual reports of the camp management about the living conditions of prisoners preserved.

The camp department no. 19 is 50 km from the city of Atbasar. The prisoners began to be imported since March 1955. During May and June, they were engaged in the construction and supply of camp facilities. The performance of basic tasks by the prisoners began in July, the construction of the combined estates for three state farms named Chkalov, Koshevoy and Molodezhny started.

According to construction management order no. 154 concerning state farms and labor camps for a new state farm Shui creation another camp branch was established. Total 589 people worked according to the plan. According to the order no. 00122 issued on 29 June 1955 the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Kazakh SSR included into the camp office the reformed camp from the city of Atbasar. The prisoners obeyed and rendered the services for the brickyard, grain state farm Shui, the base no. 4 and the department no. 154 for the construction of state farms and labor camps. Thus, the number of prisoners reached 300 people. The camp was designed for 589 people but there were only 393 people.

In the first half of 1956, the employment of prisoners was characterized by the following parameters (Table 1): Compared with the former Soviet forced labor camps, the department no. 154, the camping department no. 19, related to the Ministry of Kazakh SSR for urban and rural construction, started to pay wages for the prisoners.

Table 1: Characterization of employment of prisoners in 1955 and 1956

Values (%)	Plan (1955)	Fact (1955)	Plan (1956)	Fact (1955)
Total number of prisoners, including	313	398	100.0	127.8
Paid prisoners	257	331	82.1	83.2
The prisoners taking part in camp works	27	39	8.6	9.8
Unemployed prisoners due to sickness	20	7	6.4	1.7

Until the first half of 1956, the inmates of the camp department worked for the construction of grain state farms Chkalov, Koshevoy, Molodezhny. Since June 1, the research was given to the construction Department of Kostanay region under the Ministry of Kazakh SSR of urban and rural construction, “Oktyabrstroitelstvo” Chkalovsky construction management. Since that time, the camp management provided Chkalovsky department with the workforce. In 1955, the task was set to bring the number of prisoners up to 1070 people for the implementation of construction and installation works program. In fact, the number of inmates managed to bring only to 607 people.

Note that the forced labor camp in Atbasar continued to work in 1956. This may be verified under the concluded agreement “Atbasar construction” issued on June 14 of that year which is kept in the Akmola Regional State archive. According to the documents, signed by the head of corrective labor camp department and colonies of the Interior Ministry Department of the Kazakh SSR the benefits for prisoners appear. For example, the inmates of labor camps were given equal rights with freely engaged employees and worked during 8 h.

The inmates of the camp were engaged in the construction of open state farms for the development of Virgin and Fallow lands. According to the actual data they intended to engage prisoners in construction of state farms and the cultivation of lands.

After 1956, the general directorate of camps was officially closed. However, documents revealed that some offices of the camp continued to operate. The main reason for this is a huge contribution of the institution to the economy of the Soviet Union. The involvement of cheap labor force from the places of forced involuntary labor to perform large construction works and activities was very profitable and efficient.

The researcher of the Russian North history I.V. Berdinskikh cites the following facts in this regard: “During the period of “Khrushchev thaw” at the end of the 1950th the number of Vyatlag inhabitants was significantly reduced due to the mass amnesty of this category of prisoners but the camp structure continued to exist during all Soviet years as the institution K-231 which persisted to the present day with a few changes. Due to the nature of its production ULLP Gulag facilities proved perhaps the most stable ones. In 1960 Vyatlag, Ivdellag

(1937), Kargopollag (1937), Sevurallag (1938), Unzhlag (1938), Ussollag (1938) continued to operate (Berdinskikh, 2007). In the forced labour camps of the forest industry because of the continuity of their existence the most voluminous and diverse archives were deposited and kept. When you close the camps the documents were often destroyed. Unfortunately, only in the Russian North (Karelia, Arkhangelsk Oblast, Komi Republic) the archives of such camp facilities were partially saved.

However, in contrast to the Russian North the latter part of the Kazakhstan system of camps was closed soon. The materials on succession of this institution or its transformation into another institution are absent.

So, the studied regional materials allowed to make the conclusion about the attraction and the use of cheap labor from the prisoners of the Soviet Labor Camps for the development of Virgin and Fallow lands in Kazakhstan. Atbasarsky Camp Department of Akmola region is one of these camps. Despite the destruction of many accounting documents during the Soviet period, we were able to find materials on prisoner labour use at the construction of the Virgin state farms.

The work of special settlers as the means of the last USSR major project implementation “Virgin Land”:

The Soviet power intended to use cheap labor of settlers for the implementation of large-scale project “Virgin Land”. First of all, the attention of authorities fell on deported people from the Black Earth Volga region who knew the agricultural business. They were Germans. Modern historians name various reasons of Germans not returning to the former residence regions after 1950s. The context of “Virgin epic” clearly indicates one of the main reasons. This is the use of German Republic special settlers for the development of Virgin and Fallow lands.

In 1956, 480,397 special German settlers lived in Kazakhstan according to population census. According to the population census of 1970, the number of Germans in Kazakhstan made 858,077 people, according to the population census of 1973 the amount of Germans made 877,500 people only 2.7%, i.e., 16,432 people were communists. The main part lived in North Kazakhstan: in Tselinograd region (1970) 99 812; (1973) 110 000; in Pavlodar region of 1970; 73,614; in 1973; 80,000; in the North-Kazakhstan region of 1970; 37 566; in 1973; 38,000; in Kostanai region of 1970; 90,357; in 1973; 90,000; in Kokchetav region of 1970; 75,485; in 1973; 75,000. These data show how to increase the percentage of the German people in Northern Kazakhstan.

The first event on the use of special settlers labour was the meeting chaired by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan

L.I. Brezhnev about the work of party bodies concerning the resolution "About the removal of some restrictions within the legal status of special settlers" issued on July 5, 1954. It stated: "A special attention should be paid to the deeper clarification of labor legislation for special settlers, the decisions of the party and government concerning the issues of agriculture rise".

After that the special German settlers became to be more employed in the agricultural sector. In grain areas of the country the Germans were resettled from other areas. According to Akmola regional committee, there were 68,409 special settlers on September 1, 1955, 40,508 of which were of German origin. About 29,022 among them worked at collective farms 4,906 men worked at state farms, 4 people were the chairmen of collective farms, 2 deputies, 143 people worked as the foremen of field brigades, 186 people were the foremen of tractor brigades, 12 people were the heads of farms, 8 people were the managers of state farm branches, 58 people were agronomists, 52 were livestock specialists, 89 were veterinarians. According to the notes of Kostanai Regional Committee in 1954-1955, 3335 of special German settlers were moved from other regions of the country. According to the Aktyubinsk regional committee of the party 19,744 special German settlers lived there, the Germans, 5,906 people of which worked in agriculture. The statistics show that among the special settlers Germans made the majority in the region. Moreover, they started to occupy certain positions in the economic sphere.

L.I. Brezhnev as the head of the republic paid a special attention to the employment of the special German settlers. He was even interested in the development of culture and the language of the German people. L.I. Brezhnev also constantly received information about the living conditions of the special German settlers from regional leaders. The decision of the Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan provided statistics concerning the special settlers in the Republic on October 1, 1955. Accordingly, there was an order to bring them into agricultural activities. Let's pay attention to the criticism in the resolution of many party, trade union, Komsomol workers, the managers of industrial enterprises, collective and state farms and machine and tractor stations. Let's quote this part: "still we did not realize that special settlers enjoy all the rights of Soviet citizens with a certain restriction of movement rights and still continue to consider them as the "second-class" people, indiscriminately and unnecessarily expressing their political mistrust".

According to statistics of 1956, 57 people among the special German settlers were the chairmen of collective farms, 1,895 people were collective farm

brigadiers, 497 people were the heads of livestock farms. However in the overall picture the representatives of the German people as special settlers were a small part among the management staff. The bulk of the people were simple farmers.

It was not accepted to talk about the work of these people and their invaluable contribution to the development of Virgin lands. Thus, we note that in the materials of party body archives in a Virgin Land, some private affairs and personnel were destroyed. It is in the public archive of Astana. Among them were the special German settlers who received the awards from the Soviet authorities during the Virgin Land period, so the basic information was a secret one.

In the local archives of the republic the personal funds of Virgin Land veterans among the Germans opened only after the collapse of the Soviet Union. For example, in 1996 in the archives of the city of Astana a personal fund of Albert Guerr was opened and a personal fund of Natalia Gellert was opened in local history museum. In personal fund of Albert Guerra the details with a high content of statistical data were found about the Germans who worked in the Virgin lands. There are materials confirming the preparation of publications of the book about the history of Germans in Kazakhstan by A. Herr.

Kazakhstan archives are rich of such materials. Many of the documents has not become an object of detailed and specialized study. Previously, the main reason for this was the presence of secrecy. Of course, the fullness of the raised issue study depends primarily on the study of archival materials.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Difficulties in state farm operation 1 attempts of cost accounting introduction: The large scale of production led to a large influx of labor, vehicles and equipment. A Virgin Land as a mass and poorly prepared event attracted not only experts and true enthusiasts but also a large number of people with different motivations. For example, out of 650 thousand people arrived in North Kazakhstan during the first two weeks of mass Virgin land development, according to the researchers, the people who really needed a Virgin land made only 130 thousand. In some areas of Virgin lands, including Akmola, the order violations, the squandering of public funds, embezzlement were frequent.

The ignorance of climatic, natural, environmental terrain features from new workforce, even the directors of state farms, adversely affected the development of agriculture. For all the state farms developed during the

raise of Virgin lands the same budget means were allocated, the amount of land and the same soil and climatic conditions were developed. So why, then some state farms were distinguished by high economic performance while others on the contrary were distinguished by low economic performance?

This was written in the certificates of the State Farm Ministry of Kazakh SSR: "In the state farms where the culture of agriculture is at higher level, the better terms of agricultural works are observed, a stable grain harvest is obtained". Many of the state farms as the result of agricultural production gross yield increase, the introduction of cost accounting in all stages of production, the careful expenditure of funds and property have a significant reduction in production costs. Many state farms achieved a high profitability and the payback of funds invested in the construction of state farms.

The sample of mismanagement is the work of the Dnepropetrovsk State farm of Atbasar District in 1960. The state farm started the financial year with a loss of 15.5 million rubles and planned to receive 3,428 thousand rubles. The huge loss of a state farm is the result of a colossal expenditure of cash means and valuables. The overspending of salary fund was admitted at the fault of the state farm director. During the construction and repair of buildings the payment for so called "wild" teams was performed according to contracts rather than government rates.

In 1957-1958, 18 state farms were established additionally on the lands of the economically weak and vast collective farms and additional plots, the part of the land is from the state fund. According to the situation of 1 August 1960, there is the absence of economy, waste, neglect in accounting and finance at state farms.

Much depended on the ability to manage the farms by the state farm directors. Therefore, for the good organization of work in 1960, 1970, many state farm directors received the honorary title of Socialist Labor Hero.

As of October 1 for 9 months of 1960, within six Northern areas constituting the area of the Kazakh SSR State Farm Ministry, 560 state farms changed 82 directors. A significant part of state farm directors was fired according the proposal of the district committees and regional committees of the party, as the poor leaders of state farms who allowed mismanagement, abuse and profitable work of state farms.

In the letter of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Regional Committee and the central committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR issued on 20 April 1961 concerning the measures for early implementation of the

7 year plan for the production and agricultural products in the province stated: "executing the decision of the January Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU (1961) the party organizations, the Soviet and agricultural bodies of the region developed the measures increasing agricultural production. In order to ensure the rapid growth of cattle and sheep number and a sharp increase in meat production in developed measures the particular attention is drawn to the development of pig and poultry". Therefore, state farms were engaged not only in the cultivation of grain but also in animal husbandry development.

Much effort was spent on the the solution of economic difficulties among collective farms. One of the measures is the introduction of cost accounting to improve the economy situation.

Let's refer to the report of the District Agricultural Department Chief accountant which provides an explanation of economic calculation. The report was read at the meeting of the regional seminar of economists and planners from the state farms and trusts which took place on August 14, 1960. "Economic calculation is the careful and economical expenditure of cash and property by each business unit", "a monthly summary of the work actually performed with direct costs such a procedure allows to know on a monthly basis what is done in a tractor-field team, repair shop, automobile garage, farm and office and what the price of such measures. Thus, a state farm cost accounting is not a minor office as are many leaders and state farms experts consider but a creative work of workers and farm experts". It was an attempt of farms self-sufficiency. Further, there is the report on the mistakes made in the formation of a number of state farms of Akmola region by comparing of their work and spent financial resources. We are talking about such farms as a Wisniewski state farm, Atbasar sheep farm, Krasnoselsky grain farm, Tersaskansky State farm and others.

However, it was not easy to introduce the system of cost accounting under the Soviet Regime. The director of state farms, who still implemented cost accounting had to submit reports from time to time concerning the targeted use of finance.

In order to create effective state farms the authority decided not to dissolve the Germans as an ethnic group, despite their status as special settlers, but on the contrary, let them unite in state farms. It is an interesting fact in the history of large-scale projects of the Soviet Union, which requires separate consideration.

German state farms of Virgin territory: The history of German communities in Kazakhstan started, since the mid 60s of the XIXth century, when the colonists arrived in

this region to search better land. Then Stolypin's reform on the eve of the First World War contributed to the large influx of Germans. Finally with the advent of Soviet power the deportation of peoples policy started. Therefore, the first forced resettlement of Germans in Kazakhstan was carried out on social grounds as class alien elements. Before and during the Second World War, the Germans resettled as an ethnic group which made a potential threat because of possible cooperation with Nazis. It is worth noting that during the war (in 1942), the Germans were the only people whose women were recruited into the labor army at the age of 16-45 years. However, even the end of the war did not contribute to the economic and social rehabilitation of the people. Although, deportation is recognized as a criminal act of the state, the national autonomy of the people was not restored. Only in 1972, the Germans were allowed to choose their place of residence freely. This is the story of this people in the Soviet State.

Many researches including German ones write about the labour use of the German ethnic group, about the features of the special settlement regime in the Soviet Union (Krieger and Frnzen, 1991). We concretize this problem on the basis of Akmola region. This regional context is important because the Germans still live here, who contributed the economic and social development of the region. The greater part of the Germans left for Germany.

Until 1961, Akmola region did not have German farms. Even such villages as Romanovka, Rozhdestvenka were not included in the list of the Virgin state farms, despite the fact that they were established at the beginning of the century.

According to the information of the Virgin land former veteran, the resident of Akmola oblast Albert Guerr in the most numerous Yereimentau region of Akmola oblast according to German residents there were no state farms and only 2 state farms were in Tselinograd area established prior to the Virgin land development.

In 1959-1961, the state farms were established in the places where Germans resided, who lived and worked in spite of the difficult conditions for many years. However in official documents, they were not mentioned as German state farms and were the same as all others Virgin land farms. This was the result of the Germans self-organization of in the vast Virgin Land.

The situation in the collective farms of Yereimentau region of Akmola Oblast established during Virgin Land period was quite difficult. The state farms on the basis of consolidated collective farms in 1957-1961 started the further development of regional agriculture. At this time, the following state farms functioned "Turgaisky",

"Leninsky", "Novomarkovsky", "Novodolinsky", "Seletinsky", "Frunze", "Erkinshiliksky", "Izobilnyi", "Ulentinsky", "Yereimentausky", "Kazakhstansky". Also the state farms with the predominance of the German people representatives were opened.

The most famous among them are "Erkinshiliksky", "Novodolinsky", "Krasnoyarsk". Germans living in the area, started to move in this state farms and to unite.

It is worth noting that during the development of Virgin lands at the determination of state farms locations some big mistakes were made. In past centuries, the local Kazakhs and later the Russian colonists immigrants during the construction of residential areas chose the places near water basins, i.e., along the rivers and lakes. For the North Kazakhstan, located mainly in the arid zone, the water was the source of life. During the development of Virgin lands, i.e., "the development of vacant lands", this feature was not taken into account. Common people and appointed heads of agencies suffered from it. The totalitarian system does not provide a choice and the people had no choice but to make every effort for the improvement of state farms.

In his memoirs, about his meeting with N.S. Khrushchev the deputy chief of Virgin land regional management of state farms K. Diyarov wrote the following. In December 1953, the Deputy of agriculture Minister in Kazakh SSR K. Diyarov, the Head of Akmola regional department of agriculture S.N. Strukov and the chief Deputy of Kostanay regional department of agriculture V.G. Savostin were invited to Khrushchev. During the meeting V.G. Savostin said that some empty lands are of no particular interest. Nikita Khrushchev objected and said: "No, you're wrong. I believe that there are good conditions for cereals growing. The fertile Virgin lands in Kazakhstan have millions of hectares. It is necessary to develop it and then the republic will make a sharp jump in grain production". Khrushchev without knowing the climatic conditions of the republic being in the center made the decisions that led to irreparable consequences. Perhaps, that is why, after the collapse of the Soviet State the operation of many state farms created during Virgin Land period was terminated. After the collapse of the totalitarian system the people migrated from these arid areas to the lands unsuitable for sowing.

As the data show the state farms with low water and unproductive lands of Yereimentau region tried to increase the land area to fulfill the state order. This decision led to soil erosion and exacerbated the deplorable situation. The director of the state farms attempted to introduce new technologies and farm mechanization. Despite the difficult conditions, the workers worked day and night and thus achieved good results.

For example, the German nation of Novodolinsky, Erkinshilik, Tselinograd area state farms experienced great difficulties associated with arid zones. Despite the focus of state farms on cattle, they also had the obligations concerning the grain-growing.

In the fate of the state farms, the special role was played by the state farm directors, the deported Germans. The director of the state farm "Erkinshilik" the repressed German Andrew Rimmer was among them. He worked in 1958-1964 as a chief engineer of the state farm then became director of the state farm "Erkinshilik". This is also the director of the state farm "Krasnoyarsky" Burbach David Wilhelmovich. In 1981, he received the title of Socialist Labor Hero. He is spoken of as an innovator who tried to facilitate the conduct of business activities through the implementation of new technological advances. Since, the creation of the state farm the economic activity was subject to strict discipline and order. From the first years of the state farm a commission was developed to monitor the administration of field and livestock. This commission shall report on the work performed during each party meeting. D. Burbach described the economic activity of the state farm with briefs and paid special attention to staff training, for example, the management was sent to training courses and each member of the state farm had to become a mechanization expert.

During D. Burbach directorship "Krasnoyarsky" state farm achieved especially positive results. The Krasnoyarsky State farm became famous for solid and strong wheat varieties. The Republic of Kazakhstan exports these varieties and thus occupies the leading positions of the global market.

Due to the selfless work since 1963, the situation started to recover, the management of the state farms began to implement cost accounting. The planted areas were increased. In addition to the grain, they started to grow barley, oats, millet, peas, potatoes, vegetables and melons, sugar beet. This greatly helped the state farms to improve the economic situation. German farms were the most well-kept, not only in the region but also in Kazakhstan.

Many state farms that have arisen during the development of Virgin lands in Kazakhstan, received the glory of millionaire state farms. They were able to unite people, labor and were also able to solve independently the socio-economic, cultural and educational issues. The high performance of grain import is important for the state.

Thus, the Germans made a significant contribution to the development of Virgin lands. The land development begins with the creation of state farms. "German" state farms were the most profitable in the

region. The Soviet government did not not pursue a consistent rehabilitation of Germans and relied on their labor potential to conquer Virgin lands. And, it was not mistaken. The places where Germans lived and worked were more ordered and well-maintained.

Summary: On the basis of the regional archival material the contribution of the special settlers and repressed people in the development of Virgin lands of Northern Kazakhstan is demonstrated. The particular attention is paid to the Germans which is quite justified. The "German" state farms were advanced ones and made a great contribution to the economic development of Northern Kazakhstan.

The process of secret archives started and it will allow some further study of the topic and the development of a fair image about the German people in the Soviet State.

CONCLUSION

The development of Virgin and Fallow lands was the last major project of the Soviet Union which changed the face of Kazakhstan. The story is complex and contradictory. In the Soviet and in the modern historiography of Kazakhstan, there is a view that the development of Virgin and fallow lands was performed by young enthusiasts who came voluntarily from all over the Soviet Union. Indeed, there was enthusiasm and romance as evidenced by the memories of Virgin Land developers. There is another side to this story. This is a huge experience of the totalitarian state in the use of forced labor. The system of the Soviet Union camps was actively used to raise the economy of the regions particularly with extreme living conditions. The mass amnesty of prisoners after Stalin's death, of course, increased the number of Virgin soil developers.

In order to form an objective picture of the Virgin epic it is necessary to consider the following facts. Firstly, the functioning of the Gulag system in Kazakhstan at the beginning of Virgin and fallow lands development (1954). Secondly, the absence of deported people rehabilitation such as Germans and Crimean Tatars, even after the 20th Congress in 1956. Thirdly, Kazakhstan was the Soviet Union republic with the largest number of special settlers, the phenomenon of the totalitarian Soviet regime.

Based on unpublished archival materials, we showed the contribution of special settlers to the economic development of the region, the development of Virgin and Fallow lands of northern Kazakhstan.

A special attention was given to the Germans of Northern Kazakhstan. Their farms established during the

development of Virgin lands made a significant contribution to the development of Kazakhstan economy. For example, the state farm Krasnoyarsky is known for its solid wheat. The Republic of Kazakhstan exports these varieties and occupies the leading position of the global market.

The theme under study is important for the development of an adequate memory policy in modern multinational Kazakhstan. The started process of secret archives opening in the country will allow to continue this topic study.

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