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Children in Conditions of “Peasant Exile” in Kazakhstan in the First Half of the 1930s

In the early 1930s, “dispossessed” peasants, along with their families, were evicted from their places of residence to remote regions of the USSR without any court proceedings. A significant number of the exiled peasants was sent to territories that are now part of the Karaganda region. The forced relocation of former kulaks to Kazakhstan was accompanied by the formation of a children’s contingent in special settlements. The socio-class principle determined the policy of the Stalinist leadership in relation to the children of dispossessed parents. A review of historiography suggests that the situation of children in special settlements in Kazakhstan during the first half of the 1930s has not been the subject of special study, and the publications that appeared have addressed only some of its problems. Therefore, the current study is relevant. A holistic view of the history of the “Kulak exile” is impossible without studying the children’s contingent in special settlements. The article analyzes the situation of children living under conditions of “peasant exile” in Kazakhstan in the first half of the 1930s. The key aspects of the stay of the children’s contingent in a special settlement are revealed: daily life, accommodation, housing and household arrangements, food and health care, fertility and mortality. The dramatic fates of children with the social label “children of the kulaks” are shown. The authors found out that the children perceived the expulsion to foreign lands as a tragedy, the collapse of their former lives. In 1930–1933, children in “peasant exile” in Kazakhstan were doomed to a miserable existence and starvation. By the mid-1930s, relatively acceptable living conditions had been formed for them.

Keywords: Soviet Kazakhstan, Karaganda region, peasant exile, children of special settlers, children’s daily life, social situation, medicine, nutrition, famine of 1932–1933, birth rate, mortality.

Introduction

A special and tragic page of Soviet history in the 1930s is the fate of the children of the “Kulak exile”. In 1930–1933, during collectivization, dispossessed peasants were deported without judicial proceedings to remote, undeveloped regions of the country. At that time, a socio-class principle of forced eviction was applied. Kazakhstan, along with the Urals and Siberia, served as a place of deployment for exiled “kulaks” and their family members. In the context of the policy of “eliminating the kulaks as a class” pursued by the Bolsheviks. The children of former “kulaks” were officially recognized as “socially alien elements” dangerous to the state. The repressive and punitive initiatives of the Soviet government — collectivization and “dekulakization” — contributed to the emergence of a children’s contingent in special settlements. The proportion of children sent into “Kulak exile” in Kazakhstan was high. Thus, the “Regulation on Special Settlers” of March 31, 1931 prescribed that children under the age of 16 should be registered [1; 61, 62].

The history of the children of the special settlers in Kazakhstan is connected with the history of the GULAG children. The stories about the stay of the children of dispossessed peasants in a special settlement in Kazakhstan have not yet been sufficiently studied. The study of the chosen topic makes a valuable contribution to the scientific understanding of the history of peasants’ forced deportations to Kazakhstan in the 1930s, and the identification of regional features of class-based coercive measures. At the same time, the history of the deportation of peasant children in the 1930s remains relevant due to its scientific and social significance. The relevance of the topic is determined by the fact that issues related to the situation of children of “Kulak exile” in Kazakhstan in the first half of the 1930s were studied in the context of the general history of special settlers.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the situation of children in “peasant exile” in Kazakhstan in the first half of the 1930s. To achieve the intended goal, the authors solve the following task: to study the daily lives of children of dispossessed parents, the social and living conditions of their residence: accommodation, housing and household arrangements, food and health care, fertility and mortality.

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It is important to consider this topic within the framework of modern historiography and the development of new forms of presentation of historical knowledge, which have not yet received sufficient attention. The possibilities of studying the chosen problem by Soviet historians were extremely limited due to strict censorship and the unavailability of sources. The late 1930s and the mid-1950s, forced evictions on social grounds were justified in official Soviet documents as a "struggle against the kulaks". The core of the concept of Soviet history, spelled out in the "Short Course of the CPSU", was the provision on the need to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes.

Until the end of the 1980s, Soviet authors' articles on the forced resettlement of former kulaks and measures for their "labor re-education" were written within the framework of the official party-class approach. However, for the first time, the authors, using a lot of factual material, raised questions about the fate of dispossessed peasants. Stories about the situation of children in conditions of "peasant exile" in Kazakhstan in the first half of the 1930s remained beyond the scope of research interest. Since the late 1980s, the history of the "Kulak exile" has become an independent research field in historiography. Kazakh scientists (M.K. Kozybayev, Zh.B. Abylkhozhin, K.S. Aldazhumanov [2], B. Zhangutin [3]), as well as foreign historians (V.N. Zemskov [4], N.A. Ivnitsky [5], L. Viola [6]) have studied the processes of dispossession and forced eviction of "kulaks" to remote areas of the USSR, the creation and functioning of the "Kulak" component in special settlements. The works contain fragmentary data on the children of special settlers — former "kulaks" in Kazakhstan. The main emphasis is on the analysis of the adoption and implementation of party-state policy based on the sources of official records. Meanwhile, there are only individual publications where the object of research is children in conditions of special settlement in Kazakhstan in the 1930s [7, 8].

There is no comprehensive work in historiography that summarizes the experience of developing the problem under consideration. The scientific novelty of the work is determined by the fact that for the first time in Kazakh historiography, an attempt is being made to study the situation of children in conditions of "peasant exile" in Kazakhstan, the problems of survival of the children's contingent in the first half of the 1930s.

Materials and methods

The source base of the article consists of regulatory and administrative documents of the central and republican party, Soviet bodies and law enforcement agencies of the USSR and the Kazakh SSR (resolutions, instructions, directives, orders, interdepartmental and intradepartmental correspondence, memoranda, current and summary reports, accounting documents containing statistical data). The dispossessed and exiled peasants and their children were registered and controlled by the OGPU-NKVD GULAG department and were called special settlers in official documents. Until the second half of the 1930s, the main population of the special settlements were former "kulaks". During this period, a special settlement system in the form of a "kulak exile" was formed and functioned.

To study the stated topic, materials from the State Archive of the Russian Federation (SA RF), as well as in the archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan, were used: the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK), the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK), the State Archive of the Karaganda region (SA KR), the State Archive of the Aktobe region (SA AR).

Information about the children of dispossessed peasants in the archival funds of the Republic of Kazakhstan was fragmented and dispersed among the documents of different funds. Thus, it was difficult to classify the children of special settlers — former "kulaks" by nationality, since most documents do not contain such information. The issue of the number of children of dispossessed parents located in Kazakhstan remains debatable. This is due to the inconsistency and discrepancy in the quantitative indicators of "dispossessed" peasants and those exiled to Kazakhstan in the documents of the union and republican levels, changes in the number of children, high infant mortality during the famine of the first half of the 1930s, low level of statistical accounting of special settlers. The issues of determining the number of children of "kulak exile" in Kazakhstan are gaining leading importance as the most significant indicator of the repressive policy of the state. The opening of the archives has not stopped the debate on this topic, as the official statistics contain numerous contradictions, errors and discrepancies. All this indicates the need to continue work on comparing different sources.

In the context of the topic under consideration, sources of personal origin are of great importance. The testimonies and memoirs of the children of the "kulak exile" were revealed in the State Archive of the Karaganda region — fund 1500 "Collection of documents on the Deportation and Repression of the Peoples of the Soviet Union", as well as materials of rehabilitation documentation — applications for rehabilitation —

fund 205 “Supervisory proceedings for the rehabilitation of citizens”. The applicants were children who had been deported with their parents to Kazakhstan in the 1930s or had been born in a special settlement. The statements contain valuable information — memories of family stories, the adaptation of the children of former “kulaks” in a special settlement, and the difficulties they had to overcome. The family history shows the traumatic experience of a special settlement childhood. The memories allow us to visualize the living conditions of the children of the former “kulaks” and complement the picture recreated from official documents. Most of the documents on the topic have been introduced into scientific circulation for the first time. The use of historical sources has made it possible to develop our ideas about the situation of children in conditions of “peasant exile” in Kazakhstan in the first half of the 1930s, to substantiate the authors’ own position on the topic.

When writing the article, general scientific methods were used: analysis, synthesis, deduction and induction, description, comparison, systematic, quantitative approaches. Special historical methods were applied: concrete-historical, comparative-historical, problematic-chronological methods. The methods involved provided an opportunity to identify, systematize, conduct a comprehensive analysis of sources, and draw conclusions on the topic.

Results

Between 1930–1933, Kazakhstan became one of the centers of settlement of dispossessed families from the central regions of Russia, Ukraine, Transcaucasia, and Central Asia. In 1930, 1,265 families, 7,393 people, were deported to special settlements in the Aral Sea [9; 106]. There were 4,294 special settlers at 11 points of the 19th commandant’s office of the Aral region, 1,602 of them were children (64.23 %) [10; 48].

According to archival materials, as of May 20, 1930, 3508 children were forcibly resettled in Kazakhstan along with their parents according to the socio-class principle [11; 152]. In Stalin’s time, the principle of group responsibility of people for the actions of others was applied. By the end of September 1931, 50,879 families (261,227 people) had been evicted [12; 298–306]. The number of peasants deported to Kazakhstan in 1930–1933 amounted to more than 300 thousand people.

The areas of settlement in Kazakhstan were located in uninhabited, remote places with a harsh climate and unfavorable conditions for survival. These areas were unprepared to receive the families of special settlers, lacking a socio-economic base. The first special settlers faced inhumane living conditions. Everything that was essential for a person was missing: living quarters, drinking water, food, sanitary and medical services.

The problem was not only the weak administrative discipline, embezzlement of allocated funds, negligence, and lack of local willingness to resolve issues related to nutrition, lifestyle, and health care for children of special settlers, but also the scale of famine in the country in 1932-1933. Famine and related epidemics affected the entire population of Kazakhstan.

By the mid-1930s, the vast majority of peasant families had adapted and gained a foothold in the commanderies of Kazakhstan, and the birth rate exceeded the death rate. So, 4629 children were born, 4079 people died. At the same time, there is evidence that the standard of living of the children’s contingent of special settlers remained different in the future. There were children from large families in a more difficult situation.

Discussion

The most massive contingents of special settlers were sent to areas that are now geographically part of the Karaganda region. Sample data indicate that the families of the dispossessed have many children. There were families with six to ten members. The average family composition reached 5.2 people. The large number of exiled families is confirmed by data on the contingent of special settlers of the Karaganda region as of December 20, 1931. A total of 49,578 people arrived, including 20,439 (41.22 %) children under the age of 14 [13; 38]. For instance, the large Rudy’s family was sent to special settlement No. 14. They had five children: two daughters — Frida, 14 years old and Maria, 10 years old, three sons — Jacob, 12 years old, Friedrich, 6 years old, and Robert, 1 year old [14; 59]. The Chernikov family had six children. They were dispossessed: their property, house, livestock, and inventory were seized and the family was exiled to Karaganda [15; 5]. According to the memoirs of N.A. Logov: “In 1931, a mother with nine children was exiled to the Osakarovsky district near Karaganda in settlement No. 24” [16; 174]. A large family of Chernykh of fourteen people was exiled to the village of Maikuduk [17; 104, 105].

The rights of the displaced were often violated: the deadlines for collecting were reduced, the permissible list of necessary items and their total weight were reduced to a minimum amount. Many widows with three and five young children were deported. Many families arrived without money, food, or belongings. During the eviction, all their property was seized, including household items and clothing. They were allowed to take food with them only for two or three days [18; 23].

OGPU documents confirm that during the period of resettlement in new places, there were unacceptable living conditions for special settlers, especially for children. According to A.F. Gerasimova: "They put us in carts and brought us to a clean steppe. There's nothing around, just a prickly elm" [19; 7].

From July 1931, all issues of the administrative and economic structure of the families of the dispossessed were under the full jurisdiction of the OGPU. Food supply was an important issue for the children's livelihoods. On July 27, 1931, the Kazakh Regional Union approved special nutrition standards for children of special settlers. According to the new regulations, children received 300 g of bread per day, 6 kg of flour per person was dispensed for a month. The rest of the products were distributed for the quarter. The dietary norms included 1.5 kg of cereals, 12.5 kg of potatoes, 15 kg of vegetables, 750 g of fish, 1.08 kg of sugar, 270 g of tea [20; 27, 28]. In the situation of the most acute food crisis in the country, local economic authorities were unable to maintain the established assortment and supply standards for the children of special settlers. It should be pointed out that there was the general decline in the standard of living of the entire country's population. The situation was complicated by the fact that famine began in Kazakhstan in the spring of 1930.

Archival materials show that often allocated food funds did not reach the children of special settlers or were misused due to negligence, mismanagement, careless accounting and planning, untimely transfer of goods to the distribution sites of responsible persons, as well as abuse, theft, and embezzlement by people working in the supply system. Thus, in a number of special settlements in Kazakhstan, theft by the staff of canteens and stalls took place. In the Karaganda region, children's rations were sometimes stolen by canteen employees, meals were overpriced while the quality of food remained low. The poor quality of children's food, in turn, affected the nutrition of working settlers, who were forced to share their food rations with family members [21; 5, 6].

Systematic supply disruptions led to a decrease in the nutritional standards of children, which had been small before, and sometimes not at all sufficient. Numerous examples confirm the acute shortage of food, exhaustion and death of children. The high infant mortality rate recorded in the special settlements of the Karaganda regional commandant's office was associated with the exhaustion of children from hunger and an outbreak of acute infectious diseases. T.G. Efanova, as part of a family forcibly evicted from the Saratov region, recalled: "They brought us to the bare steppe of Kazakhstan. There was one well for three thousand people, where they queued for hours to get one cup of water per family. There was widespread dysentery, during which many people died due to lack of medical care. My brother Mikhail Efanov died at the age of five" [22; 229].

The low level of medical care contributed to the spread of infections. Numerous problems were identified with the medical care of special settlers: inadequate medical staff and low qualifications of doctors, lack of medicines in the required quantity, insufficient number of beds in hospitals. For example, there was one hospital in the village of Maikuduk, designed for 35 beds, which had to accommodate 73 beds, and yet it did not cover all patients, many were forced to stay at home. The food was completely inadequate, there was an acute shortage of tools, medicines, and underwear. The hospital staff consisted of one doctor, one midwife (freelance) and four medical assistants from special settlers. The latter did not meet their purpose, as they graduated from the courses of medical assistants back in the Japanese War and since then, they had not worked in their specialty while engaged in agriculture. In addition, five nurses and eight orderlies worked. A similar state of health care was noted in other special settlements [23; 5-10]. One of the major shortcomings was the lack of a children's medical and preventive outpatient clinic in the special settlements of the Karaganda regional commandant's office, as well as children's hospitals, with the exception of the Spasskaya Closed Children's Hospital [24; 12].

The inspections conducted in 1932-1933 in special settlements of Kazakhstan recorded a number of "abnormalities" in the material and living conditions of children. The survey results were disappointing. Many children did not have underwear, and if they did, it was dilapidated and dirty. They had not been washed in months, and their places of residence had been very crowded. The consumed children's supply standards were significantly lower than the officially established values. Attention was drawn to the fairly widespread addition of sawdust and bark to flour when baking bread, and the preparation of rye flour soup,

sometimes without salt. Extremely poor nutrition and difficult living conditions naturally had a negative impact on the health of children of all ages. The special settlers ate various surrogates: wild herbs, roots, millet husks, and bones that were ground and mixed. Eating surrogates led to the appearance of sick children with starvation edema, scurvy, general exhaustion, rickets. Respiratory diseases, such as tuberculosis, croup pneumonia, bronchopneumonia, pneumonia and bronchitis, were a common cause of death in children.

The general sanitary conditions of the children's population in special settlements in Kazakhstan were in a deplorable state. The results of the housing and sanitary survey in 1933 showed that all the settlements of the special settlers were deprived of basic elements of landscaping and public services: running water, sewerage, street lighting, and green spaces. The growing body of children was adversely affected by malnutrition, cold, lack of air in overcrowded barracks, their unsanitary condition, poor quality of water, and harsh climatic conditions. The worsening of the course and outcome of gastrointestinal diseases in children was influenced by the lack of systematic sanitation of the population, lack of baths, disinfection chambers, poor nutrition, insufficient number of beds in hospitals and, consequently, late hospitalization, as well as insufficiently-qualified outpatient care. Children were the first victims of smallpox, scarlet fever, measles, typhoid fever, dysentery, and other acute infectious diseases. The situation of the children of the special settlers not only did not improve, but worsened more and more. There were isolated cases of births and high mortality among special settlers.

In this regard, extensive medical and sanitary measures were of paramount importance. Additional meals were provided for the weakest younger children through a catering network in nurseries, preschool institutions, special children's canteens and by hand delivery. Children could receive additional rations due to deductions from their parents' salaries. The most needy children of the special settlers were entitled to receive it free of charge. An increase in food rations was envisaged. Fats and dairy products were not included in the list of ration supplies [24; 39].

In practice, the decisions taken were not implemented to the required extent, as well as many other adopted resolutions, circulars.

There are memories of the children of the "Kulak exile" in Kazakhstan, who survived the famine. E.M. Zubkova recalled the tragedy of her family: "My sister, born in 1929, died in 1931. Her brother's wife and her two children died in 1933" [25; 158]. A large family of Chernykh, parents and 12 children, who lived in the village of Maikuduk, died out during the winter. Only one daughter survived. She said: "I was left disabled at a young age and was sent by kind people to relatives in the village of Bogatyrovka" [17; 104, 105]. Other victims of forced migration to Kazakhstan as children recall similar memories. In 1932, 1,901 children were born in special villages in Kazakhstan, and 23,211 people died. In 1933, a little more than 2082 people were born. In the same year, 32,230 people died [26; 4].

There is no exact data on the number of child victims of the famine of 1932-1933 in special settlements of Kazakhstan, since medical statistics carefully concealed the true cause of the increased mortality during this time. For example, other diagnoses were made instead of dystrophy. "The estimate for the required number of books and forms for civil registration for the registry office of special settlement No. 20 for 1933" confirms the high mortality rates of special settlers and the low birth rate of children. So, in 1933, 3284 entries were made in the death book for special settlement No. 20. At the same time, only 172 entries were made in the birth book [27; 38]. During the famine years, the number of orphans among the children of special settlers grew. After the death of their parents, the orphans did not receive "rations", as they were received only by working special settlers and family members. The youngest children were left in special settlements in kindergartens and nurseries for a certain time. Children who lost their parents were placed in children's institutions, sent to factory apprenticeship schools, transferred to dependents of relatives, and also given foster care to families of the local population, to families of special settlers who are in satisfactory housing and material conditions. Such families received a fee of 30 rubles per month, while the children received meals from the nursery or dairy kitchen [28; 266]. It is not possible to find out which families the children were dependent on and raised by relatives, acquaintances, or strangers.

To combat childhood infectious and gastrointestinal diseases, the epidemic emergency commission decided to introduce dietary nutrition, urgently taking care of the necessary products. If there was insufficient milk, it was decided to provide all milk to children under three years of age and to patients. Feeding stations for children up to four years old with gastrointestinal diseases were opened at public health medical stations, playgrounds were opened following the example of village schools, which provided for the further supply of rations to children from four to five years old [29; 24, 25].

Since 1934, additional meals for children had been provided through canteens, outpatient clinics, nurseries, kindergartens, and schools. Every 10–20 days, the group of children was changed, so that as many children as possible could receive a dietary supplement. The number of children covered by additional nutrition was much less than the number of those who needed it. A.F. Gerasimova testified: "They tried to send us children to school earlier, because they gave us tea with a flatbread. In canteens for children, they were fed porridge on coupons" [19; 7].

Conclusion

Summing up the study, it should be noted that children were one of the most vulnerable groups among the special settlers. Most child deaths occurred during the first two or three years of stay in special settlements. At that time, in isolated cases, the birth rate in families of special settlers made up for the excess mortality. Numerous deaths of children in special settlements were recorded, related to their insufficient nutrition, sanitary conditions, and medical care. Extreme infant mortality was caused by the famine of 1932–1933. The famine was accompanied by outbreaks of infectious diseases and a weakening of the children's body. The death of special settlers, the disintegration of families and family ties caused an unprecedented spread of child homelessness. The salvation from death and homelessness was the placement of a child in an orphanage for children of special settlers or the transfer of him to dependent relatives, foster families. In addition to direct losses of the child population, indirect losses should be taken into account — those who were not born due to a violation of the natural development of demographic processes.

Despite the numerous problems that characterized the period of the mid-1930s, there were signs of positive changes in the lives of families of special settlers. A critical analysis of the social and living conditions of the children of special settlers in Kazakhstan shows that if in 1932–1933 the children of the "Kulak exile" were doomed to a miserable existence and starvation, by the mid-1930s relatively acceptable living conditions had been formed for them.

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1930 жылдардың бірінші жартысындағы Қазақстанда «шаруаларды жер аудару» жағдайындағы балалар

1930 жылдардың басында «кулактарды тәркілеу» саясатына ұшыраған шаруалар отбасымен бірге соттын шешімінсіз бұрынғы тұрып жатқан жерлерінен КСРО-ның шалғай аудандарына қүштеп көшірілді. Құғын-сүргінге ұшыраған шаруалардың едәуір бөлігі қазіргі Қарғанды облысының аумағына жіберілді. Бұрынғы «кулак» санатына жатқызылған отбасылардың Қазақстанға жер аударылуы балалардың да арнайы қоныстардағы контингентін қалыптастырыды. Әлеуметтік-таптық принцип сталиндік биліктің «кулак балаларына» деген саясатын айқындағы. Тарихнамалық шолу көрсеткендей, 1930 жылдардың алғашқы жартысында Қазақстандағы арнайы қоныстарда өмір сүрген балалардың жағдайы арнайы зерттеулердің нысаны болмаған, жарық көрген еңбектер бұл тақырыптың жекелеген мәселелерін ғана қамтыған. Алайда, бұл тақырыпты жан-жақты зерттеу — бүтінгі күні аса өзекті және қоғам тарапынан қызығушылық тудыруды. «Кулактарды жер аудару» тарихына тұтастай көзқарас арнайы қоныстардағы балалар контингентін зерттемеу мүмкін емес. Макалада 1930 жылдардың алғашқы жартысында Қазақстандағы «шаруаларды жер аудару» жағдайында өмір сүрген балалардың хал-ахуалына талдау жасалған. Арнайы қоныстарда өмір сүрген балалардың күнделікті тіршілігі, қоныстандыру, тұрмыстық жағдайы, азық-түлікпен және медициналық қызметпен қамтамасыз етілуі, туу мен өлім көрсеткіштері сиякты негізгі аспектілері ашып көрсетілген. «Кулак балалары» ретінде әлеуметтік таңба тағылған балалар тағдырларының қайғылы жағдайы сипатталған. Зерттеу барысында авторлар балалардың басқа өлкеге жер аударылуын үлкен трагедия, бұрынғы өмірдің күйреуі ретінде қабылдағанын анықтады. 1930–1933 жылдары Қазақстандағы «шаруаларды жер аудару» жағдайындағы балалар жоқшылық пен аштыққа ұшырады. Ал 1930 жылдардың ортасына қарай ғана олардың өмір сүру жағдайы біршама жақсара бастады.

Кітт сөздер: Кеңестік Қазақстан, Қарғанды облысы, «шаруаларды жер аудару», арнайы қоныс аударылғандардың балалары, балалардың күнделікті өмірі, әлеуметтік-тұрмыстық жағдай, медицина, тамақтану, 1932–1933 жылдардағы ашаршылық, туу көрсеткіші, өлім-жітім.

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Дети в условиях «крестьянской ссылки» в Казахстане в первой половине 1930-х годов

В начале 1930-х годов «раскулаченных» крестьян вместе с семьями выселяли во внесудебном порядке из мест проживания в отдаленные районы СССР. Значительная часть высланных крестьян направлялась в районы, ныне территориально входящие в состав Карагандинской области. Принудительное перемещение в Казахстан бывших «кулаков» сопровождалось формированием детского контингента на спецпоселениях. Социально-классовый принцип определил политику сталинского руководства по отношению к детям раскулаченных родителей. Изучение историографии позволяет говорить о том, что положение детского населения спецпоселений в Казахстане в первой половине 1930-х годов не

являлось предметом специального изучения, появлявшиеся публикации затрагивали лишь его некоторые проблемы. Между тем, разработка данной темы является актуальной и вызывает общественный интерес. Целостный взгляд на историю «кулацкой ссылки» невозможен без изучения детского контингента спецпоселений. В статье проведён анализ положения детей в условиях «крестьянской ссылки» в Казахстане в первой половине 1930-х годов. Раскрыты ключевые аспекты пребывания детского контингента на спецпоселении: повседневная жизнь, размещение, жилищно-бытовое устройство, проповедственное и медико-санитарное обеспечение, рождаемость и смертность. Показаны драматичные судьбы детей с социальной маркировкой «дети кулаков». Авторы выяснили, что дети воспринимали высылку в чужие края как трагедию, крах прежней жизни. В 1930-1933 годы дети в «крестьянской ссылке» в Казахстане были обречены на нищенское существование и голод. К середине 1930-х годов сформировались относительно приемлемые условия их жизнеобеспечения.

Ключевые слова: Советский Казахстан, Карагандинская область, «крестьянская ссылка», дети спецпоселенцев, детская повседневность, социально-бытовое положение, медицина, питание, голод 1932-1933 годов, рождаемость, смертность.

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