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Fragments of oral History based on the Materials of Filtration and Investigation

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Abstract

The article reveals the issues of the history of the Turkestan Legion on the basis of regional archival materials introduced into scientific circulation for the first time via statistical, special historical and scientific methods at the intersection of interdisciplinary approaches. As a result, the inaccessibility of all archival materials does not yet allow to reveal all aspects of the activities of the participants of the Turkestan Legion. In conclusion, the content of the

SMERSH protocols demonstrates the absence of ideological motifs among those who entered the Turkestan Legion, the urge to live was the impetus.

Keywords: World War II, oral history, Turkestan Legion.

Fragmentos de historia oral basados en los materiales de filtración e investigación

Resumen

El artículo revela los problemas de la historia de la Legión de Turkestán sobre la base de materiales de archivo regionales introducidos en la circulación científica por primera vez a través de métodos estadísticos, especiales, históricos y científicos en la intersección de enfoques interdisciplinarios. Como resultado, la inaccesibilidad de todos los materiales de archivo aún no permite revelar todos los aspectos de las actividades de los participantes de la Legión de Turkestán. En conclusión, el contenido de los protocolos SMERSH demuestra la ausencia de motivos ideológicos entre quienes ingresaron a la Legión de Turkestán, el impulso de vivir fue el impulso.

Palabras clave: Segunda Guerra Mundial, Oral, Historia, Turkestán, Legión.

1. INTRODUCTION

The history of the Second World War continues to be the object of attention of researchers. The undoubted interest in it is due to the politicization of the results of the war and the attempt to conceptually rethink military events. The historical memory transformation trend of the Second World War of 1939-1945, and the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 is characteristic of Europe and the former socialist camp, including the former Soviet Union. One of the most significant

problems attracting the attention of historians is the Wehrmacht's foreign volunteer military units, formed from prisoners of war.

Military collaboration as a survival strategy was evaluated in Soviet legislation by the article of the Criminal Code of the USSR 58-1a - treason. Any form of interaction between the Soviet soldier and the enemy was assessed by the single word treachery.

Soviet history addressed the issues of betrayal of the period of the Great Patriotic War, using a personal approach and publicly covering the trial. At the current stage, the history of the National military formations of the Second World War from Soviet prisoners of war, including the Turkestan Legion, are actively researched in the post-Soviet space. There are several historiographical blocks on the research topic. The first can be attributed to the works of Ablazhey & Markdorf (2013), Chuev (2004). The case consisted of a questionnaire of the SMERSH counterintelligence, interrogation protocol, materials on requests, autobiographies, and repatriate cards. At the same time, we consider it necessary to add that in some cases one can find a German POW (prisoner of war) account card, a work card, trophy cards from the German infirmary, filtration cards, deregistration information, letters and personal documents.

The second block includes the fundamental works Romanko (2015), Drobyazko (2014) and others. The research topic related to the history of the formation of foreign legions in the Second World War, collaborationism or survival strategy has hardly received adequate

coverage in the works of foreign authors over the past 3-5 years. The third block contains publications by the authors, Herf (2016), Burds (2018), Kocjančič (2017), Hickman (2017), Groth (2017), Exeler (2016). Their analysis revealed the studies of the policies of the Nazi regime aimed at establishing ties with the tens of thousands of Muslims fighting with the Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front in Europe. The authors radically rethought the previously tabooed topic of Soviet history. Interest was aroused by the articles of the authors, who focused attention on the policy of the security forces regarding the traitors who violated the military oath, on the collaborationist behavior of the population on the territory occupied by German troops.

In the center of the proposed research was the history of the Turkestan Legion based on the materials of archival and investigative cases of prisoners of war arrested by SMERSH. Taking into account the analysis of the available scientific literature and the relevance of the proposed topic, the aim of the research is the analysis of the “filtration-investigative documents” first introduced into the scientific circulation as a source of oral history of the participants of the Turkestan Legion. The problem of the Turkestan Legion in the oral history of its direct participants in the historiographic review has not become the subject of a special study.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

Filtration and trophy materials on former prisoners of war and citizens of the former USSR repatriated from Germany became the main source for writing the article. In each personal investigation file, the interrogation protocol, which accumulates the substantive part of the defendant's answers and testimony, is of particular interest to us. They make it possible to reconstruct events, identify the motivation of behavior, and understand their expectations and experiences. However, the question of the credibility of the reported facts in the interrogation protocols arises. The system of power structures assumed a network of whistleblowers, secret officers, passing the first stage of verification through the PFL, which to some extent imparted historical credibility to any case; some of them had trophy documents. Information obtained from the filtration-investigation cases led to a search in order to confirm the given data by other sources, and scientific publications served as an addition to the search for authenticity of facts.

The methodological basis of this publication is the theoretical concept of Bourdieu (2005), where the comprehension of documentary artifacts, i.e. archival materials, historical sources occur in the prism of interaction with socio-cultural structures that influenced their content. When writing the article, we relied on general scientific methods: analysis, synthesis, deduction, induction, statistical method; special historical methods; scientific methods at the intersection of interdisciplinary approaches, including the method of oral questioning.

In total, the entire amount of the methods used allowed us to reveal the research topic, to understand its deep processes. The objects of study were the former soldiers of the Soviet army who were captured and served in the Turkestan Legion.

3. RESULTS

The idea of creating national military formations from the prisoners of war of the Soviet army began to be actively implemented by the Wehrmacht, the Eastern Ministry in particular. The Turkestan Legion as part of the Eastern Legion was created in April 1942, although a decree on its creation was signed on December 22, 1941. By order of December 22, 1941, four legions were created from Eastern nations Muslim. The initial composition of the Turkestan Legion was mentioned above, the Caucasian-Muslim (Mohammedan) consisted of Azeris, Dagestanis, Ingushs and Chechens. The Georgian Legion consisted of Georgians, Ossetians, Abkhazians, Adygeis, Circassians, Kabardians, Balkars and Karachais. Only the Armenian Legion had a homogeneous national composition (Drobyazko et al., 2011).

The Turkestan Legion was formed from prisoners of war of Turkic nationality in order to create centers of separatism in the rear of the USSR. The content of the fund of documents, filtering files allows one to see when and under what circumstances a person was captured,

to understand his survival strategy in conditions of concentration camps and service in the German army. Each case has its own historical plot, because not every prisoner of war could bear a captive, barbed wire, humiliation and bullying. Collaboration of prisoners of war in the conditions of the German camps was a daily survival strategy, even at the cost of betrayal, on ideological conviction, on the one hand, and an attempt to use the opportunity to escape with a view to returning to their Soviet people.

We can distinguish several stages on the way to the status of a Wehrmacht legionnaire. The first stage was captivity; it was the most transient and consisted of several sub-stages: mobilization into the Red Army, participation in the battle in the first days of World War II and captivity. Sources indicate that many Red Army men were captured when being injured, contused, exhausted, being surrounded by a stalemate. Ibrahim T. got into the rifle division near Voronezh and took part in the battles in the Voronezh area until December 1942. Due to heavy losses in battles with the Germans, the division was disbanded. Ibrahim T. was enrolled in the marching company and sent to the Kharkov direction, where he was captured by the Germans.

Kapash A. took part in hostilities with the Germans on the territory of the Kiev region and was surrounded in the first days of the attack of the German army on the Soviet Union. In September, 1941 he was captured by the Germans near Boryspil. In September 1941, Kabdulkhan S. got surrounded near the town of Zolotonosha, Cherkasy region. With the fights, he tried to break through to his army, but when

they ran out of all the ammunition, the remaining contingent decided to surrender. Zaynolla K. began serving as an assistant troop commander. For 47 days, his team fought with the Germans on the island of Ezel. On October 5, 1941, all contingent was captured. We can agree with N. Sakal about the hopelessness of the situation, in which the surrendered soldiers found themselves: “when they understood that they did not have another chance. The soldiers were not volunteers in this respect, but they surrendered because of the circumstances which forced them to do so” (Sakal, 2010: 10).

The second stage is from a prisoner of war camp to a legionnaire camp. Soviet prisoners of war were in the conditions of the camp genocide: constant hunger, overwork, violence, targeted systematic physical and spiritual destruction of the individual. Filtration and investigative cases demonstrate the human need to survive, and to get out of the terrifying inhuman life conditions; for this there was one way - the Turkestan Legion. The camps of the Turkestan legionaries were completely different from the horrific life in which the prisoners of war of the Soviet army were located. Ibrahim T. reported that on arrival at the station Pomoshnaya, they were placed in a general camp for prisoners of war, creating special conditions due to the oppression of prisoners of war. They were fed much better than other prisoners of war.

Judging by the documents, the mechanism of recruiting to the Turkestan Legion assumed ethnic voluntariness due to the Turkic-

Muslim identification. In the camp, Turkestan legionaries were divided into blocks according to nationalities - Kazakhs, Georgians, Azeris, Armenians, Tajiks, Ossetians, etc. The Germans gathered Asians in one place; Slavic prisoners of war were transported to another camp. For example, there were about 1000 Tatars, who were obliged to join the German army IdelUral (Volga-Tatar Legion). The propagandists-agitators were German officers, compatriots, representatives of a religious cult. In the interrogation protocols, one can find Islam seemed to be a potential instrument to enhance discipline and order in the units (Motadel, 2014).

For the German command, Muslim attributes seemed to be the ideal tool for uniting Turkish-Muslim ethnic groups.

A questionnaire, where all autobiographical data were indicated, was filled in for each legionary. Each legionary received a soldier's book, "Soldbuch" (Fig. 1), the main document of the legionnaire, which served as his ID. The cited document (Fig. 2) states that the payment book for a soldier during the war served as a personal document, entitled them to receive payment, could be used as an identification document when receiving mail, etc. It was in the interests of the soldier to keep the document with him all the time; to keep it in a bag or separate baggage was unacceptable. All changes were made only by the service of the Wehrmacht; they were to be reflected in the soldier's book. Forgery of documents was punishable. The soldier's book contained full information about the owner with the indication of the number,

information about birth, profession, the date of getting the uniform, its items, as well as other official information.

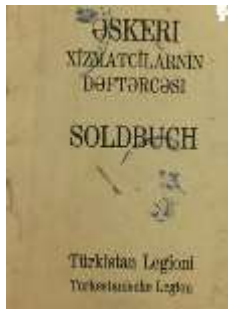


Figure 1: Soldier's Book (Archive of Internal Affairs

Department of the East-Kazakhstan Region. Foundation 20. Inspection and filtering documents)

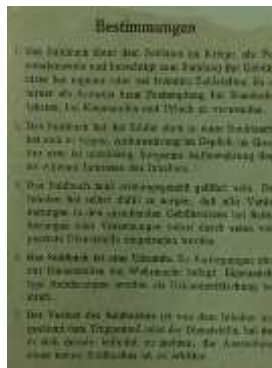


Figure 2: The last page of Turkestan Legion soldier's book

The third stage was the camp daily routine and the mechanism of using a legionnaire. The active group was divided into three troops: troop 1, troop 2 and communications troop. At the end of August 1942, 45 people, the most literate and educated, were expelled from the “active group”; among the expelled, there were some less educated people, who in April 1943 were returned to the group, which by that time was called a field company. It should be noted that the personnel of the field company were dressed in SS uniforms. The only difference was that they did not have shoulder straps (except for the commanding staff) and wore an emblem on the right sleeve depicting an Indian mosque with the inscription God with us at the top, and at the bottom of the emblem was the inscription Turkestan in the Uzbek language.

The 45 people expelled from the group were sent to the Osvitz camp, five kilometers from the city of Breslau, where until the end of April 1943 they were being trained for espionage work in the rear of the Red Army. The rest of the group was transferred to the Voloshin area of Poland. On the territory of the Osvits Forest Camp, the legionnaires were located in three residential wooden barracks surrounded by barbed wire. In the fenced area in addition to the barracks, there were four buildings that housed the office of the school, the police, a dining room with a kitchen and a bath. At the entrance gate of the camp there hung a sign forest camp of the SS brigade. The intelligence and sabotage school in Breslau trained officers for the deep rear of the Soviet army. The officers from this school were

transferred to the South Ural and Central Asian regions with intelligence and agitation tasks.

The Berdyansk School, which was called Funkchulle, was supervised by Sturmbannführer Roider. Organizational talent, professionalism and strategic thinking allowed Reiner Oltshi to create a political cluster to solve the national problem of the Third Reich. In the interrogation protocols, Sturmbannführer Dr. Roider is presented as a representative of the headquarters of the command of the Southern Front of the German Army. In the first days of June 1943, a farewell dinner was held in the Turkestan Legion in honor of groups based in Berdyansk. The entire zonderkommand was present. Sturmbannführer Dr. Roider, the head of the intelligence service of the South Front; among them were Kurtturnführer Klüner, captain Fenner. Shturmbannführer Dr. Roider announced the order of the German command on assigning military ranks of Lieutenant of the Turkestan Legion to the group's senior officers and Sergeant of the Turkestan Legion to all the other participants.

The training program at the intelligence school of the Turkestan Legion included: German, International situation, Drill, Fire training, Disruptive business. Hans Fenner, Head of Intelligence School taught German and International situation; Ober corporal Richard Reinke was engaged in Drill training. Classes in Radio Business were held by Ober Feldwebel Paul Brecht. Each discipline took two to three hours. Two or three times a week, legionnaires had a talk about Germany: how peasants, workers, etc. Agitation was carried out for the extermination

of Jews and communists; it was said that Jews and communists were to blame for that war; that Jews did not like to work; they were deceiving everyone. The first month no one of legionaries could leave the camp; after a month they were taken out of the camp lined-up.

In addition, there were lectures on the biography of Hitler, German history and the history of Turkestan. A German officer, Captain Karskens gave lectures on the history of Turkestan. The squad and troop leaders were from the prisoners of war of various nationalities. The personality of Hans Fenner, mentioned above is of particular interest. Legionnaires told that a German officer, captain, wearing the Gestapo uniform was an international spy. In conversations with the legionnaires, Hans Fenner warned them that if, after being transferred to the rear of the Red Army, they would fall into the NKVD, then in no case should they talk about him in view of the fact that he had previously been in Petrograd. Chuev (2004) also mentioned Hans Fenner: Hauptsturmführer SS Fenner, a Baltic German, born in St. Petersburg. The author also wrote that they had trained the intelligence officers in the Waldlage SS-20 near Breslau (East Prussia) (Chuev, 2004).

The information provided by Chuev (2004) is confirmed by the materials of the interrogation protocols of former legionnaires. The difference is found in the names of the leaders of the amphibious groups, namely: The first group: the head was Tulegenov (S. Chuev called him Toregenov); it was transferred to the rear on August 21, 1943 to Guryev region. The second group: the head - Kazbanov (S.

Chuev called him Kokpayev); it was transferred to the rear on August 22, 1943 to Guryev region. The third group: the head was Kokkozov (S. Chuev called him Kaztayev); on August 23, 1943, it was transported to Guryev region.

Probably, given the similarity and sound of the names, Kazbanov may be Kaztayev, Kokkozov was Kokpayev. There is one more inconsistency: Kazbanov is mentioned in the protocols as deputy head of Baskaraev group. Baskarayev reported on Fenner that it was he who selected forty people, gave each one a copy of the Koran, saying that they had already completed the first stage of training. After that, they would go to Germany for the second stage. As a company commander in Ukraine, B. Baskarayev received 700 rubles in Ukrainian issue money; in the Osvits camp - 70 German marks. (Yang et al., 2019).

None of these groups got in touch because there was an agreement back in Berdyansk that they would surrender to the NKVD bodies after landing in the rear of the Soviet army. Thrown out of the airplanes onto the territory of the Guryev region within the radius of 15-20 kilometers from each other, we all 17 people came to the NKVD organs and were detained there. We came to the NKVD authorities of the city of Guryev on August 27, 1943; by this time all the members of Kazbanov and Tulegenov groups had already been in the building. In headquarters 790 of the Turkestan battalion there existed a special selective troop to combat the partisans, which distinguished by particular cruelty. This detachment was called the Hunting troop.

Almost all members of the detachment were in the German service for a long time.

4. DISCUSSION

The issue of the Second World War has many research facets. One of the most difficult is the anthropological focus associated with the desire to live and survive, this is the main motivating force - the motivation is indicated by all the authors mentioned in the publication. It determined the transfer to the side of the enemy; the formal legal indicator of this action according to I. Gilyazov was treason, which was expressed in the oath of allegiance to Germany, participation in military battles, etc. (Gilyazov, 2000).

The proposed topic is not limited to the materials of filtration and investigation cases. Research practice expands the depth horizons in search of direct participants of the Turkestan Legion, introduces German thematic sources, including visual history. The problem field is the foreign voluntary formations of the Wehrmacht, the object of interdisciplinary research approaches, including the anthropological, narrative perspectives, methods and techniques of oral history (Indriastuti, 2019). The results of the studies indicated in the historiographical review do not include the interrogation protocols of the legionaries of the Third Reich. The published works have a traditional basis of the theoretical and methodological analysis of

collaborationism, its motives, from the standpoint of moral and ethical norms. Common to the researchers of the foreign formations of the Third Reich is the detailing of the used archival materials, statistical data, and the focus on the tragedy of human destinies against the opposing sides of the warring parties.

The method of oral history, such as a first-person narrative in interrogation conditions that we used, allows us not only to feel emotions, but also to obtain fragmentary information about the Turkestan Legion; a micro-historical approach details, individualizes, helping to understand the global nature of the problem being studied. The history of the Turkestan Legion in the focus of its direct participants requires concretization, objective detailing without political pathos, mythologization and conjuncturalism, the historical truth and only truth. At the same time, the inaccessibility of all archival materials does not yet allow to reveal all aspects of the activities of the participants of the Turkestan Legion (Soo et al., 2019). The content of the proposed article, taking into account the sources first introduced into scientific circulation, based on the concept of the micro-historical approach, the story in the first person of the participant of the Turkestan Legion, will make it possible to understand the motivation of the survival strategy in wartime conditions. The reliability of the results obtained is confirmed by historical facts, as well as by the available publications of the historiography of the problem (Ranjbaran, 2014).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Thus, it can be noted that the filtration-investigation cases contain unique information showing the geography of participation in combat battles of those who went to war from East Kazakhstan and were captured because their division got surrounded, or they were injured. It can be stated that 4,313 people from the Eastern region of Kazakhstan were in captivity. The Foundation allows us to trace the fate of prisoners of war, find members of the Turkestan Legion, and find out the survived prisoners of Buchenwald by surnames. All prisoners of war, members of the Turkestan Legion have prisoners of war status, first of German concentration camps, then legionary status of the national formations of the German army, then repatriate status of the American, British, French occupation zone, trapped in the inspection-filtration camp.

The content of the SMERSH protocols demonstrates the absence of ideological motifs among those who entered the Turkestan Legion, the urge to live was the impetus. The question of the rehabilitation of prisoners of war of the Soviet army was long exaggerated by the Soviet government. Only in 1955, an order was issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the amnesty of Soviet citizens who collaborated with the occupiers during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, but not on rehabilitation. It opened the camp doors to everyone, including the former Turkestan legionnaires. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war in the conditions of German

captivity experienced the horror and fear. Their fate in the postwar period can be another research direction.

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