

**Evangelical-Lutheran Communities in the Process of Rehabilitation of
German Ethnic Group in Kazakhstan: 1950s-1980s.**

By
Xeniya Nagornyak.

Submitted to Central European University
Department of History

In partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisor: Professor Constantin Iordachi.

Budapest, Hungary

2014

Abstract

The repressive policy towards the ethnic Germans during Stalin's regime affected their status in society, being even accused of collaboration with Nazi Germany during the Second World War. Among the measures that were taken against them was also the forced deportation to Siberia and Central Asia, Kazakhstan being the most populated territory of exile. The process of rehabilitation that started in the 50s loosened the restrictions and triggered the religious revival. However, this period represented also a difficult time for the ethnic Germans, who were struggling for their rehabilitation on different levels. One such level is represented by religion. The religious factor had been very strong in the life of Germanic groups in the Russian Empire. Yet, during the Soviet time, there was a shift in the role of religion. In the 50s-70s, revived religious communities fought for their official status in the Soviet society. Their activity was connected not only with the spiritual and cultural life of ethnic Germans in the strict environment of the Soviet regime, but also with the restoration of the positive reputation of this ethnic group. As Lutheranism was basically considered a traditionally German confession, the research is focused on exploring the history of the Evangelical-Lutheran communities of Germans in Kazakhstan, during the process of German ethnic rehabilitation.

Table of Content:

Introduction.....	1
1. Historical background of the Germans: privilege position.....	7
1.1 German Colonists in the Russian Empire.....	7
1.1.1 Germans in Russian Empire in XVIII-XIX centuries.....	7
1.1.2 Germans in Kazakhstan during the Tsar period.....	11
1.2 Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (1918-1941).....	14
2. Shift of the status: Soviet Germans as enemies of the nation (1941-1953).....	18
2.1 The Second World War and the process of Deportation.....	19
2.2 Life in the special settlements under the deportation regime: Kazakhstan.....	24
2.2.1 Legal Issues	24
2.2.2 Living conditions and public relations.....	26
3. Process of rehabilitation: mechanisms and consequences (1950s-1980s).....	31
3.1 Restoration of civil rights: Germans in social and political life of Kazakhstan.....	31
3.2 Cultural revival: Linguistic issues.....	37
3.3 The issue of German autonomy in Kazakhstan: a failed attempt.....	40
4. The role of religious revival in the process of rehabilitation: The case of Evangelical - Lutheran community.....	47
4.1 Religious situation in the 50s-60s in the Soviet Union: Legal Issues.....	48
4.2 Evangelical-Lutheran communities in Kazakhstan: from the underground gatherings to the registered community.....	54
Conclusion.....	62
Appendices.....	a-d
Bibliography.	

Introduction

The political repression in USSR is a theme abundantly studied, while the history concerning the rehabilitation of the victims is less researched. Historians seem to focus more on the political aspects of the rehabilitation: intraparty struggle, mechanisms of making decisions, role of the Soviet leaders in the started transformations, etc.¹ While there works dealing with the process of rehabilitation are scarce, there are plenty official documents recently published that shed light on the decision-making mechanisms during Stalin's repressions.

Firstly, the concept of rehabilitation is ascribed to the period of the former Soviet Union and the Post-Soviet states. The death of Stalin initiated a process of political and social rehabilitation for the victims persecuted and one of exoneration for those who were prosecuted without representing a criminal liability. Several were the cases when this rehabilitation was applicable posthumously as many persecuted individuals died in labor camps. Those who survived the labor camps were acquitted and released. Among the reasons for their release, one could mention the "lack of a criminal matter", "lack of a proof of guilt" or "appearance of new evidence".² However, they did not enjoy the status of free individuals as their release implied an internal exile into remote areas. They were deported to Kazakhstan, Siberia or Central Asia during the 30s-40s, without the right to return to their settlements prior to the deportation.

Another aspect of the new policy of rehabilitation was the territorial issue. Several ethnic groups were allowed to return to their former homelands, which regained their autonomous status. Yet, this was not the case with the Volga Germans and the Crimean Tatars.

¹ See, R.G. Pihaja, *СССР: история власти. 1945–1991* [USSR: History of Power, 1945-1991], Moscow: Сибирский хронограф, 2000; A.V. Pyzhikov, *Политические преобразования в СССР (50–60-е годы)* [Political Transformations in USSR, the 50s-60s], Moscow: ISPI RAN, 1999.

² Robert Conquest, *The Nation Killers: The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities*, London: MacMillan, 1970.

Among those groups, the ethnic Germans represented a remarkable case. Their presence in the Russian Empire for about two centuries before the October Revolution made their status in the Soviet Union ambiguous. On the one hand, they were seen as representatives of the foreign culture. Moreover, the growing political tension between the Soviet Union and Germany contributed to their position to a certain extent. On the other hand, the Germans also considered the Russian territories as their “mother land” because of their long presence there. Yet, their assimilation with the Russian culture and society was very slow, keeping the borders of their community closed for the other ethnic groups for quite a long time.

The religious revival of the 50s coincided with this process of rehabilitation. However, the religious aspect is not studied and researched as part of the process of civil rights restoration. Scholars state that religion was indeed a center of the community life in Germanic groups in the Russian Empire. Yet, during the Soviet regime, the deportation and anti-religious propaganda broke this traditional lifestyle. In the Soviet time, the religious community functioned as a “cultural club” where Germans could unite and share their cultural heritage. Therefore, the role of religion shifted from being an essential confession marker of Germanic groups to being a means of preserving ethnic identity. In the case of the ethnic Germans, religion and ethnic identities were intertwining, mutually influencing each other.

The aim of this work is to explore the role of religious revival during the process of rehabilitation. Even though the question of ethnic identity is not the focus of this research, it should be necessarily touched upon. The identity of the Russian Germans is depended on the period of their history on the territories of the Russian Empire and of the Soviet Union. During the first period, the varied Germanic communities could hardly be perceived as united under the umbrella term “Germans”. According to historian Irina Mukhina, this term

appeared because of the ethnic policy of the Soviet government. During this period, the terms “Russian” and “Soviet” Germans appeared in documents and historiography. In other words, there was no united notion of ethnic identity among ethnic Germans prior to the deportation into the territories of exile. Yet, the national trauma of the German deportees united them in one ethnic group.

To explore the role of the religious aspect in the rehabilitation of the ethnic Germans, the Evangelical – Lutheran community has been chosen as a study-case, rather than the Catholic or Mennonite ones. Firstly, most of the Germans in the Russian Empire were Lutherans. Due to that fact, the language of the Lutheran Church was exclusively German and continued to be after the mass deportation. Secondly, even in the territories of exile, the Lutheran communities had mono-ethnic membership, registering a low percentage of Finns and Estonians. In contrast, the Catholic communities such as the one in Kazakhstan were represented mostly by Poles, the rate of German members being very low. Although the Lutherans represented one of the most diverse branches of the Protestant denominations, their communities were not so ethnically diverse as the Mennonites and the Baptists. Therefore, the Evangelical-Lutheran communities in the territories of exile are most suitable for this research of religious revival among Germans during the rehabilitation process.

Along with Siberia, Kazakhstan was one of the territories of exile for any kind of persecuted people in the Soviet Union. The German population was the biggest one among the deported ethnic groups in the republic. In the territories of exile, the Germanic groups were more concentrated within one territory; in this case, Kazakhstan. As a result, during the period of rehabilitation, the Soviet Government had a project of restoring the German autonomy in the Northern part of the republic, instead of the Volga region. Moreover, the first registered Lutheran community within the Soviet Union was in Tselinograd (Astana in

present), Kazakhstan. Therefore, the case of Germans in Kazakhstan is important in the research of Germans' rehabilitation all over the Soviet Union.

The researches previously conducted on this topic mostly concentrated on the life of Germans in exile or on the role of religion in the Germans' life in exile. Concerning the territory of Kazakhstan, there are two dissertations that are worth mentioning here. The first one, *Germans in Kazakhstan: deportation, settlements and rehabilitation*³, by Nadezhda A. Efremova-Shershukova, gives an overview of the situation and treats the religious aspect as a small part of the research. The second one, *The Peculiar Religiosity of the German Protestants and the Ways of Overcoming It (based on the materials of Kazakhstan)*⁴, by Peter Francevich, was more religion-oriented. However, this work is mostly focusing on the atheistic propaganda and concentrates on the ideological fighting with the religious tradition. Moreover, the studies on the Germans' religious communities mostly focus on religion as a way to save the ethnic identity. Both the German and the Russian literature predominantly treat the religious factor of these Germanic groups as a tool of maintaining Germans' ethnic identity. In contrast, this thesis tries to shed light on the role of religious activity of the ethnic Germans and contribute to the studies of religion in the Soviet Union.

Sources

The research is based on the fieldwork in the Evangelical-Lutheran communities of Astana, Karaganda and Almaty, Kazakhstan, conducted from October 2012 until May 2013. During this fieldwork, several interviews were collected, mostly with the leaders of the religious communities. In addition, the museum-archive of the Evangelical–Lutheran Church

³ Nadezhda A. Efremova-Shershukova *Немцы в Казахстане: депортация, поселение и реабилитация* [*Germans in Kazakhstan: deportation, settlements and rehabilitation*], Candidate's dissertation, Tomsk State University, Tomsk, 2009.

⁴ Peter Francevich, *Особенности религиозности немецких протестантов и пути ее преодоления (по материалам Казахстана)* [*The Peculiar Religiosity of the German Protestants and the Ways of Overcoming It (based on the materials of Kazakhstan)*], Candidate's dissertation, Karaganda National University, Leningrad (present St. Petersburg), 1988.

in Astana (former Tselinograd) was a source of unpublished materials concerning the history of this community in the Soviet Union and in later period.

The primary sources for this research, either published or unpublished, are in Russian. Most of them are official documents of the Soviet government concerning the ethnic policy in general, and policy towards ethnic Germans in particular. Some of the unpublished sources, especially concerning Kazakh SSR, are found in the Central City Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CCA RK) and in the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK). The secondary literature employed for this research mostly deals with the Germanic groups on the territory of Russia, predominantly Siberia and Kazakhstan. Concerning the Lutheran communities in particular, there are several monographies on this topic that focus only on the Russian territories of the Soviet Union

Structure of the work:

In order to understand the deep trauma of the Russian Germans during the repressions and deportation, it is important to explore their historical background. Moreover, the analyses of their presence on the Russian territories and other parts of the Russian Empire allows us to have a clear understanding of who exactly the Russian Germans were when they came to Kazakhstan. Therefore, the first chapter outlines the main aspects of their life before the deportation. Also, it includes the first years of the Soviet regime, when ethnic Germans were granted the autonomous territory.

The second chapter deals with the continuing process of changes in the status of Germans, started in early period of the Soviet regime. The chapter analyse the changes in the position of the ethnic Germans in the Soviet society. With the beginning of the war against Nazi Germans, the Soviet Germans were accused of collaborating with Germany and deported to Siberia and Central Asia. There, they were kept under strict control and the work

in the forced labour armies was compulsory for them. This harsh period almost destroyed the cultural-religious life of the Soviet Germans.

The third chapter analyses the process of rehabilitation after Stalin's death. The main goal is to explore the actual steps taken by the Soviet government and by the ethnic Germans themselves in the new political situation. The focus of this chapter is the Soviet policy concerning the native languages, in this case, the German one. The question of the failed autonomy on the territory of Kazakhstan also contributes to the discussion of the rehabilitation results.

The last chapter develops the main argument of the thesis. Evangelical-Lutheran community in Kazakhstan is taken as a case study to explore the status of religion in the process of ethnic revival. The chapter analyse the process of reconstruction of religious community and its meaning in the process of rehabilitation.

Chapter 1 Historical background of the ethnic Germans: privilege position.

1.1 German Colonists in the Russian Empire.

It would be complicated to explore the lifestyle of the ethnic Germans in the territories of exile without acknowledging the nature of this ethnic group in Russian Empire. Irina Mukhina argues that “prior to the deportations, ethnic Germans never comprised a coherent group with a common national consciousness”. She underlines the dispersed nature of Germanic groups in Russia.⁵ This heterogenic character was the result of their different territories of origin, dialects and confessions. Moreover, most of the scholars agree on the point that sometimes the religious traditions had penetrated the national life style to such an extent that become the characteristics of the ethnic group.⁶ In this case, the religious traditions that the Germans followed, such as Lutheranism, Catholicism, and Baptism etc., were not considered as separate religious systems, but as parts of the “national life style”.⁷ Therefore, the confessional aspect was a central factor of the Germanic communities in the Russian Empire.

1.1.1 Germans in Russian Empire in XVIII-XIX centuries.

The mass migration of the Germans to the territories of the Russian Empire began in the XVIII century, after the Manifest of June 22, 1763, signed by Catherine II. The foreigners

⁵ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union*, New York: Routledge, 2007, p.7.

⁶ Т.В. Smirnova, “Этническое самосознание и этнические процессы у немцев Западной Сибири” [Ethnic Consciousness and Ethnic Processes of the Germans in Western Siberia], in *Российские немцы: проблемы истории, языка и современного положения* [Russian Germans: problems of history, language and current situation], Materials of the international scientific conference, Moscow: Готика, 1996. p. 489.

⁷ Ju. I. Podoprigora, *Немцы Павлодарского Прииртышья* [Germans in Pavlodar District of Irtysh Area], Almaty: Biz Bibliothek, 2010, p. 69.

were invited to settle in Russia on beneficial terms. The Manifest granted free lands, immunity from taxation for 5-10 years, freedom of religion etc.⁸ As a result, these privileges attracted German peasants and triggered the voluntary resettlement. The main territories of the German settlements were Volga region, Ukraine, North Caucasus, Siberia and Central Asia. The Baltic States were part of the Russian Empire in the XVIII century. Those lands were also occupied by Germans, who have been called the “Baltic Germans” in historiography.⁹ The new settlers came from different German speaking lands of Europe. As a result, their language was not homogeneous, most of them keeping the regional dialects of their origin. Despite the widespread opinion, some scholars claim that the High German and Russian were not fully accepted as a common language among the diverse Germanic groups.¹⁰ Therefore, language as an ethnic marker was not representative for the unity of the Germans of that period.

However, the basic principle of the colonial settlements of Germans in the Russian empire was their confession. “The colonies were created mostly based on the religious tradition of the settlers”.¹¹ Yet, there was not always an opportunity to settle people of the same confession in one place and there are cases of two or three confessions in a village, Despite this, “by the middle of 1770s, due to the process of settlement based on the religious principal ,most of the colonies demonstrated a population that was religiously

⁸ Манифест 22-го июля 1763 г. “О дозволении всем иностранцам, в Россию въезжающим, поселяться в которых Губерниях они пожелают и о дарованных им правах” [Manifest 22 June, 1763 “On the Permission for All the Foreigners who Come to Russia, to Settle in the Privacies that They Want and on Their Rights”) in *История российских немцев в документах 1763-1992 [The History of the Russian Germans in Documents 1763-1992]*, V.A. Auman, V.G. Chebotareva (eds.), V.1, Moscow: Международный институт гуманитарных программ, 1993, pp.18-21.

⁹ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union ...* pp. 8-16.

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 20-21.

¹¹ Igor’ R. Plevе. *Немецкие колонии на Волге во второй половине XVIII века [German Colonies in Volga Region in the Second Half of the XVIII Century]* ,3rd edition, Moscow: АОО Международный союз немецкой культуры, 2008.p.130.

homogeneous”.¹² Also, the linguistic and confessional aspects often overlapped. As a result, the separated German communities were mostly mono-confessional and mono-dialectical.

By the end of the XIX century, there were several thousand German mono-confessional settlements of Lutherans, Catholics, and Mennonites etc. They were called “parent” colonies because they were the first ones that the German settlers built. By that time, so-called “subsidiary” settlements were appearing in Russia.¹³ The location of the colonies of the same confession were very often in a close distance, thus creating so-called “nests”. As the result of the mono-confessional settlements, the ethno-confessional communities emerged. The practice of settling the Germans on the confessional principal was the fundamental premise of forming the ethno-confessional communities among the German people.¹⁴ The largest confessional group among the Germans were the (Evangelical) Lutherans. For a comparison between the Lutherans and other denominations, *presents* the number of Germans for different religious denominations (See Table 3, Appendices).

Although this table presents the general picture of the confessions among the German population, it does not reflect the changes of numbers during different periods. For example, in the Volga region, the percentage of Lutherans among the first German colonists was 51.5 %, the Catholics – 32.5 % and the Reformists – 16. 25 %. By the end of the XVIII century, the proportion of religious followers had changed to 54.4 % - Lutherans, 26.5 % - Catholics and 19.1 % - Reformists.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the Lutheran denomination would continue to be the largest one among the ethnic Germans during the following periods of their history in Russia.

During the XVIII and first half of the XIX century, despite of linguistic differences, the Lutheran Church had developed a centralized system of administration. In 1832, the

¹² Ibid, p. 208.

¹³ Viktor F. Diesendorf (ed.), *Немцы России. Населённые пункты и места поселения. Энциклопедический словарь* [The Germans of Russia. Settlements and Areas of Settlements. Encyclopedia], Moscow: ERD, 2006.

¹⁴ Peter P. Vibe (ed.), *История и этнография немцев в Сибири* [History and Ethnography of the Germans in Siberia], Omsk: ОГИК, 2009, pp. 72-91.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp 108-110.

General Evangelical-Lutheran Consistory was finally founded. The Consistory subdivided Lutheran communities into eight districts, *okrugi*: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Eastland, Livland, Kurland, Ezel, Riga and Revel' regions.¹⁶ The next step was the establishment of the church discipline, *ustav*, in the same year.¹⁷ The document regulated not only the activity of the Lutheran Church, the administrative system and the economic aspects, but also the theological issues. The Empire even supported the German clergy during the first years of migration by paying salaries to the priests and providing them accommodation. The main limitation for the Lutheran Church was proselytism among the followers of the Orthodox tradition.¹⁸ As a result, the position of the Lutheran Church in the Russian Empire can be compared with the status of the Orthodox Church. To some extent the Lutherans had the same rights as the Orthodox.

The ethnic Germans of the Russian Empire still kept connections with the places of their origin. Firstly, there was a trade system between Russians and Germans. Secondly, the new settlers were receiving support for the educational and religious needs, especially during the first waves of migration. During the period when there were no or few ecclesiastical schools in the Russian Empire, German-speaking lands provided their "relatives" with educated clergy. However, German colonies were constantly in need of pastors, who were legally invited from the German – speaking lands starting only with the XIX century.¹⁹ The ecclesiastical schools at the newly opened churches were mostly developed at the same

¹⁶ Olga Litzenberger, *Евангелическо-лютеранская церковь в Российской истории (XVI—XX вв.)*, [Evangelical-Lutheran Church in the Russian History (XVI-XX centuries)], Moscow: Фонд Лютеранское культурное наследие, 2003, pp. 79-84.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 85-99.

¹⁸ *Свод законов Российской империи: Уставы духовных дел иностранных исповеданий [The Set of Laws of the Russian Empire: The charter of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths]*, V.11, St Petersburg: Типография Второго отделения Собственной Его Императорского Величества канцелярии, 1857, pp. 31-154.

¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 118 -126.

time.²⁰ Therefore, the contacts between the Germans in the Russian Empire and their lands of their origin were based on different factors. One of them was religion.

Another characteristic of the German settlers was their educational level and economic status in the new environment. The ethnic Germans of all the regions were much better educated than Russians, Ukrainians and other nations in the Russian Empire. In this aspect, the ethnic Germans mostly represented the prosperous part of the peasants and middle class. They were highly skilled and hard-working group, characteristics which helped them to obtain property and high status in society.²¹ All the characteristics of the German population in the Russian Empire mentioned above could explain the low level of assimilation of Germans within the native population.²² Therefore, the ethnic Germans in the Russian Empire could be described as enclosed communities.

1.1.2 Germans in Kazakhstan during the Tsar period.

Kazakhstan gradually became a part of the Russian Empire in the beginning of the XVIII and in the XIX centuries.²³ By the end of the XIX century, there were 7049 Germans in Kazakhstan, 0.16% of the whole population of this territory.²⁴ Most of them were peasants (85%), the other categories being those of bourgeois (8%) and nobles (3.7%).²⁵ The main

²⁰ Olga Litzenberger, *Евангелическо-лютеранская церковь в Российской истории ...* pp.58-59.

²¹ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union...* p.20.

²² Ingeborg Fleischhauer, Benjamin Pinkus, *The Soviet Germans. Past and present*, ed. by Edith Rogovin Frankel, New York: St. Martin Press, 1986, p.4.

²³ Muhtar O. Aujezov, *История Казахской ССР [History of Kazakh SSR]*, V.1. Alma-Ata: Академии наук Казахской ССР, 1957, pp. 237-238.

²⁴ Nokolay A. Trojnickij (ed.), *Первая Всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 г. Акмолинская область* [The first population census of the Russian Empire in 1897. Akmolinsk region], V. 81, Центрального статистического комитета МВД, 1905, p.58; *Семипалатинская область* [Semipalatinsk region], V.84, p.55; *Семиреченская область* [Semirech'e region], V. 85, p.53; *Сыр-Дарьинская область* [Syr-Dar'ja region], V. 86, p.57; *Тургайская область* [Turgaj region], V. 87, p. 48; *Уральская область* [Ural'sk region], V. 89, p.49.

²⁵ Victor Krieger, *Deutsche Präsenz in Kasachstan zur Zarenzeit*, München: Osteuropa-Institut München, 1993. p.15.

regions of German settlers in Kazakhstan, in the end of the XIX and the beginning of the XX centuries were Akmolinsk (Omsk, Petropavlovsk, Kokchetav, Atbasar and Akmolinsk districts), Semipalatinsk (Semipalatinsk, Pavlodar, Karkaralinsk, Ust'-Kamenogorsk and Zayzan districts) and Serirech'e regions (till 1898).²⁶

The German mono-confessional village on the territory of Kazakhstan emerged at the end of the XIX and the beginning of the XX centuries and followed the tradition emerged in Russia. The formation of the mono-confessional German village in Kazakhstan was a result of strong demographic process such as mass migrations of German population from the "parent" colonies to the East: Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia.²⁷ As a result, hundreds of "daughter" settlements emerged. As the basic principal was still the common confession, there were not only the mono-confessional villages but also confessional "nests" as well as in Russia.²⁸

According to partial data, only in Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk regions there were 106 German settlements between 1907 and 1912.²⁹ According to the "List of German Settlements" by Karl Shtumpp, there were 150 German villages on the territory of Kazakhstan in the 20s of the XX century.³⁰ In whole, most of the mono-confessional German

²⁶ Olga Kubickaja (ed.), *Немцы России. Энциклопедия* [Germans of Russia. Encyclopedia], V.III. Moscow: ERD, 2006, pp. 477 – 478.

²⁷ Peter P. Vibe, "Переселение немцев-колонистов в Степной край в конце XIX – начале XX вв. (на примере Ақмолинской и Семіпалатинської областей)" [Resettlement of the German Colonists to the Step Area in the End of the XIX and the Beginning of the XX Centuries (On the Example of Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk Regions)], in *История немцев Центральной Азии* [History of the Germans in Central Asia], Materials of the international scientific conference, Almaty, 1998. pp. 19-30.

²⁸ L.A. Burgart "Немецкое моноконфессиональное село в Казахстане: возникновение, развитие, разрушение (историко-демографический аспект)" [German Monoconfessional village in Kazakhstan: Origin, Development, Destruction (Historical-Demographic Aspect)], in *Этно-демографические процессы в Казахстане и сопредельных территориях* [Ethnic-demographic Processes in Kazakhstan and Adjacent Territories], Collection of the Scientific Works of XII International Scientific-Practical Conference, Ust'-Kamenogorsk: Либриус, 2011, pp. 27-39.

²⁹ Victor Krieger, *Рейн, Волга, Иртыш. Из истории немцев Центральной Азии* [Rhine, Volga, Irtysh. From the History of Germans in Central Asia], Almaty: Дайк-Пресс, 2006, p. 53.

³⁰ K. Stumpp, "Verzeichnis der deutschen Siedlungen in Nord-(Sibirien) und Mittelasien", in *Heimatsbuch der Deutschen aus Russland*, Stuttgart: Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Rußland, 1964, pp. 87-99.

villages in Kazakhstan were Lutheran, being followed by the Mennonite and Catholic ones. The villages differed based on the number of population, ranging from 100 residents to 1000 and more. *The Encyclopedia Germans of Russia: Places of Residence* contains more than 123 names of settlements: 52 of them are Lutheran villages, 19 are Mennonites, 18 are Catholics and 34 are difficult to identify by their confession.³¹ The mono-confessional principal of settling enabled the Germans to keep their “native” traditional ethno-confessional way of life, developed in their former places of residence.

Nevertheless, there was not an opportunity for every village to have its own church, a pray house or a pastor. Although some villages managed to obtain small pray houses and schools, the low number of pastors was one of the imperious problems of the newly formed villages. In such villages, the satisfaction of the spiritual needs of the population was lower than in the “parent” colonies, with pastors coming from the bigger parishes. Therefore, the homogeneous environment in such villages create the possibility to save the religious community and the habitual way of life even on the territories of Kazakhstan.

During the pre-revolution period and first years of the Soviet regime, the religious community acted as a basic form of self-organization of German population, penetrating into all the areas of their life. Ju. I. Podoprighora marks that “traditional detachment of German settlements, ethnic and linguistic isolation from the natives and endogamic barrier assisted in the saving of many cultural elements of German people, especially religion and religious practices (rituals and customs)”.³² Religion appeared to be a solid foundation of the whole system of activity in the mono-confessional settlements. This aspect was featured in the urban environment as well. However, it was mainly the mono-confessional villages, which were religious communities at the same time that performed the basic function of saving and reproducing the diverse ethno-confessional identity. Moreover, German communities

³¹ Viktor F. Diesendorf (ed.), *Немцы России. Населённые пункты и места поселения...*

³² *Ibid*, p.47.

occupied a privilege status in the society of the Russian Empire. Besides the rights as full-fledged subjects of the Tsar, they obtained additional advantages also. The right to follow their own religious tradition strengthened their position in the Russian-speaking environment. As a result, Lutherans developed a strong administrative system of the Church.

1.2 Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (1918-1941).

The Soviet regime of its early years had to deal with different ethnic groups on the territory of the newly-formed Soviet Union. Ethnic Germans were among those benefited from the new ethnic policy of the Soviet leaders. In 1918 they were granted the autonomous territory in the Volga region, called the Labour commune, as the most German populated region along with other nineteen ethnic autonomous republics. The “German question” of the Volga region was taken under the control of Executive Committee of the labor commune of the Volga Germans.³³ Later in 1924 German autonomy became one of the union republics in the Soviet Union: the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Volga Germans.³⁴ On the one hand, possession of the own territory enable the ethnic minority to have their own official representatives and self-administration. On the other hand, the autonomy can hardly be considered as a continuation of the advantage status of the ethnic Germans during Tsar Period. Besides its positive aspects, the Germans in the autonomous republic were under the rule of the Soviets and experienced all the troubles of the Soviet regime.

³³ Декрет Народных Комиссаров РСФСР “О создании области Немцев Поволжья”, 19 октября 1918 г. [the Decree of the National Commissars of RSFSR “On the Creation of Region for the Volga Germans” in *Декреты Советской власти [Decrees of the Soviet government]*, S.N. Valk (ed.), V.2, Moscow: Государственное издательство политической литературы, 1957, pp.438 – 440.

³⁴ Постановление ВЦИК и Совета Народных Комиссаров “Об Автономной Социалистической Советской Республике Немцев Поволжья” 20 февраля 1924г. [The decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of National Commissars “On the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of the Volga Germans”] in *Немецкая автономия на Волге 1918-1941 [German Autonomy in the Volga region 1918-1941]*, Arkadij A. German, Moscow: МСНК-пресс, p.470.

There are some aspects concerning the existence of that autonomy that are important to mention. Firstly, the population of the autonomy was not homogeneous. Besides the fact that the German communities were still dispersed, the ethnic Germans were the majority among the other nations on the territory of the Volga region. By 1922 there were 67.5 % of Germans, 21.2 % of Russians, 9,7 % of Ukrainians and 1.7% of other ethnic groups.³⁵ Moreover, the ethnic Germans were spread all over the Soviet Union. Therefore, the German population of the Volga region was only one of the all Germanic groups.

However, in mid-20s the Soviet government was developing the linguistic policy within the ethnic autonomous territories. As the result the autonomous republic were encourage to use Russian and the local language for the administrative purposes. In the case of German republic that policy faced a lot of contradictions. Despite of the semi-voluntary Russification of the ethnic minorities in the Russian Empire, Volga Germans managed to resist that process more actively than in the other parts of the Empire. The diverse population of the Volga autonomy reacted negatively against the introduction of German language in the almost all spheres of life. At the same time, the ethnic Germans of the region opposed the idea of the united German language, High German (Hoch Deutsch) because of their different dialectics.³⁶ Although, there was a room for the cultural self-expression provided by the Soviet Government, the language issue was still a weak point of the Soviet policy.

Secondly, despite the positive expectations, the separate territory did not imply the transfer of political and economic control by the ethnic Germans. The German autonomy was under the total control of the Soviet government. As a result, the population of the Volga region experienced all the political “experiments” of the Soviet regime. “By the spring of 1921, the Volga region became an epicentre of the slowly receding Civil War, and that added to the overall devastation of World War I and the harsh years of War Communism in the

³⁵ Arkadij A. German, *Немецкая автономия на Волге 1918-1941* ... p.145.

³⁶ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union...*, p.31.

Volga region”.³⁷ The experiments in the economic policy, such as dispossession (*raskulachivanie*) and collectivization of the early 30s, damaged the prosperous households of the Germans.³⁸ The harsh methods of the new economic direction worsened the economic situation because of the great famine of 20s.³⁹ Besides the problems of the economic innovations, religious persecution as a part of the Great Purges of 1937-1938 disrupted the habitual life style of the Volga German communities. As the result, religion started shifting from the center of the Germanic groups because of the new state ideology.

Among the first decrees of the new government was the decree “Separation of the Church from State and School”⁴⁰ January 28, 1918. On the one hand, this document finally equalized all the religious associations in rights and deprived Orthodox Church of its status of the state religion. On the other hand, the decree initiated the discriminative actions towards the believers of all the confessions. The Lutheran Church suffered as well. In 20s it was still possible to spread the religious periodic, for example, “Unsere Kirche” (Our Church). The Lutheran seminary opened in Leningrad (St. Petersburg in present) in 1925 was working with some limitations until 1935. By 1937, there were almost no members of Lutheran clergy and the religious activity of the believers almost stopped.⁴¹ As a result, religious institutions and people connected to them lost their former advanced position in the society.

By 1917 the number of Lutherans in the Russian Empire was 3 674 000. On the Russian territories there were 1 249 000, the other were in Baltic region.⁴² The biggest

³⁷ Ibid, p.30.

³⁸ Arkadij A. German, *Немецкая автономия на Волге 1918-1941 ...*, pp.247-263.

³⁹ Ibid, pp.108-138.

⁴⁰ Декрет Совета Народных Комиссаров "Об отделении церкви от государства и школы от церкви", 28 января 1918, in, *Хронологическое собрание законов, указов Президиума Верховного Совета и постановлений Правительства РСФСР: 1917-1927* [Chronological Collection of Laws and Edicts of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Decrees of Government of RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic)], V.A. Boldyrev (ed.), V. 1, Moscow: Государственное Издательство юридической литературы, 1959, p.9-11.

⁴¹ Olga Kurilo, *Лютеране в России. XVI-XX вв.* [Lutherans in Russia XVI-XX centuries], Moscow: Фонд Лютеранское наследие, 2002, pp. 60-64.

⁴² Olga Litzenberger, *Евангелическо-лютеранская церковь в Российской истории...* p. 209.

parishes by 1905 were in Volga colonies and Ukraine. By that time, there were 1828 Lutheran Churches and pray houses, 1173 of them were in Russia and 655 were in Baltic region. The Lutherans of Russia were represented by different nationalities. However, the official language of the Church was German. Lutheran religious tradition in Russia was considered as a religion of foreigners because the communities consisted of Germans, Finns, Letts, Estonians, and Swedes etc.⁴³

The ethnic policy of the Soviet government concerning the ethnic Germans was ambiguous. On the one hand, the Soviet leaders provided the Germans with the opportunity to maintain their self-administration and cultural development on their own territory. On the other hand, the Soviet leaders tried to consolidate varied Germanic groups of the Volga region under the umbrella term “Germans”. Moreover, the anti-religious ideology of the Soviet Party intended to build a new-type of the society without “old superstitions”. The German Volga autonomous republic had no means to protect the ethnic minority from the harsh methods of the Soviet Regime.

The 20s-30s period was remarkable for the ethnic German minority who as other peoples of the newly formed Soviet Union experienced the changes of the new ethnic policy. The Soviet government influenced destructively on the traditional foundations of the German ethnic groups. Having been a privileged group during the Tsar Period the Germanic groups obtained a puzzling status in the Soviet Union of its early years. The Soviet Government was preoccupied with the “German question”, and was taking measures to solve it. However, the results of the new ideology and policy worsened the German situation in the Soviet Union. The problems of the first years of the Soviet regime was only the beginning of the more serious events for the ethnic Germans such as the Second World War and forced migration.

⁴³ Ibid, pp.209-210.

Chapter 2. A Shift in Status: Soviet Germans as Enemies of the Nation (1941-1953).

Despite all the troubles of the early years of the Soviet regime, the most painful moment in the history of the ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union was the forced displacement to Siberia and Central Asia, during the Second World War. Even though it was a highly significant and large-scale project, it was “neither a single, nor unique, nor an isolated process”.⁴⁴ Various deportations took place throughout the period of the Soviet Union and that targeted and affected many groups of the Soviet population. The historian Pavel Polian subdivided the reasons for population relocations in at least eight non-exhaustive categories. According to him, the involuntary migrations can include reasons such as ethnic origin, social status, political or religious affiliations. He also mentions some categories of semi-voluntary migration, such as resettlements to less populated territories, deployment for major construction or agricultural projects, evacuations during wartime.⁴⁵ The ethnic Germans of the Soviet Union were an integral part of all these forms of deportation. The above-mentioned types of involuntary or semi-voluntary migrations are comprised in the time framework and geography of their dislocation. The consequences of the deportation were influential for the deported people in all the aspects of their life. Therefore, it is crucial to discuss this process in more details in order to analyse the intricate evolution of the Lutheran’s position in the Soviet Union.

There were several waves of forced deportation that touched the ethnic Germans in the time frame stretching from the 1930s to the late 1940s.⁴⁶ During the First World War, the ethnic Germans were “evacuated” from the Western European territories of the Russian Empire. Also, some German men were forced to leave the Russian borders in October 1914.

⁴⁴ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union...*, p. 35.

⁴⁵ Pavel Polyan, *Не По Своей Воле...История и география принудительных миграций в СССР* [Not by Their Own Will... A History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR], Moscow: Memorial, 2001, pp.23-50.

⁴⁶ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union.....*p. 35.

The expulsion of Ethnic Germans from these areas continued during the 1915-1917 period.⁴⁷ These were forced waves of deportation and the people did not get any material support in their new places of residence. However, in February 1918, they were allowed to return to the places of the former settlements.⁴⁸ Therefore, the forced deportation of the 30s-40s was not a totally new and unexpected process, but a sort of continuation of the former policy against different types of ethnic groups.

The reasons for Stalin's decision to exile the ethnic Germans are still a topic of debate among historians. One of the most frequently mentioned motif is the doubt of the Soviet government as far as the loyalty of the Germans to the Soviet state and the fear of their collaboration with Nazi Germans. Although many other ethnic groups were dislocated together with the ethnic Germans to the territories of exile, this explanation was the official one and was widespread among the whole Soviet population. Consequently, this doubt and fear had a great impact on the status of Germans during the Second World War and the post-war periods.

2.1 *The Second World War and the process of Deportation.*

Although the campaigns of dekulakization and religious persecution were not aimed at ethnic Germans in particular, they were affected by those projects to a great extent. As it

⁴⁷ S. G. Nelipovich, "Роль военного руководства России в 'Немецком вопросе' в годы первой мировой войны (1914-1917)," [The Role of Military Administration in Russia Concerning the 'German Question' during the Period of the First World War (1914-1917)] in *Российские немцы: проблемы истории, языка и современного положения* [Russian Germans: Problems of History, Language and the Current Situation], Materials of the international scientific conference, Moscow: Готика, 1996, p. 263.

⁴⁸ D. G. Reshetov, "Немецкие колонисты западных губерний России," [German Colonists of the Western Provinces in Russia] in *Миграционные процессы среди российских немцев* [Migration Processes among the Russian Germans], Arkadij A. German, Igor' R. Pleve, Moscow: Готика, 1998, pp.185-193.

was mentioned before⁴⁹, the religious –centered life style of the well-off Germans suffered greatly because of the Soviet Government’s new economic and religious policy. The first act of the operations against ethnic Germans started in the 30s, escalating in the period 1937-1938. The process began with Stalin’s note on June 20, 1937 “all Germans [working in our military, semi-military and chemical factories, electric plants and constructions, in all regions are to be arrested”.⁵⁰ As a result, some of the Germans were sent to Germany, while others ended up in the labor camps or were shot. However, this operation did not include all the ethnic Germans of the Soviet Union. This order was implemented mostly in the border regions and the areas of industrial concentration. Also, several categories were targeted for arrest: former citizens of Germany, Soviet Germans who were in contact with Germany, soldiers and officers of the First World War, wives of convicted Germans, those accused of espionage etc. The overall numbers of ethnic Germans who were convicted and persecuted between 1937 and 1938 was 69,000-75,000 Germans.⁵¹ Approximately two third of them were arrested as a part of the “German operation” and one third were persecuted during the “Kulaks campaign”. Therefore, by 1941, about 100, 000 had been arrested and forcefully sent to the territories of exile – Siberia and Central Asia.

The Second World War was an essential period as far as the changes of the status of ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union are concerned. This time, the process of deportation in the 40s was directly connected with the ethnic Germans. They were equated with Nazi Germans and personified the enemies. Consequently, the words “German” and “Fascist” were synonyms in the public space for a long period.

This process was also gradual and was directed towards the territories with most German population. Three regions were of most importance in this case: Crimea, Volga

⁴⁹ See chapter 1.

⁵⁰ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union ...*, p.39.

⁵¹ Ibid.p.41.

region and Caucasus. The first to be deported in the June 1941 waves were the Crimean Germans, who figured among the “socially dangerous elements”.⁵² Even though they were not officially deported but only “evacuated”, the ethnic Germans ended up in special settlements in Siberia and Kazakhstan. However, it was the Volga Germans who were the center of attention for the Soviet Government. Their so-called “evacuation” was the largest wave of deportation of 1941.⁵³ Over 400, 000 ethnic Germans were sent from the Volga region to Kazakhstan and Siberia. As far as the Germans from Caucasus are concerned, they were among the last waves of deportation.⁵⁴

Besides these three targeted regions, there were other areas and cities that were freed from the suspicious ethnic group, such as Leningrad (present St. Petersburg), Moscow etc.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Kazakhstan was one of the regions where members of the “suspicious ethnic group” were deported. In 1941, a number of 500,000 incoming ethnic Germans were registered in Kazakhstan. In 1942, the local authority of Kazakh SSR decided to send the coming ethnic Germans mostly to the Northern and Eastern parts of the republic Northern-Kazakh, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, Kustanaj, Pavlodar, Karaganda and Eastern-Kazakh.⁵⁶

⁵² Arkadij A. German et al. *История немцев России: хрестоматия [History of Germans in Russia]*, Moscow: МЧК-пресс, 2005, p. 180.

⁵³ There is a sequence of the official documents concerning the deportation of the Volga Germans: e.g. “On the resettlement of the Volga Germans in Kazakhstan”, August 8, 1941.

⁵⁴ Постановление ГКО “О переселении немцев из Грузинской, Азербайджанской и Армянской ССР” от 8 октября 1941 г.[“On the Deportation of Germans from Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR”, October 8, 1941.] in *Сталинские депортации: 1928-1953 [Stalin's deportations: 1928-1953]*, N. L. Pobol', P. M. Poljan (eds), Moscow: Материк, 2005, p. 355.

⁵⁵ Постановление ГКО “О переселении немцев из г. Москвы и Московской области и Ростовской области” от 6 сентября 1941 г.[“On the resettlement of the Germans from Moscow, Moscow region and Rostov region”, September 6, 1941.] in *История российских немцев в документах...*, p.161.

⁵⁶ Постановление Совнаркома Казахской ССР и ЦК КП(б)К “О мероприятиях по реализации постановления СНК СССР и ЦК ВКП(б) от 26 августа с.г. “По приему и переселенцев-немцев из Саратовской, Сталинградской областей и Республики немцев Поволжья” от 1 сентября 1941 г.[About the measures of implementation of the decree of August 26, this year “On the settlement the Germans from Saratov, Stalingrad areas and Volga German Republic], Source: AP RK. Folder.708, Regst.1. File 3. Sh. 73-76.

Their relocation was strongly connected with the project of developing labor colonies (*trudarmia* in Russian) as a form of labor obligations.⁵⁷ It was the expression of one of the most tragic and suffering experience of the deportation and exile experience. This term – *trudarmia* - was not mentioned in any official document. It was actually invented by the Soviet Germans to differentiate themselves from the citizens who could choose their occupation.⁵⁸ The working conditions were not proper and the work was very hard. Families were separated and children were left alone by both parents.

The ethnic Germans were mostly resettled in less developed territories, without proper living conditions. They had to build houses or dugouts for themselves, in regions where the raw material was scarce.⁵⁹ The Germans who were already living on the territory of the republic were affected too, becoming subject of the anti-fascist campaign. In October-November 1941, they were evicted from all the cities and central towns and sent to the rural areas. While some were mobilized to the labor colonies, others were sent to collective farms and villages.⁶⁰

The most traumatic element for the ethnic Germans was not the very notion of dislocation, but the reasons and conditions of deportation. People were not given enough time to collect food and essentials. They left their households without any official document that would prove a potential compensation. Also, the places of their new residence were not

⁵⁷ “О порядке использования немцев-переселенцев призывного возраста от 17 до 50 лет” 10 января 1942 г. [“On the order of usage of Germans-special settlers from 17 to 50 years old” Decree January 10, 1942] in *Мобилизовать немцев в рабочие колонны... И. Сталин 1940-е годы* [To mobilize Germans in labour coloniesI. Stalin, 1940s], N.F. Bugaj (ed.), Moscow: Готика, 1998, pp.39-40.

⁵⁸ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union* ... p.47.

⁵⁹ Viktor F. Diesendorf, “Депортация российских немцев в 1941-1942 гг.: причины, особенности, последствия”[Deportation of Russian Germans in 1941-1942: reasons, peculiarities, and consequences] in *К Истории Российских Немцев Статьи и доклады последних лет* [History of Russian Germans: articles and reports of the recent years], Rottenburg , 2009, pp. 53-66.

⁶⁰ K.S. Aldazhumanov, “Расселение депортированных немцев в Казахстане в 1941-1945гг.”[Settlement of deported Germans in Kazakhstan in 1941-1945 in *История немцев Центральной Азии* [History of the Germans in Central Asia], materials of the international scientific conference, Almaty, 1998. p.116.

prepared to receive such a large number of people. On the way to the territories of destination, many people died because of the improper conditions of transportation and there were cases when individuals were lost along the way. Moreover, families based on ethnic intermarriages were disunited as a result of these deportations. The decree of the deportation stated that if the head of the family was German, the whole family had to be resettled. Consequently, there were many complains from the Russian women who were deported with their German husbands. They thought it was unfair for them to be exiled, while the German women with Russian last names were not. The decree did not exonerate the Germans military servants who were fighting against Nazi Germany and protecting the Soviet Union as their motherland. They were also expelled from the military ranks and sent to the territories of exile.⁶¹

The deportation of the ethnic Germans stretched over the entire war period. While the liberation of the occupied territories was progressing, the ethnic Germans from Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were also deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan in 1944-1945. Yet, these deportations after 1941 were not so large-scaled.

As it was mentioned in the first chapter, the Germanic communities were diverse and did not represent a monolithic ethnic group with one confession and a common set of traditions. This diversity was also preserved in the case of the deported Germanic groups. For example, the ethnic Germans “evacuated” to Kazakhstan still preserved the cultural and religious traditions of their original German-speaking territories. However, they could not afford to maintain a low level of assimilation in the harsh conditions in the settlement territories. The deportation regime created a specific environment in the territories of exile, which encouraged unity among different Germanic groups and a mix with the native population to a certain extent.

⁶¹ Arkadij A. German et al. *История немцев России: хрестоматия...*, p. 253.

2.2 *Life in the special settlements under the deportation regime: Kazakhstan.*

2.2.1 *Legal issues.*

The term ‘special settlement’ (*specposelenie* in Russian) refers to the type settlement created under the deportation regime. The forced mobilization in the labour colonies was one of the aspects of that regime. The deported people were obliged to work for free wherever they were sent. They were moved mostly within the territories of exile. The most dreadful aspect of forced work was the separation of families, very often parents having to leave their children.

The lives of the settlers in these territories of exile were subjected to the several restrictions, one of the most important limitations being the one of movement. The individuals under the deportation regime were forbidden to leave the village or the town where they had been relocated. In order to have under control the movement network, settlers had to register once a month to a local law enforcement office. These official centers were called *selsoviet* in the rural areas and *militsiya* in the towns and cities. However, these special settlements differed from the labor camps, having the appearance of “almost normal” placements. Also, the status of settlers differed from the one of labor camp prisoners. The former could get a job as lumberjacks, construction workers or farmers, live with their families and even walk freely...within a specific area.

The first groups of ethnic Germans to arrive in Kazakhstan were not deported under the regime of the “special settlement”. This is mainly because there was no official legislation concerning their position in the territories of exile in the beginning of their forced deportation. Therefore, many were the cases when the local authorities considered them as

evacuated citizens from the front zones.⁶² In 1942, the Soviet government restricted the territories of movement for the deportees. There were chosen 16 regions where the ethnic Germans could live, 12 of them being on the territory of Kazakhstan.⁶³

The official decrees on the rights and limitations of the special settlers in the territories of exile were mostly established in 1945. The first one was “On the Legal Regulations and Rights of the Special Settlers”,⁶⁴ in January 8, 1945, which officially fixed and clarified the status of the people in exile. This decree claimed that the special settlers enjoyed equal rights as every citizen in the Soviet Union, yet also restricted by the above-mentioned limitations. The next document, “On the Rights and Privileges of the Special Settlers”⁶⁵ July 28, 1941, increased the supervision of the people under the deportation regime by the local authorities. On February 21, 1948⁶⁶, an order was issued that enable the local authorities to deal with the people who were not able to work hard because of age, illness, etc. categorizing them as “individuals who are persistent to avoid labor activity”.⁶⁷ Moreover, the resolution of November 26, 1948⁶⁸ worsened the restrictions concerning the limitations of movement within the territory of exile. Accordingly, the special settlers were to be sentenced to twenty years in Gulag camps if they attempted to escape from their place of

⁶² L.P. Belkovec, *Административно-правовое положение российских немцев на спецпоселении 1941-1945 гг.* [Administrative-Legislative position of Russian Germans in the special settlement 1941-1945], Novosibirsk: СО РАН, 2000, p. 176.

⁶³ N.F. Bugaj (ed.), *Мобилизовать немцев в рабочие колонны...*, p. 312.

⁶⁴ Постановление СНК СССР “О правовом положении спецпереселенцев” от 8 января. 1945 г. [“On the legal status of the special settlers”] in *История российских немцев в документах.....* p. 175.

⁶⁵ V.A. Auman, V.G. Chebotareva (eds.), *История российских немцев в документах 1763-1992 ...* pp. 150-151.

⁶⁶ Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР от 21 февраля 1948 г. “О выселении в отдаленные районы лиц, злостно уклоняющихся от трудовой деятельности в сельском хозяйстве и ведущих антиобщественный паразитический образ жизни” [“On the dislocation of the individuals who avoid work activity in agricultural sphere and lead parasitizing way of life”] in *Массовые репрессии в СССР [Mass repression in USSR]*, J. N. Afanas'ev, Moscow: РОССПЭН, 2004.

⁶⁷ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union ...* p.154.

⁶⁸ The resolution November 26, 1948, “On Criminal Prosecution for Escape from the Places of Required and Permanent Places of Residences for People, Deported to Distant Parts of the Soviet Union during the Great Patriotic War”.

relocation. “Escape” meant either missing the monthly registration or traveling to the nearby village without permission from the local authorities.

It needs to be mentioned that the special settlers in Kazakhstan were ethnically diverse, the different ethnic groups frequently living side by side. However, the Soviet policy concerning the status of people in exile was not ethnic-specific.⁶⁹ Therefore, the local authority did not supervise the Germans separately from other ethnic groups. Also, there was no special treatment for them despite the fact that the ethnic Germans represented one of the largest groups of deportees. However, there was an exception to this rule. The ethnic Germans from the territories occupied by the Nazi Germans and freed by the Soviets were given special attention as they were considered “high risk” elements for the state security.⁷⁰

The system of control over the people in the territories of exile was defined between 1945 and 1948, being known as the regime of the special settlement. This regime operated until 1953-1954, a period marked also by a turning point in the history of the ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union. This turning point was characterized by the beginning of their rehabilitation process.

2.2.2 Living conditions and public relations.

It was only by 1949-1951 that the special settlers started to receive proper housing. However, the process was very slow. For instance, by 1949, only 50 % of the ethnic Germans improved their living conditions by obtaining proper houses.⁷¹ Finally, in the late 50s, the majority of the settlers was able to get the materials for building houses or was allowed to occupy the abandoned ones. As a result of the improper living conditions, several illnesses

⁶⁹ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union ...* p. 82.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 84-93.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 93.

spread among the special settlers. Despite their weak health, affected during the transfer to the territories of exile and by the living conditions there, the settlers still had to work hard in the labor colonies.

However, the Soviet government was not preoccupied with helping the deported people to settle in the territories of exile. Scholar have explained the improvement in their living conditions registered in the late 50s as the consequence of the economic progress registered by the Soviet Union during the post-war period.

Prior to the deportation, the ethnic Germans were one of the highly educated ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. Even so, they did not have an opportunity to choose a position according to their education and professional skills in the territories of exile. Most of the Germans were sent to work in collective farms and agriculture. Even though there was a need of educated specialists in the after-war period and they meet the requirements, the Germans were not considered proper candidates. Moreover, by the end of 1949, the Soviet government even decided to limit the positions for the ethnic Germans in the administrative sphere of the agricultural area.⁷² As a result, in the early 50s, there was almost no German among the heads of the collective farms.

However, the public attitude towards the German special settlers was not the same. Some of the natives and other ethnic groups sincerely sympathized with them for the injustice of the Soviet regime. Yet, there were also groups that were against the Germans, attacking them in the streets when hearing the German speech. As a result, the ethnic Germans were afraid of speaking German in public and used it only in close family circles and in private. Local authorities expressed this harsh attitude too, treating Germanic groups more strictly than the other special settlers.

⁷² G. Карпыкова (ed.), *Из истории немцев Казахстана 1921-1975 гг. : сборник документов [From the History of Germans in Kazakhstan in 1921-1975: a collection of documents]*, Almaty: Gotika, 1997, p. 157.

As it was mentioned in their memoirs, the ethnic Germans in the special settlements considered the war period as a difficult one for all the ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. They were waiting for the end of the war as others did and hoped to remove the stigma of the “enemies of the nation”.⁷³ However, the end of the Second World War did not relieve the ethnic Germans from their underprivileged status, yet it even worsened their position. The Germans who returned from the war and the labor colonies were sent to their initial deportation places, where they were still under the special settlers’ regime. They were subjected to the same limitations that controlled them prior to their military and labor mobilizations.

Moreover, the school education for the children of the special settlers was also a problematic question. The situation with school was similar to the accommodation for the deported people. Firstly, there were not enough schools providing education for the children of the deportees. Secondly, the Soviet policy of the 20s-30s concerning the education in the native language was barely implemented. Consequently, the processes of acculturation and russification were strengthened in the early 50s. In addition, the constant resettlement of the parents within the territories of exile prevented children from enjoying a proper, stable education. In the case of Kazakhstan, there were schools in Kazakh and Russian languages, but not in German schools. In 1950, 78 000 children of German origin, ages between 7 and 14 years old, were registered in Kazakhstan. Only 11% of them studied at school, which represented approximately 9000 children.⁷⁴ Also, German parents did not want their children to study in Russian schools since they still hoped to restore their former rights and to create a German speaking environment.⁷⁵ Although the Soviet government started to take measures to

⁷³ Berta Bachmann, *Erinnerungen an Kasachstan. Erfahrungsbericht einer Russladdutschen*, Verlag der Lutherischen Buchhandlung, Groß Oesingen/Zahrenholz, 1998, p. 88.

⁷⁴ AP RK. Fold. 708. Rgs.13. File.255. Sh.8-12.

⁷⁵ В. Brul, “Влияние второй мировой войны на численность, географию расселения и образовательно-культурный уровень немцев в Казахстане”[the Impact of the Second World War on the number, geography, settlement and educational-cultural level of Germans in Kazakhstan] in

improve the conditions of the educational system for Germans, the possibility of high education for them was still limited.⁷⁶

As far as the religious element is concerned, there was almost no religious activity of the ethnic Germans during the war and the first post-war decade because of the difficulties of resettlement and deportation. The Germans mentioned in their recollections that they sometimes prayed or read parts of the Bible in the circle of their families. However, they would rarely publicly express their religious affiliation for fear of additional persecution. Since the anti-religious policy of the Party was still strong, religion did not act as a central element for defying the ethnicity of the Germans. Also, the lessening of restrictions on religious practice in 1943 concerned only the Orthodox Church. Therefore, there was no opportunity for the settlers under the deportation regime to continue their habitual life where religion played a crucial role.

The process of the forced deportation and the life under the strict control in the special settlements almost destroyed the traditional life style of the ethnic Germans. The cultural and religious traditions could not be kept in the harsh conditions of the settlement and in a context of harsh population control in the Soviet Union. Moreover, the German colonies were habitually settled along confessional and cultural lines, tradition which became impossible in this context. In other words, the main sources of German ethnic identity were not available anymore.

As a result, the ethnic Germans underwent traumatic experiences in all the spheres of their lives because of the severe policy of the Soviet regime. This difficult experience became a national trauma that was transferred from one generation to the other. Therefore, the ethnic Germans had strong reasons to restore their former rights and protect their future. These

Культура немцев Казахстана: История и современность [Culture of Germans in Kazakhstan: History and modernity], Алматы, 1999 , p.98

⁷⁶G. Karpykova, (ed.), *Из истории немцев Казахстана 1921-1975...*, pp. 176-177.

sentiments led to the rehabilitation movement among the Germanic groups in the territories of exile after Stalin's death and during Khrushchev's period.

Chapter 3. Process of rehabilitation: mechanisms and consequences (1950s-1980s)

3.1 Restoration of civil rights: Germans in social and political life of Kazakhstan.

The victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, the subsequent shifts in the external political situation and the internal political changes connected with the death of Stalin triggered the rehabilitation process of the repressed nations, thus marking the beginning of Khrushchev's rehabilitation policy. The Soviet government gradually loosed the regulations of settlement in territories of exile such as Kazakhstan and Siberia. These policy changes were complemented by a campaign aiming at destroying the personality cult of Stalin, a movement that started with Khrushchev's report on the XX party congress from 1956.⁷⁷ Even if the Khrushchev's speech was not publicly opened, it triggered the process of restoration of civil rights of those who had suffered from repression policy of 20s and 30s. Therefore, the Khrushchev's period (1953-1964) is called *thaw* in historiography.

Among the first results of the rehabilitation processes was the restoration of the following autonomous republics: Kalmykia,⁷⁸ Chechen-Ingush,⁷⁹ Karachai-Cherkess,⁸⁰ and Kabardino-Balkaria.⁸¹ It was this campaign and the above-mentioned state policies that gave Germans hope to become full-fledged citizens of the Soviet state. However, the Soviet

⁷⁷ V.P. Наумов, "К истории секретного доклада Н.С. Хрущева на XX съезде КПСС" (The History of the Secret Report by N. S. Khrushchev at the XX Party Congress of CPSU), *Новая и новейшая история*, № 4, 1996, pp. 147-168.

⁷⁸ 9 января 1957 г. «Об образовании Калмыцкой автономной области в составе РСФСР».

⁷⁹ Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР "О восстановлении Чечено-Ингушской АССР в составе РСФСР" 9 января 1957 г.

Source: <http://www.memorial.krsk.ru/DOKUMENT/USSR/5701092.htm> (the website dedicated to the victims of repressions in the Soviet Union), accessed May 27, 2014.

⁸⁰ Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР "О преобразовании Черкесской автономной области в Карачаево-Черкесскую автономную область" 9 января 1957 г. Source: <http://www.memorial.krsk.ru/DOKUMENT/USSR/5701091.htm> (the website dedicated to the victims of repressions in the Soviet Union), accessed May 27, 2014.

⁸¹ Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР "О преобразовании Кабардинской АССР в Кабардино-Балкарскую АССР" 9 января 1957 г.

Source: <http://www.memorial.krsk.ru/DOKUMENT/USSR/570109.htm> (the website dedicated to the victims of repressions in the Soviet Union), accessed May 27, 2014.

Germans and Crimea Tatars were out of this process of territorial restoration. The resolution of prohibition to return to the places of the former residence was permanent for those two ethnic groups. Therefore, there was no Volga German Republic anymore on the map of the Soviet Union.

The term “rehabilitation” did not appear in the titles of the mentioned decrees, the Soviet government using terms such as “easing or removal of restrictions”. Yet, what exactly did the ethnic Germans understand by the term “rehabilitation”? Three main explanations can be identified as potential answers. Firstly, they hoped that this process would assure them the civil rights as full-fledged citizens of the Soviet Union. Secondly, by regaining their “privilege position”, they could aspire to restore their republic in the Volga region. Thirdly, the rehabilitation process would restore their freedom of movement too, including the opportunity to migrate to Germany. Therefore, there is no single, concrete answer to what rehabilitation meant for the ethnic Germans in Soviet Union. In addition, their activities during this period were in accordance with their different aims, be them of religious or ethnic nature.

However, the Soviet government could not yet afford to initiate changes in this direction after the years of repression and terror directed towards its own citizens. In this situation, the part leaders were faced with a dilemma. Firstly, they understood that the system of terror had to be demolished in order to save themselves and to secure their positions in the government. Secondly, they could not afford to weaken their power by admitting the unjust actions directed against the Soviet citizens during Stalin’s rule. Thirdly, to raise the restrictions on the ethnic minorities within the territories of exile also required taking decisions concerning their future status in the Soviet Union.⁸² In the case of Soviet Germans,

⁸² Nadezhda Efremova-Shershukova, “Немцы Казахстана: Депортация, спецпоселение, реабилитация” (Germans of Kazakhstan: Deportation, Special Settlement, Rehabilitation), Candidate’s dissertation, Tomsk, 2009.

these general hindrances were supplemented by their charges of collaboration with Nazi Germany, accusations that were difficult either to prove or to dispute.

This dynamic network of factors slowed down the process of rehabilitation of the Soviet Germans, the pace of the change of their settlement regime seldom meeting their expectations. Historian Benjamin Pinkus divided this process in two stages, describing the 1955-1964 period as the “the road to rehabilitation” and the time from 1965 onwards as “the results of rehabilitation”.⁸³ Before this time framework, it is important to mention the official decrees of 1953-1955, which marked the official beginning of the rehabilitation process for repressed nations. In addition, the status of the Germans in the Soviet territories of exile received special attention in numerous other official decrees adopted in 1955-1972. The starting point of these sequential decrees was the 1953⁸⁴ report of S. Kruglov, the Secretary of Interior, responsible for the Development and the Rehabilitation Reform of the Communist Part of the Soviet Union (CPSU). In the attempt to prepare the grounds for the changes on the deportation regime, the document stipulated that a minimum limit of three million people were to be kept in the territories of exile. Thus, two million people, most of them Germans, were to be freed from this regime. As far as for those “left behind” were concerned, their living conditions were to be improved. This improvement implied that they could change residence or travel abroad temporarily, all with the permission of the local authorities.⁸⁵

⁸³ Benjamin Pinkus, “The Germans in the Soviet Union since 1945”, in *The soviet Germans. Past and present*, ed. Benjamin Pinkus, Ingeborg Fleischhauer, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1986, p. 103.

⁸⁴ Andrey Artizov, Jurij Sigachev, et al., ed., *Реабилитация: Как это было: документы Президиума ЦК КПСС и другие материалы: Март 1953-февраль 1956*, (Rehabilitation: How it was: the Documents of Presidium of CPSU and other materials. March 1953 - February 1956), V 1, Moscow: Международный фонд «Демократия», 2000, p. 49.

⁸⁵ L. Shumilova, A. Негман, “Подготовка и осуществление государственным руководством СССР снятия режима спецпоселения с советских немцев” (Preparation and Implementation of the State Leadership of the USSR with the Removal the Deportation Regime of the Special Settlement of Soviet Germans), *Немцы СССР в годы Великой отечественной войны и первое послевоенное десятилетие: 1941 – 1955* (*Germans of USSR during the Second World War and First Decade of the Post-war Period: 1941-1955*), Moscow: Готика, 2000, pp. 444-446.

Moreover, the 1953-1954 documents mitigated for a change in the status of exiled minorities by easing the level of state authority and pressure.⁸⁶ In this end, the government removed the restrictions on free movement inside the Soviet Union and on the change of residence. In addition, the required monthly personal registration was to be done at least each three months.⁸⁷ Concerning the exemption process, the first categories to enjoy this privilege were children under 18-years old, members of CPSU, veterans of the war, and people activating in the educational sphere.⁸⁸ In this process of rehabilitation as citizens of the Soviet Union, the individuals fitting in one of the above-mentioned categories received several social liberties, such as the possibility to serve in the Soviet Army.⁸⁹ Yet, once in practice, the stipulations of these documents did not significantly reduce the number of people under the strict control of the state. For example, the Germans who acquired the relative freedom of movement inside the state could still be judged for leaving the assigned places of residence without the official local permission.⁹⁰ The change in their exiled status did not include the permission of returning to their previous settlements. This was mainly what the Soviet Germans were hoping for. In addition, it was never clearly stated in the documents that the state was guilty for the unjust actions against the exiled ethnic nations, especially the Germans. In other words, even though these measures made the life of Germans easier as far

⁸⁶ Andrey Artizov, Jurij Sigachev, et al., ed., *Реабилитация: Как это было...* V. 1, pp. 95-97.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 159.

⁸⁸ Ibid, pp. 95-97.

⁸⁹ Постановление Президиума ЦК КПСС «О призыве на действительную военную службу некоторых категорий спецпоселенцев» от 23 марта 1955 г (Resolution of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On the Call of Certain Categories of Special Settlers to Serve in the Army" from March 23, 1955). in Andrey Artizov, Jurij Sigachev, et al., ed., *Реабилитация: Как это было ...* V. 1. pp. 206-207.

⁹⁰ Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР «Об отмене Указа Президиума Верховного Совета СССР от 26 ноября 1948 г. «Об уголовной ответственности за побег из мест обязательного и постоянного поселения лиц, выселенных в отдаленные районы Советского Союза в период Отечественной войны» от 13 июля 1954 г. (Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "On the Abolition of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on 26 November 1948" "Criminal responsibility for the escaped from the compulsory and permanent settlement of persons deported to the remote areas of the Soviet Union during the Second World War" from July 13, 1954) in Andrey Artizov, Jurij Sigachev, et al., ed., *Реабилитация: Как это было...* V. 1. p. 161.

as the pressure from authorities is concerned, the government was still monitoring their lives and movement.

The second group of documents concerning the rehabilitation of the Soviet Germans is made up of three main decrees from 1955, 1964 and 1972. The first one was issued on December 13, 1955 under the title “Abolition of the restrictions on the legal status of the Germans and their Families under the Deportation Regime”.⁹¹ In short, it released the German families from the total control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Yet, it had a serious limitation: Germans had no right to return to the places of the settlements where they were evicted from. In spite of this restriction, this decree was the first official document that implicitly admitted the injustice of Stalin’s regime against the ethnic group as a whole. Then, in the middle of the 1960s, the government tackled this issue again. On August 29, 1964, the decree “Regarding the Introduction of Changes in the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of August 28, 1941, relating to Transfer of Germans Residing in the Volga Regions”⁹² officially proved the inconsistency of the accusations of collaboration with Nazi invaders and underlined the contribution of Soviet German to the victory in the World War II. Yet, there was no references to the restoration of the Volga Autonomy Republic. This decree only removed the restrictions concerning the legal status of Soviet Germans, but it still did not solve the problem of the German population in the exiled territories. Last but not least, the November 3, 1972 decree entitled “Regarding Abolition of the Restrictions on Choice of Place of Residence that were Imposed in the Past with regard to Various Categories of

⁹¹ Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР “О снятии ограничений в правовом положении с немцев и членов их семей, находящихся на спецпоселении” от 13 декабря 1955 г. [“On the releasing the restrictions for the Germans and members of their families in the special settlements] in *История российских немцев в документах...* р. 250.

⁹² Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР «О внесении изменений в Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР от 28 августа 1941 г. «О переселении немцев, проживающих в районах Поволжья» от 29 августа 1964 г. in *История российских немцев в документах...* pp. 178-179.

Citizens”⁹³ - permitted the Germans to choose their place of residence as they see fit. Again, there was no sign of autonomy reconstruction, despite the fact that the delegations of Germans had constantly applied for the rehabilitation of their deprived territory by that time.

The implementation of these decrees did not entirely solve the German question, this mission being handed down to the local authorities of the regions where the ethnic groups lived after the deportation. However, starting with the 1954-1955 period, the socio-economic activity of the Germans had gradually grown in these areas. This rise was also supported by the development of virgin lands, a project that started in 1954 and allowed the Germans to put in practice their professional skills.⁹⁴ Most of the Germans were experienced workers in the agricultural area, the rest being specialists in the industrial sector but worked in villages. Gradually, this agricultural majority also shifted their occupation from husbandry and farming to areas of manufacturing, health care and education. Statistically, the percentage Germans working in the agricultural area reduced by half from 1959 until 1989.⁹⁵

In addition, the number of Germans involved in the executive system increased. Comparing the data of 1956 to the one of 1973-1976, the ratio of those who occupied positions in the CPSU rose from 0, 3% and 3%, respectively from 282 to 3116 members of German origin. Meanwhile, Germans made up more than 6% of the whole population in Kazakhstan.⁹⁶ Their membership in CPSU enabled them to reach higher positions in the local

⁹³ Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР “О снятии ограничений в выборе места жительства, предусмотренного в прошлом для отдельных категорий граждан” от 3 ноября 1972 г. [On the deregulation of choosing places of accommodation stipulated for certain category of citizens in the past] in *История российских немцев в документах ...* p.179.

⁹⁴ Irina Efremova “Немецкий фактор в культурно-историческом развитии народов Казахстана” (German factor in cultural-historical development of nations in Kazakhstan), *Актуальное состояние и перспективы культурной деятельности в местах проживания немцев: материалы международного семинара (Actual conditions and perspectives of cultural activity in the territories with most residents of German origin: materials of the international seminar)*. p. 61, Алматы, 1996.

⁹⁵ Central city archive of Republic of Kazakhstan (CCA RK), file folder 698, register 21, document 226, sheets 1-7.

⁹⁶ Vladimir Osipov, *Коммунистическая партия Казахстана: организационно политическое развитие: Справочник [Communist Party of Kazakhstan: Organizational Political Development: Handbook]*, Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1990, p. 147-210.

government. Even though the Soviet state took measures to involve the Soviet Germans in the administrative apparatus, this ethnic minority was still under-represented in the governmental structures. The participation of Soviet Germans in the social-political life of the state was not as significant to consider it a restoration of the Germans' violated civil rights. Therefore, the deported Germans were still unsatisfied with the development of their rehabilitation process. The central authorities were informed about the intensified activity of the Germans concerning the reconstruction of their former autonomy. Their growing political efforts were directed towards acquiring the status of fully-fledged citizens, with the right to participate in the political and social life of the republic.

3.2 Cultural revival: Linguistic issues.

Another facet of the rehabilitation process was the revival of German culture. One of the first arrangements connected with the restored right of national development was directed towards the revival of Germans' mother tongue. A decree issued by the Ministry of Education in Kazakh SSR on "Elimination of the Limitations in the Education of the Children in the Special Settlements" established in 1955⁹⁷ led to the establishment of schools in Kazakhstan where the educational process was partially or fully in German. Here, the German language was taught as a mother tongue and not as a foreign language. Yet, the practical implementation of this project faced some important obstacles. First, there were not enough teachers of German language or specialists able to teach in German. Second, the lack of German schoolbooks made the study process difficult even for a qualified teacher.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Приказ Министерства просвещения Казахской ССР «Об устранении недостатков в обучении детей Спецпоселенцев» от 18 сентября 1955 г. Source: CCA RK, Ff. 1692, Rst.1, Doc. 2612, Sh. 84-86.

⁹⁸ Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK), Ff. 708, Rst.28, Doc. 1339a, Sh. 105; F. 885, Rst.1, Doc.4, Sh.26-32.

However, these problems were not without solution, time being the main requirement for the preparation of these specialists and the printing of textbooks. Yet, what was indeed the “problematic” element of this project was its necessity. In 1955, the Ministry of Education of KSSR and the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of Central Committee of the Communist Party surveyed the opinion of the Soviet German parents on the question of the education in their native language.⁹⁹ Interestingly, the majority of the respondents wanted their children to be fluent in Russian. They were mostly motivated by the thought on the difficulties their children will encounter at the level of higher education, in view of the lack of high educational institutions with German as a language of study.¹⁰⁰

Despite the survey results, on February 27, 1957, the Council of Ministers of Kazakh SSR adopted the decree “Introduction of the Teaching in the Mother Tongue for the Children of German Origin”.¹⁰¹ The decree obliged the Ministry of Education to introduce German classes for the German children for 2 hours per week in primary school. The key condition was the presence of at least 10 pupils. According to all-USSR population census of 1959, the rate of the rural population of German nation in Kazakhstan was 69, 1% comparing with a rate of urbanization of 30, 9%.¹⁰² Since most of the German population lived in rural areas, the implementation of this new policy was mainly directed towards towns or big villages.

In some regions of Kazakhstan, active study groups were organized for German learners. Comparing with 1950s, there was a remarkable rise in the interest of studying German in the 1960s.¹⁰³ It seems that the support enjoyed by this educational project from the

⁹⁹ G. Карыкова, ed. *Из истории немцев Казахстана* pp. 203-204.

¹⁰⁰ CCA RK, Ff. 1692, Rst. 1, Doc. 2612, Sh. 54.

¹⁰¹ Постановление Совета Министров Казахской ССР «О введении преподавания родного языка для детей немецкой национальности в школах Казахской ССР» от 27 февраля 1957 г. CCA RK, Ff.1137, Rst. 1, Doc. 444, Sh. 10-11.

¹⁰² *Итоги Всесоюзной переписи населения 1959 года: Казахская ССР* (The results of population census of the Soviet Union, 1959), Alma-Ata: Госстатиздат, 1962. pp.124-143.

¹⁰³ Nadezhda Efremova-Shershukova “К вопросу об организации обучения немецкого населения Казахстана на родном языке (1950-1980)” (On the Question of Education of the German Population of Kazakhstan in their Native Language), *Вестник ВЭГУ*, 6(38), Томск, p.111.

state actually had a positive effect on the interest in studying the German mother tongue. Yet, starting with the 1970s, in the most regions of Kazakhstan, there was a tendency to reduce the number of German study groups. Reports on the number of children who studied German in such groups underlined a remarkable decline in the interest for this language.¹⁰⁴

The issues of education were tightly connected with the functions of the mother tongue. The change of the language used among the Soviet Germans was characterized by the following tendencies. Firstly, Russian language quickly became the main source of communication for all the nations in the republic. Hence, language skills in Russian were a crucial factor in the educational and working-force sectors. Secondly, there was a significant reduction in the number of those who considered German as their mother tongue. According to the data of the 1959 census, 75 % of the German population from Kazakhstan indicated German as their mother tongue. In 1970, this index lowered to 66, 8%,¹⁰⁵ in 1979 the rate fell to 57%¹⁰⁶ and in 1989 the data showed only 54,4 %.¹⁰⁷ However, some scholarly researchers doubt the authenticity of these numbers concerning the active usage of the German language. People could connect the question of their mother tongue with their ethnic belonging, but they find it difficult to believe that the respondents were fluent in German.¹⁰⁸ From this perspective, the full revival of German language in Kazakhstan in the sphere of education was impossible due to the absence of practical means of spreading this language.

¹⁰⁴ CCA RK, Ff.1692, Rst. 2, Doc. 1789, Sh. 3-4, 6-40; Doc. 1869, Sh. 6.

¹⁰⁵ Grigorij M Maksimov ed., “Всесоюзная перепись населения 1970 года: сборник статей” (Population Census of the Soviet Union, 1970: a Collection of Articles), Moscow: Статистика, 1976, p. 194.

¹⁰⁶ Herold Belger, “Двоязычие как важный фактор воспитания культуры межнациональных отношений” (Bilingualism is an Important Factor in Promoting a Culture of Interethnic Relations), *Воспитание культуры межнациональных отношений. Материалы республиканской научно-практической конференции*, Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1988, p. 112.

¹⁰⁷ *Итоги Всесоюзной переписи населения 1989* (Population Census of the Soviet Union in 1989), V.2, Alma-Ata: Госкомстат СССР, 1991, pp.149-175.

¹⁰⁸ Nadezhda Efremova-Shershukova “К вопросу об организации обучения немецкого населения Казахстана на родном языке (1950-1980)”p.113.

3.3 The issue of German autonomy in Kazakhstan: a failed attempt.

Having been the only ethnic minority group that had had its own administrative territory in the first years of the Soviet regime and before the Second World War, the Soviet Germans repeatedly raise the question of the restitution of their autonomous republic in the Volga region.

The movement for the autonomy reconstruction motivated its actions by the trauma experienced by the Soviet Germans caused by their forced deportation after the beginning of the Second World War. In addition, the violation of German's civil rights between 1941 and 1956, the cruel treatment in the labor armies and the legal, political and social development after the army discharge contributed to the vehement campaign of the Soviet Germans in restoring their former autonomous territories. By acquiring this autonomy, as some scholars claim, the Soviet Germans would also be able to avoid assimilation within other nations and an uncertain future.¹⁰⁹

The population census of 1959 shows that the regions of the German population shifted to Eastern parts of Russia and Central Asia. Comparing the data of census in Kazakh SSR (See Table 1, Appendice) there was a remarkable grows of the German population from 1941. The Soviet Government had to take into consideration the potential disturbances among the dissatisfied Germans. However, the Government emphasised cultural activity and linguistic issues instead of the solving the territorial problem.

Moreover, there was almost no practical reason to get back the regions occupied by the ethnic Germans prior to their deportation of 1941. Firstly, for the Germans who "built up a life" in the deportation territories (created families, obtained employment, set up houses etc.), it could have been complicated to move again and start from scratch. Secondly, the

¹⁰⁹ Alfred Eisfeld, "Deutsche Autonomiebewegung in der Sowjetunion," in *Die Russland Deutschen. Gestern und Heute*. eds. B. Meissner, H. Neubauer, A. Eisfeld, p. 45. Köln:Markus Verlag, 1992.

transfer in proper conditions of large groups of ethnic Germans was expected to be a costly operation for the Soviet Government. The above-mentioned reasons split the ethnic Germans in two camps. While the former desired to return to the restored autonomous republic in the Volga regions, the latter did not want to return to the former territories of residence and preferred to remain in the territories of exile, such as Siberia and Kazakhstan.

The organized delegations of Germans' representatives had been visiting visited the Soviet government in Moscow since 1964, but that did not produce the expected results.¹¹⁰ An official report by A. Koreev, the secretary of the regional committee of the CPSU, contains fragments of their letters to the Soviet Union officials. According to them, some members of the representative group implied that "if the restoration of the German Republic and the lifting of the restrictions were rejected, the leaving of the ethnic Germans to the Federal Republic of Germany would be required"¹¹¹. The activists of the movement were agitating the ethnic Germans to be united in their "fighting for the exoneration of our innocent people, who had suffered at the hands of Stalin and Beria, and are still suffering from the pressure of inequality and discrimination".¹¹² In this respect, the members of the representative group were ready to apply to all possible institutions, even to the United Nations Organization (UNO). Therefore, the idea of migration became popular among the Soviet Germans. In 1971 alone, the Ministry of Interior received 448 applications for the permission to leave to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). The number of applications raised in 1972 and 1973 to 1119 and 1924 respectively.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ I. Karsakov, "Немцы Казахстана: определение берега" (Germans of Kazakhstan: Identification of the Location), Мысль, № 6, 1995, p. 46.

¹¹¹ V.A. Auman, V.G. Chebotareva (eds.), *История российских немцев в документах 1763-1992...* pp. 133-134.

¹¹² "Об активизации деятельности отдельных лиц немецкой национальности, ходатайствующих о восстановлении немецкой автономии на Волге", 18 сентября 1965г.[“On the Activity of Individuals of German Origin Applying for the Restoration of the Autonomous in the Volga Region”], Source: http://wolgadeutsche.net/krieger/Dokument-Krasn-1965.htm#_edn2 , accessed in May, 2014.

¹¹³ AP RK, Ff.808, Rst. 56, Doc.352, Sh. 165-170.

The Soviet Government faced a dilemma: whether to let one of the most productive labor forces to leave the developing region of Kazakhstan or to grant them their own autonomous territory. Faced with the growing resentment because of the politics of retention, the Soviet authority ruled in favor for the territorial autonomy of the German ethnic group within Kazakhstan. In this context, the request for autonomy in the Volga region was rejected. The decision was explained by the fact that the German population was no longer the ethnic majority of the region and had no historical roots there. Instead, the regions of the Northern part of the republic, in particular Zelinograd, Pavlodar, Kokchetav, Karaganda, were indicated as the most populated regions by the German ethnic group. The center of the autonomous region was designated to be Ermentau.¹¹⁴ The decision was not discussed with the German population, being “just an order from above”. On the one hand, this step accomplished the very aim that the Soviet Germans desired to reach. On the other hand, the imperative to balance the ethnically varied regions required the settlement of the Soviet Germans to prevent them from migrating freely abroad.¹¹⁵

The official announcement of the creation of the German autonomous region on June 16 1979 was contested by other ethnic groups living in the republic. People of different ethnic origins – Kazakh, Russian, Ukrainian, and German – organized rallies against that decision in the center of Zelinograd (present Astana). The participants claimed that ascribing autonomy for one ethnic group was illegal and demanded the organization of the referendum on that issue. The center of Astana was filled with more than five thousands participants.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ “Записка группы ответственных работников ЦК КПСС “Об образовании Немецкой автономной Области”, август 1978 г.” [“Note of the Group of the Responsible Officials of the Central Committee of the CPSU” On the Formation of the German Autonomous Area, “August 1978”], in *История российских немцев в документах ...*р.192.

¹¹⁵Vladimir Brauer, Tat'yana Ilarionova, *Российские немцы: право на надежду: к истории национального движения народа (1955-1993)* (*Russian Germans: the right to hope: history of the national movement*). Moscow: Республика, 1995. p. 58.

¹¹⁶ М. Омаров, А. Какен, *Познание себя* (Self-discovery), Almaty: Аль-Фараби, 1998, p.53.

Consequently, the movement against the governmental decision stopped further preparations for the creation of the autonomous region. Several party leaders in Kazakh SSR believed that any further actions could lead to demands for autonomous areas from other ethnic minorities. In addition, the Germans understood that the negative reaction, especially of Kazakh people, could weaken their relations with the natives and other nations.¹¹⁷ In addition, some scholars underlined the fact that the German population was not culturally homogeneous because of their historical background. The Soviet Germans were deported not only from the Volga region, but also from other parts of Ukraine and Russia. The main marker of such diversity was the usage of different dialects of German language.¹¹⁸ All these factors influenced the failure to consolidate the autonomy of Soviet Germans if the republic on a separate territory.

The above-mentioned reasons are the ones most frequently mentioned in the historiography dealing with the Soviet Germans-Soviet Government relations. However, different sources reach different conclusions, scholars not being able to reach a common ground on these issues. By 70s, all the problematic issues concerning the legal status of German nation in the Soviet Union were officially resolved by the above –mentioned decrees. The Soviet Germans were full-fledged citizens of the Soviet Union. Despite that fact, there were still a movement for autonomy rehabilitation.

The scholarly works on the topic differ in their opinion on the reasons that influenced the failure of the project for autonomy. Firstly, an economic factor could have influenced the failed attempt to recreate the German autonomy in a particular area of the republic. The

¹¹⁷ N. Petrovichev, M. Georgadze, V. Chebrikov, “О негативных проявлениях, имевших место в Целиноградской области” (On the negative manifestations that took place in the Tselinograd area), 28 июня 1979 г. Постановление политбюро ЦК КПСС, in *История российских немцев в документах...* pp. 190 - 192.

¹¹⁸ Nikolaj Mitrohin, Jerika Rondo “Несостоявшаяся автономия: немецкое население в СССР в 1960-1980-х годах и восстановление республики немцев Поволжья” (The Failed Autonomy: the German Population in the USSR in the 1960s-1980s and the Restoration of the Republic of the Volga Germans), *Неприкосновенный запас* 4(78) (2011), <http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2011/4/mi14-pr.html>, accessed in May, 2014.

Germans were deported in 1940s and the government decided to give them the territory forty years after. The time is long enough for second and third generations to be rooted in one place. While leaving in different parts of Kazakhstan, the Germans acquired real estate property. Thus, it is hard to assume that after the experience of deportation, they willingly preferred to change the place of residence. Secondly, even during the first decade after the war, the Germans expected to be paid an indemnity, but that did not happen. Moreover, they had almost nothing to leave on in the places of new settlement and had to work hard to live in proper conditions. Yet, the opinion of the Germans was not homogeneous. Next to those supporting the acquisition of a separate territory, there were many voices against moving to a new area and starting all over again.¹¹⁹ For them, a question arises: Could the Germans have the certainty of receiving the same value property in the newly established autonomous territory?

The second factor mentioned by the scholars is cultural. The separate territory would be the proper space for the Soviet Germans “to heal” their damaged ethnic identity. On the one hand, the Germans wanted to keep their identity as an ethnic minority group. The reconstructed autonomy could have been a perfect environment for the cultural development of the nation; e.g. the usage of language. On the other hand, this point seems too idealistic because the percentage of the Germans expected to leave on the territory of the autonomy was not more than 30% of the whole population of the future autonomous region.¹²⁰ Therefore, the language issue would not be easily resolved. Moreover, the fact that Germans preferred schools in Russian was reasonable. They understood that it would take a long time

¹¹⁹ Е.М. Грибанова “Поиск путей преодоления миграционных настроений немцев Казахстана в 1970-х гг. и его результаты” (The ways to Overcome Migration Movements of the Germans in Kazakhstan in 1970 and the Results), *Начальный период Великой Отечественной войны и депортация*

российских немцев: взгляды и оценки через 70 лет (The Period of the Second World War and Deportation of the Russian Germans: Views and Assessments After 70 Years), Moscow: МЧК-пресс, 2011, pp. 903-904

¹²⁰ V.A. Auman, V.G. Chebotareva, *История российских немцев в документах....*, pp. 190-192.

to develop their own educational institutions with well-qualified specialists in German language. They clearly realized that if they wanted to speak German and use it in daily life, they had to migrate to German-speaking countries. If they preferred to stay in the state where they finally had all the rights and prosperity, they had to speak Russian.

Another aspect of this factor is assimilation. Most of the researchers claim that the Germans at last found the way to stop their assimilation with other nations. This point seems to be debated. The Germans were one of the most “closed” communities even in the first decades of the Soviet regime. However, by the time of 60s-70s, the rate of intermarriages was constantly increasing among German population all over the Soviet Union.¹²¹ Therefore, there was no urgent need to stop the process of assimilation that was actually proceeding mostly naturally and started long time ago, once with the first colonies of Germans in Russian Empire.

In conclusion, the actual reasons of the process of rehabilitation started by the Soviet Government are still under researched. Most scholars are inclined to consider it as the result of the changes in foreign policy and public-political life of the Soviet Union.¹²² The Soviet Germans received back their rightful position in the Soviet society and the decrees of rehabilitation paved the way toward their full-fledged reintegration in the society. Thus, the Soviet authorities’ aim in the process of restoration of rights was successfully achieved, as the government understood it. However, the German population had a slightly different opinion concerning the “successful” development of the rehabilitation process. On the one hand, their recollections of the ‘happy past’ triggered their desire to be again a privileged ethnic minority as they had been before the October Revolution and during the first decades

¹²¹ Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union...*p.139.

¹²² Viktor Krieger, “От петиций к активным действиям: борьба за немецкую автономию в 1960-е годы” in *Начальный период Великой Отечественной войны и депортация российских немцев: взгляды и оценки через 70 лет* [The Period of the Second World War and Deportation of the Russian Germans: Views and assessments after 70 years], International scientific conference, Saratov, August 25-27, 2011,

of the Soviet regime, before the Second World War. On the other hand, the reconstruction of the Volga republic might have a special meaning for the Soviet Germans as a symbol of a surviving German nation and the guarantor of confidence in the future. Moreover, migration to the historical motherland can be considered as an escape from the Soviet regime, which proved to be changeable and even dangerous.

The state policies in autonomous area on the territory of Kazakhstan as alternative means did not fully meet the Germans' expectations and they considered it incomplete. The necessity of the measures taken by the state was debatable. Therefore, the failed attempt to allot the territory of some Northern regions of Kazakhstan to the Soviet Germans prevented the Soviet government from successfully resolving the tension with the victims of the forced deportation. As the result, the active process of migration of Germans to FRG in the 80s-90s was marked in the sources as another way of rehabilitation: 'repatriation' to the mother country.¹²³ However, the process of mass migration does not mean that all the Germans left the country: many Germans who preferred to remain in Kazakhstan and adapt to the given circumstances.

¹²³ Tat'jana Parionova, "Реабилитация: трудный путь из тупика. Проблема российских немцев в советско-западногерманских переговорах 1957-1958 гг." [Rehabilitation: the Hard Way out of the Impasse. The Problem of Russian Germans in the Soviet-German Negotiations of 1957-1958], *Репрессии против российских немцев. Наказанный народ* [Repression Against Russian Germans. Punished Nation], Moscow: Звенья. 1999. pp. 237-238.

Chapter 4. The role of religious revival in the process of rehabilitation: The case of Evangelical-Lutheran community.

In the case of the ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union, the process of ethnic rehabilitation is often treated at the level of legislation concerning the restoration of the civil rights of the oppressed people. The cultural aspect is mostly dealt with as far as language and education are concerned, in the detriment of the religious factor. As much, religion is treated separately from the other social processes. For example, the demand for the restorations of the right to expression religious affiliation is presented as a separate research topic and not included in the rehabilitation process of the Soviet Germans. However, religion was considered as a center of ethnic community life during the Tsar period, aspect that is reflected at the level of legislation.¹²⁴ The Soviet regime completely changed the place of religion in society. As a result, religious communities had to balance between public and private spheres, depending on the different state policy of the Soviet regime.

On the one hand, the official documents concerning the rehabilitation policy in the Soviet Union did not include the freedom of religion as one of the restored rights. The Party ideological line that propagated anti-religious ideas up to the 90s could be an explanation for this exclusion. On the other hand, the Germans' movement also aimed at the revival of their religious life as persistently as the autonomy restoration in the Volga region. Therefore, it is important to explore the process of German ethnic rehabilitation also on the level of religious revival.

First of all, the group of Germans deported to Kazakhstan was not a homogeneous one as far as religious traditions are concerned. As a case study, Lutheran denomination is more representative for the Russian Germans than the other minority confessions. (Catholics,

¹²⁴ See Chapter 1, 1.1 German Colonists in the Russian Empire.

Mennonites, Baptists).¹²⁵ Firstly, the other religion denominations, unlike the Lutheran one, had multi-ethnic congregations. The Lutherans were mostly Germans and the percentage of other nations in the religious community was very low. In contrast, the Catholics were mostly Poles in Kazakhstan¹²⁶ and the Mennonites and Baptist were even more ethnically diverse.¹²⁷ Therefore, the Lutheran community provided the best environment for the language and cultural development of Germans in the Russian-speaking environment. Secondly, Lutheran community in Tselinograd (present Astana) was one of the first religious groups to be officially registered in 1957 on the territory of Kazakhstan. As it was mentioned above, the registration of the religious communities, in this case the German ones, was not an official measure of the Soviet Government concerning German ethnic group. However, the process of religious revival was chronologically paralleled with the process of German ethnic rehabilitation.

4.1 Religious situation in the 50s-60s in the Soviet Union: Legal Issues.

The anti-religious ideology remained a leading line of the Party. According to the 1936 Constitution of USSR,¹²⁸ all Soviet citizens enjoyed equal rights. Although this document stipulated the freedom of religious activity and antireligious propaganda, there was obvious inequality between believers and atheists. While there was a number of limitations on the activities of religious communities, the antireligious activists were fully supported by

¹²⁵ Benjamin Pinkus, Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion*.....p. 204.

¹²⁶ L.A. Burgart, *Из истории католической веры и церкви в Казахстане*[*History of Catholic Church in Kazakhstan*], collection of articles, Ust'-Kamenogorsk, 2012.

¹²⁷ Gelmut Cherner, Huns-Christian Didrich (eds) , *Хорошего держитесь. Церкви и религиозные объединения в Российской державе, Советском Союзе и независимых Государствах возникших после его распада* [Head for good. Churchers and religious communities in Russian empire, Soviet Union and inderpendant states in post-Soviet Union period]. (Translated by U.A. Golubkina), Kharkov: Майдан, 1998, pp.143-170.

¹²⁸ *Законодательство о религиозных культах: Сборник материалов и документов* [Legislation on religious cults. Collection of materials and documents]. Moscow: Юридическая литература, 1971. p.76.

the Soviet government. This policy was still in practice in the 50s, yet it was not so strictly followed as in the 30s.

The historian of religions Lev Mitrohin subdivides the anti-religious persecution in the Soviet Union into two stages: “militant atheism” (1920s-1930s) and “scientific atheism” (1950s-1980s). During the period of militant atheism, persecution was mostly directed towards the physical eradication of active believers and clergy, groups that were considered as bearers of the anti-party ideology. The next period of scientific atheism also stirred up the distrust in religious activists. However, this time, they were perceived not as enemies of society, but as “lost” members of the Soviet society. The anti-religious propaganda of that period was directed mainly to the “re-education” of believers, using instruments such as cinema, public lectures, literature and other mass media channels.¹²⁹

One of the distinguishing characteristic of the second period of anti-religious propaganda was a strong anti-sectarian policy. If the words ‘priest’ and ‘sectarian’ were equally negative in the 1930s, the word ‘sectarian’ became even more abusive in the 50s. Most of the new Protestant movements were defined as sectarian, such as the Baptists, the Jehovah Witnesses etc. The religious denominations would appear in anti-religious movies and literature very often. Although the Evangelical-Lutherans were not considered sectarians, they were one of the Protestant groups and therefore were under the strict control too.

Despite the slight easing of restrictions in 1943, Stalin’s repressive religious politics made religious groups go underground and function “illegally”.¹³⁰ In contrast, Khrushchev’s policy of rehabilitation of victims of Stalin’s repressions triggered a process of religious revival. However, the period of loose religious persecution was very short, lasting from 1956 to 1958. The following years, 1958-1964, represented the peak of Khrushchev’s anti-religious

¹²⁹ L. N. Mitrohin, *Бaptизм: история и современность* [Baptism: history and modernity], St. Petersburg: Издательство Русского Христианского гуманитарного института, 1997, pp. 42-62.

¹³⁰ Steven Merritt Miner, *Stalin's Holy War: Religion, Nationalism, and Alliance Politics, 1941-1945*, London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003, pp. 93-110.

campaign, whose aim was to eradicate religion from the Soviet society forever. Although historians define Khrushchev's period as highly aggressive towards religious activity, the short time of loose restrictions and the policy of restoration of civil rights were enough to stir support for the movement of religious awakening.

Consequently, there was a significant growth in the number of religious communities that applied for official registration. The year of 1956 was the most active period for the religious units that aspired to restore and develop their activity in the new circumstances. More than 100 delegations of believers throughout the Soviet Union applied for the registration of their communities and for the reopening of prayer houses. Yet, the official recognition also implied that the activity of the religious community was to be under state surveillance. While the Soviet state used this registration as a form of control, the ethnic Germans perceived it as a form of official recognition of their freedom of religious expression. In addition, the activity of religious groups without an official permission was not harshly restricted between 1956 and 1958. By 1962, information on all the religious communities was gathered. As a result, by the beginning of 1962, there were 10,910 non-Orthodox religious communities: 4,424 of them (40.5%) were officially registered, while 6,486 of them (59.5%) functioned illegally.¹³¹ The communities that were not registered were fully under the rule of local authorities. The heads of districts could be loyal or inequitable towards the communities, benefiting from the situation in both cases.

However, these changes related to religious freedom were not clearly consecrated in any official decrees. Religion in the Soviet Union continued to be governed by the decree

¹³¹ I.M. Sovetov M.I. Odincov, "Совет по делам религиозных культов при ЦМ СССР и евангельское движение в Советском Союзе. 1956-1965 гг." [Council of religious cults in USSR and Evangelical movement], source: www.rodon.org/shir/zorvs.htm#a19 (an official web source of Russian Association of scholars in Religion), accessed in May, 2014.

“Separation of the Church from State and School”¹³² adopted in January 28, 1918 and by the Resolution of April 8, 1929, titled “On Religious Associations.”¹³³; several addenda being added to the latter only in 1975.¹³⁴ Also, instructions on the application of the above-mentioned decrees were published in 1961.¹³⁵ In other words, there were no significant changes in the legislation in the 50s concerning the religious situation in the state: the decrees of 1918 and 1929 continued to regulate the sphere of religion until 1990.

Analyzing the potential political consequences of the active revival of religious communities, the Council on the Religious Cults in the Soviet Ministry of SSSR connected it with the return from exile of religiously active people such as pastors, priests and deacons of different religious confessions. It was pointed out that, although most of them did not break the law of limited religious activity, their presence in cities and villages could motivate people to reorganize religious communities. Moreover, some priests actively propagated religious ideas mobilizing believers for movements against the Soviet rule. In this frame, the Council emphasized the activity of the Protestant groups.¹³⁶ Comparing the process of religious revival with the process of rehabilitation on the level of legislation, it might be conclude that the religious activity restarted “from below”, being triggered by the legal release of the persecuted groups.

¹³² Декрет Совета Народных Комиссаров "Об отделении церкви от государства и школы от церкви" in *Хронологическое собрание законов, указов Президиума Верховного Совета и постановлений Правительства РСФСР: 1917-1927 ...*, p.9-11.

¹³³ *Верховного Совета и постановлений Правительства РСФСР: 1929-1939* [Chronological Collection of Laws and Edicts of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Decrees of Government of RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic)], V. 2, Moscow: Государственное Издательство юридической литературы, 1959, pp. 29-45.

¹³⁴ Vladimir A. Kuroedov, *Религия и церковь в советском государстве [Religion and Church in the Soviet State]*, Moscow: Издательство политической литературы, 1981. p.122.

¹³⁵ Инструкция по применению законодательства о культах. Утверждена постановлением Совета по делам религиозных культов при Совете Министров СССР и постановлением Совета по делам русской православной церкви при Совете Министров СССР от 16 марта 1961 г. Source: http://www.cddk.ru/gos_i_religia/history/sov-law/033.htm, accessed in May, 2014.

¹³⁶ I.M. Sovetov M.I. Odincov, “Совет по делам религиозных культов при СМ СССР и евангельское движение в Советском Союзе. 1956-1965 гг.”...

Furthermore, by autumn of 1958, the Soviet Party came to the decision of acting more aggressively in the “anti-religious war”. The religious activity could provide auspicious conditions for “reactionary” propaganda of “the visible and hidden enemies” among the clergy. Thus, the ideological approach replaced the equalitarian legal framework. Therefore, the Party concluded that the scientific-atheistic propaganda could and would subside the religious revival among the population.¹³⁷ Moreover, the Party criticised the lack of strict control by the Council of Russian Orthodox Church and the Council of Religious Affairs over the religious activists and communities. The plan was to press the religious communities by economic and legislative infringements and drawbacks.¹³⁸

For example, there were no clear requirements for the registration of a religious community. The Decree of 1918 did not outline any specific procedure on the formation of a religious community. The registration only mentioned that “10. All Churches and religious communities function according to the general regulations for the private groups and unions...”¹³⁹ The Decree of 1929 was the first that mentioned a special registration procedure. That procedure was mandatory for every religious organization before its open functioning. It says that “4. Religious organizations and communities can start functioning after their registration in the Religious Affairs Committee of the District Executive

¹³⁷ Отдел пропаганды и агитации по союзным республикам ЦК КПСС “О недостатках научно-атеистической пропаганды” 12 сентября 1958 [The department of propaganda and agitation of the Soviet Union “On the lack of scientific-atheistic propaganda”], Source: <http://www.rusoir.ru/03print/02/239/> (an official web source of Russian Association of scholars in Religion).

¹³⁸ Kristina A. Polozova, “Отражение советского законодательства о религии на деятельности православных религиозных объединений в СССР в 1929-1990 гг. (по материалам Верхнего Поволжья)” [The Reflection of the Soviet Legislation on Religion on the Activity of Orthodox Religious Associations in USSR in 1929-1990 (Based on the Materials of the High Volga Region), Candidate's dissertation, Shuya, 2014.

¹³⁹ Декрет Совета Народных Комиссаров “Об отделении церкви от государства и школы от церкви” in *Хронологическое собрание законов, указов Президиума Верховного Совета и постановлений Правительства РСФСР: 1917-1927* pp. 9-11.

Committee...”¹⁴⁰ The application of the registration had to be signed by at least by 20 members of the community, so-called “twenty”.¹⁴¹ The agencies responsible for the registration had one month from the application day for issuing a decision.¹⁴² Yet, once a negative decision was made, no official document would clearly outline the reasons of rejection. Although some points would be mentioned, such as “sect” or religious organizations with “anti-state and dangerous activity”, there was no clear definition of those groups. All the aspects of the legislation mentioned above made the process of registration very complicated and unpredictable for all the religious communities in the Soviet Union.

The relations between the Soviet state and religious groups during the Second World War changed the position of religion in the society to the better. However, these changes were temporary. Since the end of the 50s and until the end of the 80s, the Soviet Party returned to the idea of the formation of atheistic society by the aggressive anti-religious propaganda. Religious traditions were proclaimed as old superstitions, which had to be eradicated. This anti-religious policy was characterised by an arbitrary rule in administrative sphere that prevented religious communities from obtaining an official status.

Despite the short-term religious revival registered during the period of the so-called “Khrushchev’s thaw” (1953-1964), this period did not bring long-lasting, constructive changes in the Church-State relations. Also, it did not broaden the Soviet citizens’ opportunities of expressing their religious feelings freely and publicly. L.I. Brezhnev’s era (1964- 1982) changed the situation by reducing the pressure on the religious groups. The Council of Religious Affairs was able to act more freely and examine the religious situation in the state more closely. Also, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of SSSR turned their attention to the issue of religious activity. As a result, a new decree “On Some Facts of

¹⁴⁰ V.A. Boldyrev (ed.), *Хронологическое собрание законов, указов Президиума Верховного Совета и постановлений Правительства РСФСР: 1929-1939 ...* pp. 29-45.

¹⁴¹ The “twenty” mentioned in the law of 1929 in article 3 and 5, but their activity in the registration process was detailed in the Instruction of 1961, articles 2 and 19.

¹⁴² Decree of 1929, article 7.

Socialistic Violation of the Law Concerning the Believers”¹⁴³ was adopted in January 1965. However, the anti-religious policy of the Party still remained unchanged up to 80s.

In other words, the number of registered religious associations was depended on the fluctuations of the policy of the Party towards religion. The state system of registration managed to establish a total control on the activity of registered religious communities. This control could increase if it was necessary in different periods. However, by fighting with spontaneous religious revival, the Soviet state provoked the underground activity of religious communities, thus destabilizing the whole system of state control. Paradoxically, the underground-unregistered communities and the registered religious associations could belong to one confession because every religious community had to apply for its own registration, irrespective of its denomination.¹⁴⁴

4.2 Evangelical-Lutheran communities in Kazakhstan: from the underground gatherings to the registered community.

Between the 1950s-1960s, the official activity of the different religious communities was revived in Kazakhstan as well. The history of the Evangelical-Lutheran community in Kazakhstan after the mass deportation of the ethnic Germans to Central Asia can be divided into two periods: underground meetings (the 40s and the beginning of the 50s) and registered community (the mid-50s- 70s). During the former period, some communities started the process of their registration and some pray houses were opened. However, the life of the

¹⁴³ Постановление «О некоторых фактах нарушения социалистической законности в отношении верующих», январь, 1965 г. in *Власть и религия: история отношений, 1941-1990* [Power and religion: history of relationships], Jurij N. Bakaev, Svetlana J. Simorot, Moscow: ТОГУ, 2006, pp.86-96.

¹⁴⁴ Krikun V.G., Podgorniy V.I. “Советское Законодательство О Культах: Уроки Прошлого” [Soviet Legislation On Cults: Lessons from the Past], *Modern Problems and Ways Of Their Solution In Science, Transport, Production And Education*, 2012.
Source: <http://www.sworld.com.ua/index.php/ru/conference/the-content-of-conferences/archives-of-individual-conferences/december-2012>.

underground religious movement among Germans in Kazakhstan is difficult to follow. According to historian Ju. I. Podoprigora, the activity of the old religious communities of Germans and the emerging of the new ones started in 1945-1946 in rural areas. Yet, most of the religious communities of the rural Germans were formed in the end of 50s and 60s. In his memoirs, Pastor Eugen Bachmann writes that the underground activity of the believers started right after Stalin's death, in 1953.¹⁴⁵ This increase in religious activity of the Germans right after the war and Stalin's death could imply that they associated their sufferings with both the War on Germany and the figure of Stalin.

Most of the Germans from the Volga region were Catholics and Lutherans, while the Germans from Ukraine, Crimea, and Caucasus were followers of such religious denominations as Baptism, Mennonites and Pentecostals. The Protestant communities were more active among the native population of the territories of exile because of their proselytizing character. Also, they were among the first religious communities that were persistent in their action to obtain an official status in society. By the 70s, there were 74 Evangelical-Lutheran communities. The community of Tselinograd (present Astana) consisted of 853 members. The community of Karaganda was registered in 1969 and gathered 3700 believers by the 70s. During the same period, the Lutheran community of Almaty, which got its official permission in the 1970s, was made up of 1002 members. The congregation in Almaty was followed by the one in the city of Balkhsh, comprising 600 persons.¹⁴⁶

One of their first registered communities was the German community of Baptists in Karaganda in 1946. In 1956, Pastor Eugen Bachmann applied for the registration of the Evangelical-Lutheran community in Tselinograd (present Astana). It was the first Lutheran

¹⁴⁵ Johannes Schleuning, Heinrich Roemmich, Eugen Bachmann, *Und siehe wir leben*, Erlangen: Martin Luther Verlag, 1977. p. 218.

¹⁴⁶ Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Kazakhstan. Historical information. Source: Archive of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Astana, Kazakhstan.

community that was registered on the whole territory of the USSR.¹⁴⁷ As a result, the activity of the Protestant communities was under a stricter control of the Soviet authorities.

The Lutheran community of Kazakhstan owes its founding and existence to the community of believers too, who built and developed the community life both inside and outside the church. Berta Bachmann, the wife of the Pastor in Tselinograd, wrote in her memories that a few men would serve during the underground meetings during the war period and the first decade after it.¹⁴⁸ As a result, Kazakhstan (e.g. Karaganda) still registers some communities of so-called “brothers”, leaders of communities who have not been ordained as pastors. In addition, women sang hymns and read sermons from the religious books on Sunday evenings. Thus, the number of believers grew every Sunday meeting. In other words, both men and women would serve as leading agents of the religious gatherings, even though the Lutheran Church law based on St. Paul’s epistles states that women must keep silence in the Church. Thus, the women’s role in the revival of the community life was crucial.¹⁴⁹

The majority of the underground communities were elderly people, survivors of the deportations who were also the main bearers of the cultural and religious heritage of the Germanic communities. The young generations, who had been little children during the deportation, learned about their traditions from the surviving elders, yet did not live according to them. This dissonance was enhanced by the fact that the younger generations were brought up under the influence of the anti-religious ideology of the Soviet Party. Yet, there were also many registered cases when the young ethnic Germans were willingly baptized and received their Confirmation.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Ju. I. Podoprighora, *Немцы Павлодарского Прииртышья* [Germans in Pavlodar District of Irtysh Area] Almaty: Biz Bibliothek, 2010. p. 63.

¹⁴⁸ Berta Bachmann *Erinnerungen an Kasachstan. Erfahrungsbericht einer Russladdeutschen...*p. 56.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 90.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 112.

For the ethnic Germans, the lack of pastors was a problematic issue. Repressions against clergy of all confessions, exile, and labour armies almost eradicated this social category from the Soviet society. Only three Lutheran pastors survived after the persecutions: Schundt, Pfeifer and Bachmann. Among the Catholics who survived the persecution, there was no one of German origin.¹⁵¹ Eugen Bachmann, being a former prisoner, was one of those sent to Tselinograd (present Astana), Kazakhstan in 1954. He was invited as a pastor by the underground community there and started serving in his own flat, in 1955. Since the community was growing very quickly, the believers decided to find a proper place for their meetings. The new prayer house, bought on the expenses of the members of the community, attracted the attention of the local authorities. In 1957, the prayer house had to be closed because of nominal reasons such as problems with the fire protection system. In these circumstances, the community decided to apply for the registration.

As it was mentioned above, acquiring the status of registered community did not bring the significant changes that the Germans were expecting concerning their status in society. The war with Germany left its negative mark on the ethnic German population in the Soviet Union. Lutheranism was mostly perceived as a religion of the Germans, since most of these denominational communities were made up of ethnic Germans. In other words, this confession was frequently associated with the enemies of the nation. In this frame, the official registration was perceived as a solution for the social rehabilitation of the ethnic Germans. The bishop of the Evangelical-Lutheran church in Astana, Juriy Novgorodov, described the registration as a solution against the associations of words such as “Fascist”, “German” and “Lutheran”. Therefore, the official status of the Lutheran community was expected not only to provide fewer restrictions on their religious activity, but also to contribute to the restoration of the ethnic Germans’ positive reputation.

¹⁵¹ Benjamin Pinkus, Ingeborg Fleischhauer. *Die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion...* p.467.

The process of registration was taking place in the 50s, when the rehabilitation policy of the Party started its activity. However, it took time and energy to achieve the goal. Firstly, Lutherans of Tselinograd (present Astana) applied firstly to the local authorities in the capital of the Kalakh SSR, Almaty (at that time: Alma-Ata), then to Moscow. In 1957, the Lutheran community of Tselinograd was officially registered. However, the registered status did not help to avoid the problems of the following years of strong anti-religious policy of the Soviet Party. In this respect, Berta Bachmann wrote that she was astonished by how dangerous her husband's activity was. He acted actually against the law even during the official existence of the community. He and his wife also travelled to other communities in Kazakhstan and Siberia, where there was no pastor. When asked what the motivation of his behaviour was, he answered that he was one of the few survivors and had to be active in the memory of other Germans who suffered and died under the Soviet regime.¹⁵²

Another problematic issue in the process of building these Lutheran communities was the scarcity of religious literature. Since what the Germans carried with them during the deportation was not enough, they copied by hand parts of the Bible and hymns in German and spread them among the members of the community.¹⁵³ In time, the communities had Bibles and other religious literature in German, the language of the liturgy being in German exclusively. The language of the liturgy was exclusively German.¹⁵⁴ This point is underlined in the charter of the community (*ustav* in Russian) in Tselinograd (see Appendices). Yet, several scholars challenged the ability of the ethnic Germans to properly use their mother tongue in religious services¹⁵⁵ and state that German was symbolically used in worshiping.

¹⁵² Berta Bachmann, *Erinnerungen an Kasachstan. Erfahrungsbericht einer Russladdeutschen* ... pp. 142-144.

¹⁵³ Benjamin Pinkus, Ingeborg Fleischhauer. *Die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion* ... pp. 339.

¹⁵⁴ Ju. I. Podoprighora, *Немцы Павлодарского Прииртышья* [Germans in Pavlodar district of Irtysh area] Almaty: Biz Bibliothek ,2010, p.68.

¹⁵⁵ Nadezhda Efremova-Shershukova , “Немцы Казахстана: Депортация, спецпоселение, реабилитация”[Germans of Kazakhstan: Deportation, special settlement, rehabilitation], Candidate's dissertation, Tomsk, 2009.

They support this point of view with the argument that the ethnic Germans had lost their language skills in the Russian-speaking environment. However, the above-mentioned community order and the religious literature in German left behind by the Germans who migrated abroad in the 80s-90s seem to prove opposite.

The symbolism of German language as an essential ethnic marker is one reason of its usage in the religious communities. In his personal interview, the bishop of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Astana underlines other functions of the revival of these communities during the post-war period. “People who returned from the front and labor armies found relief in the religious communities where they could speak their mother tongue”.¹⁵⁶ In other words, the fact that Germans preferred Russian classes instead of German for their children does not necessarily mean the full loss of German language skills in other spheres of their life. For example, there are a few members of the Lutheran communities in Kazakhstan who still speak German fluently. Therefore, it can be assumed that the religious community was a proper environment where the German language could flourish again. This opportunity was not the result of an official order from the Soviet state, such as the German classes in schools, but rather the outcome of community engagement and solidarity.¹⁵⁷

Furthermore, the emergence of the underground period of the Evangelical-Lutheran communities in Kazakhstan was triggered by the early rehabilitation policy of the Party. The ethnic Germans saw a possibility to revive their religious traditions in the actions of the Soviet Government towards rehabilitation. Nevertheless, there is a question as to the reasons of such religious revivals, especially the persistence in obtaining an official permission for the religious services and pray houses. On the one hand, the memories written mostly by the Lutheran believers give a subjective answer in the call of their belief. On the other hand, the

¹⁵⁶ “Община представляла собой культурный клуб. Представьте себе, люди, возвращавшиеся с войны и из трудовых армий, находили утешение в общинах, где можно просто было поговорить на родном языке”.

¹⁵⁷ See chapter 3, 3.2.

researchers claim that the revival of national culture and ethnic identity was actually the outcome of the deportation period, rather than the denominational one. Many of the researches of this field conclude that the main function of the religious community in the Germans' case was to maintain their ethnic identity by following their religious tradition. The common fate of all the religious groups of the ethnic Germans of the Soviet Union in the war-period and the close contact with each other during deportation regimes contributed to the strengthening of the common ethnic identity, rather than of the different religious confessions.¹⁵⁸ The religious movement that developed the underground religious meetings into officially registered communities also contributed to the process of German ethnic rehabilitation.

Finally, there are two levels of the process of rehabilitation. The first level is represented by the governmental actions towards the German ethnic group, with the purpose of equaling their status to the one of the other Soviet citizens. The second level is characterized by the expectations and actions of the German activists, concerning their understanding of restored civil rights. As it was mentioned in Chapter 3, the Soviet state balanced between the decisions to loosen the restrictions of Stalin's regime and the commitment to keep the power over the population. Although there were concrete steps towards improving the status of the victims of Stalin's repressive policy, the number of limitations was still burdensome, especially during the early period of rehabilitation. In addition, the ethnic Germans hoped for more opportunities to emerge from this process of rehabilitation. They did not dream as far as returning to their lifestyle prior to the deportation, yet they did expect to have freedom of action in all the spheres of their lives.

¹⁵⁸ I. R. Pavle, "К вопросу о классификации групп немецкого населения России" [The Classification of German Groups in Russia] in *Немцы России в контексте отечественной истории: общие проблемы и региональные особенности* [Russian Germans in the Context of the Russian History: Common Problems and Regional Peculiarities]. International Scientific Conference, Moscow 17-20 September, 1998, Moscow: ГОТИКА, 1999. pp. 203-208.

Therefore, it is difficult to mark the outcome of the rehabilitation process as a “success” or a “failure”. On the one hand, by the 80s, the ethnic Germans became full-fledged citizens and the Soviet state even officially recognized their unjust treatment. On the other hand, the Soviet state still restricted the religious activity of Soviet citizens, including the ethnic Germans. However, these restrictions did not deter the development of their religious feelings and activities. It is difficult to measure the rate of believers among ethnic Germans during the Soviet period. However, their activity was remarkable concerning the religious revival, which including Germans of all ages. Even the young generations, which were educated in the anti-religious environment, actively participated in the religious movement. Their presence indicated the revival of the religious community. This revival was perceived not only as a restoration of their religious life prior to the deportation, but also as part of their rehabilitation as an ethnic group. Therefore, it might be concluded that their religious activity was directed not only towards their spiritual and cultural needs, but also towards the social and ethnic ones.

Conclusion

The mass deportation of the ethnic Germans to Kazakhstan in the 40s was part of the repressive policy of the Soviet regime, reaching a peak during the Second World War. The ethnic Germans were sent to the territories of exile such as Siberia and Central Asia under different reasons. Most of them were evacuated from the front zones under the accusation of enemies of the nation espionage or collaboration with Nazi Germany.

The official legislation of status of special settlers was formed very late. The constitution of 1936 as a basic legislation of the state did not support the deportees. Their economic, political and social rights were severely violated by the Soviet authorities. Because of the huge inflow of new groups the territories of special settlement constantly widened and by 1940s covered all regions of Kazakh SSR.

The local authorities accommodated the coming Germans mostly in rural areas among native Kazakh and Russian population. Thereby the authorities were trying to achieve the maximum level of assimilation of the German ethnic group in the Russian and Kazakh speaking environment. For the ethnic Germans who had lived in almost isolated communities on the territory of the Russian Empire, such a geographical dislocation was a harsh experience. The ethnic Germans along with other ethnic groups were under the regime of deportation in the special settlements, where they were subjected to several limitations. One of such limitation was the restriction from moving freely within the territory of the Soviet Union or abroad. Thus, they were under strict control of the local authority. Moreover, the forced dislocation changed their social status to a great extent, thus leading to the loss of their professional skills and the breaking of family relations. In addition, during the war, the ethnic Germans were mobilized into labour colonies the in the territories of exile, where they were forced to work hard in improper conditions.

Due to the harsh methods of the Soviet Government, the ethnic Germans lost their private property during the process of dekulakization and collectivisation. Moreover, new limitations were imposed on the German schools because of the growing russification of the ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union. The policy of forced deportation of Germanic groups almost demolished the traditional basics of their life style, leading to a partial loss of their ethnic identification. However, prior to the deportation there was no unified ethnic identity that all the members of Germanic groups possessed, due to their different origins in the Germanic lands. The Soviet ethnic policy, especially the creation of the Volga Autonomous Republic for Germans, triggered the formation of ‘Germans’ as a united ethnic group.

Although other ethnic minority groups suffered from the same severe repressive policy, the public attitude towards the ethnic Germans in the territories of exile was different. They were considered as the enemies of the nation because of their ethnic connection with the German invaders. As a result, during the process of rehabilitation, the ethnic Germans, unlike other ethnic groups, were not allowed to return to the territories of their former residence and to restore their autonomy in Volga the region. Although the Soviet government tried to solve the issue of the territory for Germans, they failed to create a new autonomous republic in the Northern part of Kazakhstan in 1979.

The Soviet regime also left a great impact on the religious aspect of the Germanic communities deported to Kazakhstan. First, all the German confessions suffered from anti-religious policy of the Soviet Party. Second, the religious persecution of the 30s almost eradicated the main bearers of the religious tradition: the clergy. However, the elder members of the German ethnic groups revived the religious activity in underground. The Lutheran community in Kazakhstan is one of the examples of such a revived religious community.

In the second half of the 50s, there was a gradual loosening of restrictions for the special settlers. Stalin’s death changed the political atmosphere in the Soviet Union, change

which made the repressive measures ineffective. Therefore, the Soviet authority had to start a gradual rehabilitation process. The Germans were released from the deportation regime along with other special settlers. However, the implementation of the rehabilitation process proved to be very slow. Unlike the repressive deportation process, there was no efficient mechanism of rehabilitation. The Soviet government obviously avoided any kind of open declaration of its unjust methods and tried to emphasize a movement of cultural revival. However, their policy was not enough and, moreover, it was even challenged by the rehabilitation expectations of the ethnic groups, including the ethnic Germans.

In this framework, the Germans' religious activity can be analysed from the perspective of the rehabilitation movement. Comparing to the period of the Russian Empire, the role of religion during the Soviet Union shifted from being a central aspect of the Germanic communities to a means to maintain their traditions in the hostile environment. However, the functioning of the religious community was not only to save cultural and religious heritage.

Firstly, the religious revival coincided with the releasing of the restrictions on the victims of Stalin's repressions. On the one hand, it might be connected with the priests who were released from labour camps and became active in the territories of exile. On the other hand, the number of clergy of German origin was so low, that it would be difficult to state that their presence influenced to a great extent the religious revival. Moreover, the religious activity among Germans started without priests at all in underground communities. Therefore, the religious revival among Germans was activated by the believers, mostly the elderly women.

Secondly, besides the elderly people, the younger generations, who were in their early days of childhood during the deportation, were also active during the rehabilitation. They suffered even more from their status of 'enemies' because it influenced negatively their

opportunity to study and work. Although their presence in the communities was partly influenced by the older generations, they did not fully follow the traditions of their ancestors as they had to adapt to the new environment of the special settlements.

Thirdly, the Lutheran activity was also directed towards breaking the Lutheran-German-Fascist association stereotype. Their persistence in obtaining the official registration was almost equal of the movement for the restoration of the German autonomous republic. Despite the fact that an official registration of the community was only one step towards achieving this goal, the registration of the Lutheran community in Kazakhstan was remarkable for all the Lutherans, all over the Soviet Union. By this official registrations, ethnic Germans expressed their wish of becoming again full-fledged citizens, without any stigma as 'Fascist'. In this connection, the religious activity of Germans contributed to their rehabilitation not only on the official level of the Soviet state, but also in public sphere, among the native population of the territories of exile.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the full rehabilitation of the victims of Stalin's repressions and their freedom of religion were proclaimed in all the independent republics. Currently, the Evangelical-Lutheran communities in Kazakhstan enjoy their freedom of religious expression and ethnic equality. Their traumatic past and their struggle for their reputation were, in a way, compensated.

Appendices

Table 1. The number of Germans in USSR and Kazakh SSR.¹

Year	USSR			Kazakh SSR		
	Whole population (pers.)	German population (pers.)	Rate of the German population (%)	Whole population (pers.)	German population (pers.)	Rate of the German population (%)
1926	147,027,900	1,283,549	0.82	6,078,600	51,102	0.84
1937	162,000,000	1,151,602	0.71	4,820,000	80,568	1.7
1939	170,557,093	1,427,232	0.84	6,151,102	92,571	1.5
1959	208,826,650	1,619,655	0.78	9,309,847	659,751	7.09
1970	241,720,134	1,846,317	0.76	12,848,573	839,649	6.53
1979	262,084,654	1,936,214	0.74	14,684,283	900,207	6.13
1989	285,742,511	2,038,603	0.71	16,464,464	957,518	5.82

Table 2. Intermarriages among ethnic Germans of the Soviet Union, 1957-1991.²

Year	%	Year	%
1957	40.2	1981	67.1
1960	45.1	1982	62.8
1961	44.8	1983	64.0
1970	58.1	1984	65.7
1971	60.9	1985	65.4
1972	60.1	1986	66.2
1973	61.4	1987	66.5
1975	62.7	1988	65.5
1977	58.1	1989	67.0
1980	61.1	1991	68.3

¹ Source: “Демоскоп” (electronic publication of the Institute of Demography in the National Research University “High school of economics”), <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/pril.php>, accessed in May 2014.

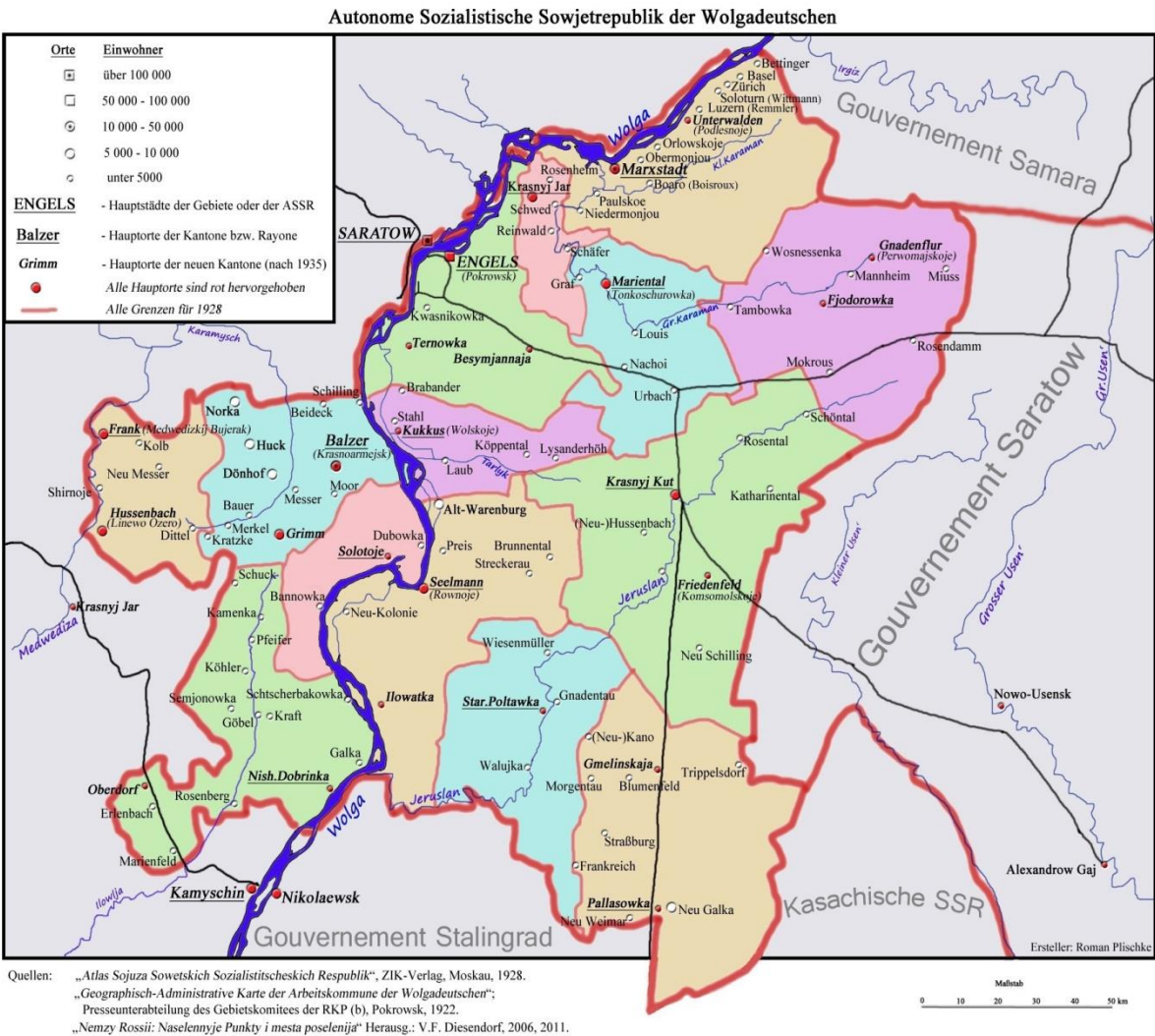
² Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union*, New York: Routledge, 2007, p.140.

*Table 3. Religious followers of the ethnic German origin in pre-revolutionary Russia.*³

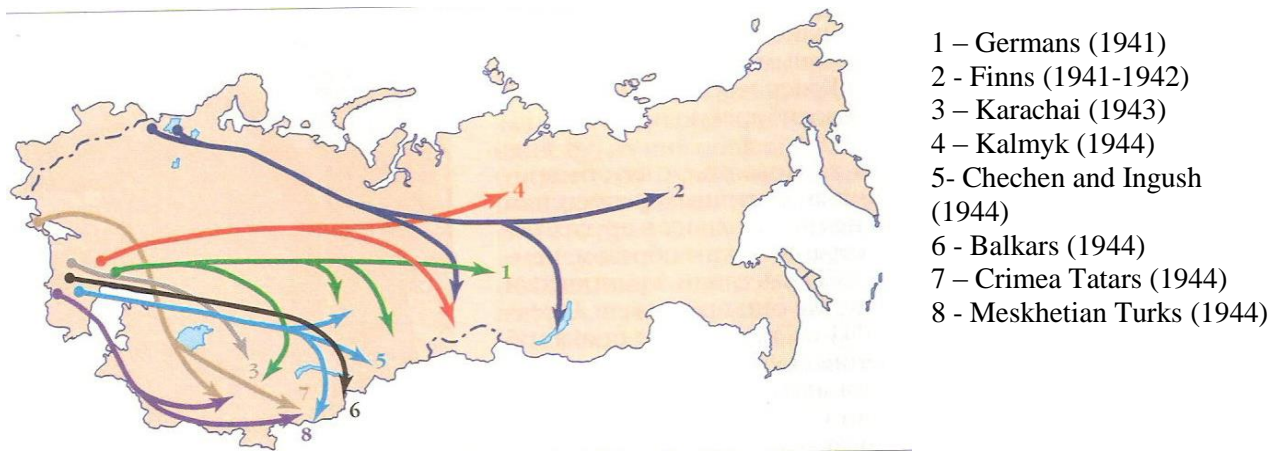
Denomination	Numbers	Percentage
Lutheran-Evangelical	795,200	56
Catholics	450,000	32
Mennonites	110,000	8
Baptists	20,000	1,5
Others (Methodists, Presbyterians, etc.)	32,000	2,5

³ Source: Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union*, p. 19.

Map 1. Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Volga region.



Map 2. Directions of the Deportations of the different ethnic groups in the Soviet Union, 1941-1944.



Source: Pavel Poljan, *Не по своей воле... история и география принудительных миграций в СССР* [Not by Their Own Will... A History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR], . Moscow: ОГИ Мемориал, 2001.

BILIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Archives:

Central city archive of Republic of Kazakhstan (CCA RK)

Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK)

Primary Literature:

- Auman, V.A. and Chebotareva V.G. (eds.), *История российских немцев в документах 1763-1992* [The History of the Russian Germans in Documents 1763-1992], V.1, Moscow: Международный институт гуманитарных программ, 1993.
- Bachmann, Berta, *Erinnerungen an Kasachstan. Erfahrungsbericht einer Russladdeutschen*, Verlag der Lutherischen Buchhandlung: Groß Oesingen/Zahrenholz, 1998.
- Boldyrev, V.A. (ed.), *Хронологическое собрание законов, указов Президиума Верховного Совета и постановлений Правительства РСФСР: 1917-1927* [The Chronological Collection of Laws and Edicts of the Supreme Presidium and Decrees of Government of RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic)], V. 1, Moscow: Государственное Издательство юридической литературы, 1959.
- Diesendorf, V. (ed.), *Немцы России. Населённые пункты и места поселения. Энциклопедический словарь* [The Germans of Russia. Settlements and Areas of Settlements. Encyclopedia], Moscow: ERD, 2006.
- Pobol' N. L. and Poljan P. M. (eds.), *Сталинские депортации: 1928-1953* [Stalin's deportations: 1928-1953], Moscow: Материк, 2005.
- Schleuning, Johannes, Roemmich Heinrich and Bachmann Eugen, *Und siehe wir leben*, Erlangen: Martin Luther Verlag, 1977.
- Trojnickij N.A. (ed.), *Первая Всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 г. Акмолинская область* [The First Population Census of the Russian Empire in 1897. Akmolinsk Region], V. 81, Центрального статистического комитета МВД, 1905; *Семипалатинская область* [Semipalatinsk Region], V.84; *Семиреченская область* [Semirech'e Region], V. 85; *Сыр-Дарьинская область* [Syr-Dar'ja region], V. 86; *Тургайская область* [Turgaj Region], V. 87; *Уральская область* [Ural'sk region], V. 89.
- Valk, S.N. (ed.), *Декреты Советской власти* [Decrees of the Soviet Government], V.2, Moscow: Государственное издательство политической литературы, 1957.
- Vibe, P.P. (ed.), *История и этнография немцев в Сибири* [History and Ethnography of the Germans in Siberia], Omsk: ОГИК, 2009.
- *Законодательство о религиозных культах: Сборник материалов и документов* [Legislation on Religious Cults. Collection of Materials and Documents]. Moscow: Юридическая литература, 1971.
- *Итоги Всесоюзной переписи населения 1959 года: Казахская ССР* [The Results of Population Census of the Soviet Union, 1959], Alma-Ata: Госстатиздат, 1962.
- *Итоги Всесоюзной переписи населения 1989* [Population Census of the Soviet Union in 1989], V.2, Alma-Ata: Госкомстат СССР, 1991, pp. 149-175.

- *Свод законов Российской империи: Уставы духовных дел иностранных исповеданий* [The set of Laws of the Russian Empire: The Charter of Religious Affairs of Foreign Faiths], V.11, St Petersburg: Типография Второго отделения Собственной Его Императорского Величества канцелярии, 1857.

Secondary Literature

- Afanas'ev J. N., *Массовые репрессии в СССР* [Mass Repression in USSR], Moscow: РОССПЭН, 2004.
- Aldazhumanov K.S., “Расселение депортированных немцев в Казахстане в 1941-1945гг.” [The Settlement of Deported Germans in Kazakhstan in 1941-1945 in *История немцев Центральной Азии* [The History of the Germans in Central Asia], Materials of the International Scientific Conference, Almaty, 1998.
- Artizov Andrey, Sigachev Jurij, et al. (eds.), *Реабилитация: Как это было: документы Президиума ЦК КПСС и другие материалы: Март 1953-февраль 1956*, [Rehabilitation: How it was: the Documents of Presidium of CPSU and other materials. March 1953 - February 1956], V 1, Moscow: Международный фонд “Демократия”, 2000.
- Bakaev Jurij N., Simorot Svetlana J., *Власть и религия: история отношений, 1941-1990* [Power and Religion: History of Relationships], Moscow: ТОГУ, 2006.
- Belger, Herold, “Двухязычие как важный фактор воспитания культуры межнациональных отношений” (Bilingualism is an Important Factor in Promoting a Culture of Interethnic Relations), *Воспитание культуры межнациональных отношений. Материалы республиканской научно-практической конференции*, Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1988.
- Belkovec L.P., *Административно-правовое положение российских немцев на спецпоселении 1941-1945 гг.* [Administrative-Legislative position of Russian Germans in the special settlement 1941-1945], Novosibirsk: СО РАН, 2000,
- Brauer, Vladimir, Ilarionova Tat'yana, *Российские немцы: право на надежду: к истории национального движения народа (1955-1993)* [Russian Germans: the right to hope: history of the national movement], Moscow: Республика, 1995.
- Brul B., “Влияние второй мировой войны на численность, географию расселения и образовательно-культурный уровень немцев в Казахстане” [The Impact of the Second World War on the Number, Geography, Settlement and Educational-Cultural Level of Germans in Kazakhstan], in *Культура немцев Казахстана: История и современность* [Culture of Germans in Kazakhstan: History and Modernity], Алматы, 1999.
- Bugaj, N.F. (ed.), *Мобилизовать немцев в рабочие колонны... И. Сталин 1940-е годы* [To Mobilize Germans in Labor ColoniesI. Stalin, 1940s], Moscow: Готика, 1998.
- Burgart, L.A., “Немецкое моноконфессиональное село в Казахстане: возникновение, развитие, разрушение (историко-демографический аспект)” [German Monoconfessional village in Kazakhstan: Origin, Development, Destruction (Historical-Demographic Aspect)], *Этно-демографические процессы в Казахстане и сопредельных территориях* [Ethnic-demographic Processes in Kazakhstan and Adjacent Territories], Collection of the Scientific Works of XII International Scientific-Practical Conference, Ust'-Kamenogorsk: Либриус, 2011, pp. 27-39.

- Burgart, L.A., *Из истории католической веры и церкви в Казахстане [History of Catholic Church in Kazakhstan]*, Collection of Articles, Ust'-Kamenogorsk, 2012.
- Pinkus, Benjamin, "The Germans in the Soviet Union since 1945", in *The Soviet Germans. Past and Present*, Benjamin Pinkus, Ingeborg Fleischhauer (eds.), New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986.
- Cherner Gelmut, Didrich Huns-Christian (eds.), *Хорошего держитесь. Церкви и религиозные объединения в Российской державе, Советском Союзе и независимых Государствах возникших после его распада [Head for Good. Churches and Religious Communities in Russian Empire, Soviet Union and interpendant states in post-Soviet Union period]*. (Translated by U.A. Golubkina), Kharkov: Майдан, 1998.
- Conquest, Robert, *The Nation Killers: The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities*, London: MacMillan: 1970.
- Diesendorf, Viktor F., "Депортация российских немцев в 1941-1942 гг. причины, особенности, последствия"[Deportation of Russian Germans in 1941-1942: Reasons, Peculiarities, and Consequences] in *К Истории Российских Немцев Статьи и доклады последних лет [History of Russian Germans: articles and reports of the recent Years]*, Rottenburg: 2009, pp. 53-66.
- Efremova Irina, "Немецкий фактор в культурно-историческом развитии народов Казахстана" [The German Factor in the Cultural-historical Development of Nations in Kazakhstan], *Актуальное состояние и перспективы культурной деятельности в местах проживания немцев: материалы международного семинара [Actual conditions and perspectives of cultural activity in the territories with most residents of German origin: materials of the international seminar]*. Алматы, 1996.
- Efremova-Shershukova, Nadezhda, "К вопросу об организации обучения немецкого населения Казахстана на родном языке (1950-1980)" [On the Question of Education of the German Population of Kazakhstan in their Native Language], *Вестник ВЭГУ*, 6(38), Томск.
- Efremova-Shershukova, Nadezhda, "Немцы Казахстана: Депортация, спецпоселение, реабилитация" [Germans of Kazakhstan: Deportation, Special Settlement, Rehabilitation], Tomsk, 2009. (dissertation)
- Eisfeld Alfred, "Deutsche Autonomiebewegung in der Sowjetunion", in *Die Russland Deutschen. Gestern und Heute*. B. Meissner, H. Neubauer, A. Eisfeld (eds.), Köln:Markus Verlag, 1992.
- Francevich, Peter, *The peculiar religiosity of the German protestants and the ways of overcoming it (based on the materials of Kazakhstan)*, Karaganda National University: Leningrad (present St. Petersburg), 1988. (dissertation)
- German, A.A. et al. *История немцев России: хрестоматия [History of Germans in Russia]*, Moscow: МСНК-пресс, 2005.
- German, Arkadij A., *Немецкая автономия На Волге 1918-1941 [The German Autonomy in the Volga Region 1918-1941]*, Moscow: МСНК-пресс, 1994.
- Griбанова Е.М., "Поиск путей преодоления миграционных настроений немцев Казахстана в 1970-х гг. и его результаты" [The Ways to Overcome Migration Movements of the Germans in Kazakhstan in 1970 and the Results], *Начальный период Великой Отечественной войны и депортация российских немцев: взгляды и оценки через 70 лет [The Period of the Second World War and Deportation of the Russian Germans: Views and Assessments After 70 Years]*, Moscow: МСНК-пресс, 2011.

- Паримова, Татьяна, “Реабилитация: трудный путь из тупика. Проблема российских немцев в советско-западногерманских переговорах 1957-1958 гг.” [Rehabilitation: the Hard Way out of the Impasse. The Problem of Russian Germans in the Soviet-German Negotiations of 1957-1958], *Репрессии против российских немцев. Наказанный народ* [Repression against Russian Germans. Punished Nation], Moscow: Звенья. 1999.
- Ingeborg Fleischhauer, Benjamin Pinkus, *The Soviet Germans. Past and Present*, Edith Rogovin Frankel (ed.), New York: St. Martin Press, 1986,
- Карыкова, Г. (ed.), *Из истории немцев Казахстана 1921-1975 гг. Сборник документов* [From the History of Germans in Kazakhstan in 1921-1975: a Collection of Documents], Almaty: Gotika, 1997.
- Karsakov, I., “Немцы Казахстана: определение берега” [The Germans of Kazakhstan: Identification of the Location], Мысль, № 6, 1995.
- Krieger Victor, *Deutsche Präsenz in Kasachstan zur Zarenzeit*, München: Osteuropa-Institut München, 1993.
- Krieger, Victor, *Рейн, Волга, Иртыш. Из истории немцев Центральной Азии* [Rhine, Volga, Irtysh. From the History of Germans in Central Asia], Almaty: Дайк-Пресс, 2006.
- Krieger, Victor. *Российские немцы вчера и сегодня. Народ в пути* [The Russian Germans Yesterday and Today. The Nation on the Way] (translated from German by Cheremushkin I.), Moscow: АИРО-XXI, 2010.
- Krieger Viktor, “От петиций к активным действиям: борьба за немецкую автономию в 1960-е годы” in *Начальный период Великой Отечественной войны и депортация российских немцев: взгляды и оценки через 70 лет* [The Period of the Second World War and the Deportation of the Russian Germans: Views and Assessments after 70 Years] International Scientific Conference, Saratov, August 25-27, 2011.
- Kristina, A. Polozova, “Отражение советского законодательства о религии на деятельности православных религиозных объединений в СССР в 1929-1990 гг. (По материалам Верхнего Поволжья)” [The Reflection of the Soviet Legislation on Religion on the Activity of Orthodox Religious Associations in USSR in 1929-1990 (Based on the Materials of the High Volga Region), Shuya, 2014 (dissertation).
- Kubickaja, O. (ed.), *Немцы России. Энциклопедия* [The Germans of Russia. Encyclopedia], V.III. Moscow: ERD, 2006.
- Kurilo, Olga, *Лютеране в России. XVI-XX вв.* [Lutherans in Russia XVI-XX Centuries], Moscow: Фонд «Лютеранское наследие», 2002.
- Kuroedov, Vladimir A., *Религия и церковь в советском государстве* [Religion and Church in the Soviet State], Moscow: Издательство политической литературы, 1981.
- Litzenberger, Olga, *Евангелическо-лютеранская церковь в российской истории (XVI—XX вв.)*, [Evangelical-Lutheran Church in the Russian History (XVI-XX centuries)], Moscow: Фонд «Лютеранское культурное наследие», 2003.
- Maksimov, Grigorij M. (ed.), “Всесоюзная перепись населения 1970 года: сборник статей” (Population Census of the Soviet Union, 1970: a Collection of Articles), Moscow: Статистика, 1976.
- Miner, Steven Merritt, *Stalin's holy war: religion, nationalism, and alliance politics, 1941–1945*, The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 2003.

- Mitrohin, L. N., *Бантизм: история и современность* [Baptism: history and modernity], St. Petersburg: Издательство Русского Христианского гуманитарного института, 1997.
- Mitrohin, Nikolaj, Rondo Jerika “Несостоявшаяся автономия: немецкое население в СССР в 1960-1980-х годах и восстановление республики немцев Поволжья” (The Failed Autonomy: the German Population in the USSR in the 1960s-1980s and the Restoration of the Republic of the Volga Germans), *Неприкосновенный запас* 4(78) (2011), <http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2011/4/mi14-pr.html> (accessed in May, 2014).
- Muhtar, O. Aujezov, *История Казахской ССР* [History of Kazakh SSR], V.1. Alma-Ata: Академии наук Казахской ССР, 1957.
- Muhtar O. Aujezov, *История Казахской ССР* [History of Kazakh SSR], V.1. Alma-Ata: Академии наук Казахской ССР, 1957.
- Mukhina Irina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union*, New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Naumov, V.P., “К истории секретного доклада Н.С. Хрущева на XX съезде КПСС” [The History of the Secret Report by N. S. Khrushchev at the XX Party Congress of CPSU], *Новая и новейшая история*, № 4, 1996.
- Nekrich, Alexander, *The Punished Peoples: The Deportation and Fate of Soviet Minorities at the End of the Second World War*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1978.
- Nelipovich S. G., “Роль военного руководства России в ‘Немецком вопросе’ в годы первой мировой войны (1914-1917),” [The Role of Military Administration in Russia Concerning the ‘German Question’ during the Period of the First World War (1914-1917)] in *Российские немцы: проблемы истории, языка и современного положения* [Russian Germans: Problems of History, Language and the Current Situation], Materials of the International Scientific Conference, Moscow: Готика, 1996.
- Omarov M., Kaken A., *Познание себя* [Self-discovery], Almaty: Аль-Фараби, 1998.
- Osipov, Vladimir, *Коммунистическая партия Казахстана: организационно политическое развитие: Справочник* [The Communist Party of Kazakhstan: Organizational Political Development: Handbook], Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1990.
- Pavle, R., “К вопросу о классификации групп немецкого населения России” [The Classification of German Groups in Russia] in *Немцы России в контексте отечественной истории: общие проблемы и региональные особенности* [The Russian Germans in the Context of the Russian History: Common Problems and Regional Peculiarities], International Scientific Conference, Moscow 17-20 September, 1998, Moscow: ГОТИКА, 1999.
- Petra Ramet, Sabrina, *Religious policy in the Soviet Union*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2005.
- Pinkus B. Fleischhauer I. *Die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion: Geschichte einer nationalen Minderheit im 20. Jahrhundert*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1987.
- Pleve, I. R. *Немецкие колонии на Волге во второй половине XVIII века* [The German Colonies in Volga Region in the Second Half of the XVIII Century], 3rd edition, Moscow: АОО Международный союз немецкой культуры, 2008.
- Podoprigora, Ju. I., *Немцы Павлодарского Прииртышья* [Germans in Pavlodar District of Irtysh Area] Almaty: Biz Bibliothek, 2010.

- Polyan, Pavel, *Не По Своей Воле...История и география принудительных миграций в СССР* [Not by Their Own Will... A History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR], Moscow: Memorial, 2001.
- Pihoja, R.G. , *СССР: история власти. 1945–1991* [USSR: History of Power, 1945-1991], Moscow: Сибирский хронограф, 2000;
- Pyzhikov, A.V., *Политические преобразования в СССР (50–60-е годы)* [The Political Transformations in USSR, the 50s-60s], Moscow: ISPI RAN, 1999.
- Reshetov, D. G., “Немецкие колонисты западных губерний России,” [German Colonists of the Western Provinces in Russia] in *Миграционные процессы среди российских немцев* [Migration Processes among the Russian Germans], Arkadij A. German, I.R.Pleve, Moscow: Готика, 1998.
- Robert, Conquest, *The Nation Killers: The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities*, London: MacMillan, 1970.
- Shumilova, L., Herman A., “Подготовка и осуществление государственным руководством СССР снятия режима спецпоселения с советских немцев” (Preparation and Implementation of the State Leadership of the USSR with the Removal the Deportation Regime of the Special Settlement of Soviet Germans) in *Немцы СССР в годы Великой отечественной войны и первое послевоенное десятилетие: 1941 – 1955* [Germans of USSR during the Second World War and First Decade of the Post-war Period: 1941-1955], Moscow: Готика, 2000.
- Smirnova T.B., “Этническое самосознание и этнические процессы у немцев Западной Сибири” [The Ethnic Consciousness and Ethnic Processes of the Germans in Western Siberia], in *Российские немцы: проблемы истории, языка и современного положения* [The Russian Germans: problems of history, language and current situation]. Materials of the International Scientific Conference, Moscow: Готика, 1996.
- Sovetov, I.M., Odincov M.I., “Совет по делам религиозных культов при СМ СССР и евангельское движение в Советском Союзе. 1956-1965 гг.” [Council of religious cults in USSR and Evangelical Movement], source: www.rodon.org/shir/zorvs.htm#a19 (an official web source of Russian Association of scholars in Religion) (accessed in May, 2014).
- Stump, K. P., “Verzeichnis der deutschen Siedlungen in Nord-(Sibirien) und Mittelasien“, in *Heimatsbuch der Deutschen aus Russland*, Stuttgart: Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Rußland, 1964, pp. 87-99.
- Vibe, P.P., “Переселение немцев-колонистов в Степной край в конце XIX – начале XX вв. (на примере Акмолинской и Семипалатинской областей)” [Resettlement of the German Colonists to the Step Area in the End of the XIX and the Beginning of the XX Centuries (On the Example of Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk Regions), *История немцев Центральной Азии* [History of the Germans in Central Asia], Materials of the International Scientific Conference, Almaty, 1998.

Web-sources

- www.memorial.krsk.ru (website dedicated to the victims of the repressions in the Soviet Union), accessed in April-May, 2014.
- wolgadeutsche.net (the website dedicated to the German Volga Republic), accessed in April-May, 2014.
- www.rodon.org (an official web source of Russian Association of scholars in Religion), accessed in May, 2014.