A Root Out of Dry Ground: Revival Patterns in the German Free Churches in the USSR After World War II

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The metaphor of a root out of dry ground is many millennia old and is taken from the fifty third chapter of Isaiah. In its direct context it constructs a prophetic analogy of the Messiah. Its reuse in the totally different temporal context of this paper looks backward and has in mind churches of a small ethnic group. Both applications have in common the enlivening power of God.

The basis of this paper are churches at a time of revival in Kazakhstan, a socialist republic within the USSR and since 1991 an independent state. Unusual for a Mennonite reader of this paper is the practice of not distinguishing between Mennonites and other Germans because distinguishing is not always easy due to the deportations in the 1930s when the republic became a melting pot not only for ethnic groups but confessional groups.

The first free church in Kazakhstan was founded in 1903 by Russian Baptist settlers.[1] Until World War II, there were no known German

churches in this large area with a harsh climate.[2] Then the ethnic structure of Baptist churches in this area underwent significant changes. In the 1980s, ninety percent of the Evangelical Christian-Baptist (ECB) churches in Kazakhstan consisted of Germans. This included many Mennonites and some churches were even entirely comprised of them.[3] In fact, after the war, Kazakhstan and Middle Asia[4] became the midpoint of German church life.

In the Clutches of the Communist Regime

People: From Privileged to Persecuted

During World War I the protection offered by the initial privileged status of German colonists melted away more quickly than expected by the settlers. With Russia and Germany being chief rivals, the situation for native Germans in Russia became alarming. At this time, distrust and suspicion were directed toward the German population in Russia, including Mennonites.

The Bolshevik Revolution made things worse. The collectivization and religious persecutions which started in 1929 destroyed traditional community structures as well as churches. The intensified political repressions of 1937-38 led to the martyrdom of many church leaders and lay members. Reliable statistics are missing but there are vivid examples. In the Mennonite colony of Neu-Samara near the Ural Mountains, which consisted of fourteen villages with three Mennonite churches, 177 men were shot in these two years.[5]

World War II completed the picture of devastation. The Soviet Union entered the war in June 1941. Two months later, in August 1941, most Soviet citizens of German nationality in the European part of the USSR, almost 900,000 persons,[6] were deported to Kazakhstan, Middle Asia and Siberia. They were considered potential Nazi collaborators and put under strict supervision until 1956. People were forbidden to leave their locations under threat of long-term imprisonment. With impunity, they were deemed enemies of their country which had been their home for many generations. Up to twenty five percent did not survive Stalin's persecutions between 1929 and 1953.[7]

State: Ruling with an Iron Hand

When the Soviet Union entered World War II, religion in the Soviet Union had not yet been fully destroyed, even if almost all churches of Baptists and Evangelical Christians in the country, with a membership

estimated to be between 800,000 (conservative estimates of Baptist researchers)[8] and 2,100,000 (intentional estimates of anti-religious authors),[9] had been eliminated. Mennonite churches suffered a similar fate. Most of the churches ceased to exist and were forced into an illegal and underground existence. Only four legal churches of Evangelical Christians or Baptists remained to serve as proof of the freedom of conscience for foreigners.[10] One of them, the church of Evangelical Christians in Moscow, was led by Mikhail Orlov, a person known to be a KGB collaborator.[11] In 1937 he also became leader of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians (AUCEC).[12] The Baptist Union was dissolved in 1935 when the last of its leaders were arrested.[13]

During World War II, the attitude towards religion in the Soviet Union changed. In 1943 the Russian Orthodox Church regained the Patriarchate[14] and in 1944 the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists (AUCECB) was organized.[15] Special governmental institutions, the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church led by a KGB general,[16] and the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults were created in September 1943[17] and July 1944[18] respectively. Their representatives were installed in all regions of the country to serve as a front-desk institution of the state in matters of religion. To what extent the security services were involved in religious matters is unclear, but the fighter of the invisible front, as KGB agents often referred to them, left traces on the battlefield against religion.[19] At least in the 1970s, departments that combated religion existed in the regional branches of the KGB.[20] In reality the politics of religion was determined by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, as the former inspector of the Council for Religious Affairs, E. Tarasov, admitted.[21]

Religious freedom was controlled using three main instruments: a very restrictive law; special permissions for topics not regulated by law; and legalization of a particular local church that could be granted or withdrawn without clearly defined reasons. The Law on Religious Organizations was issued in 1929, and, with minor changes, remained valid until the end of the Soviet Union in 1991. It defined a uniform structure for religious organization without differentiating between a Baptist or Orthodox church and a mosque. They all received a registration certificate but were not recognized as a legal entity. Explicitly forbidden were "special meetings for children, youth, women, as well as prayer and other meetings."[22] For fellowship-oriented faith communities like Mennonites, Baptists and Evangelical Christians, these restrictions were especially hard. Over the years, however, the interpretation of the law changed, becoming more flexible especially after the fall of Khrushchev in 1964 and after the Helsinki Agreement in 1975.

Faith Communities: Strategies of Survival

Even under the above described conditions a remnant of believers remained. Not all of them were shot, but almost all church leaders went through the circles of the Gulag hell; many ordinary church members followed them and lived with a deep fear until the end of their lives. All wanted to survive.

The first survival strategy was patriotism. The German aggression against the USSR in 1941 gave the remaining church leaders the opportunity to express their patriotic feelings. All the documents of that time in the archive of the AUCECB show this attitude. Six days after the war began, on June 28, 1941, the AUCECB issued a circular letter with an unambiguous commitment to military service and an appeal to all believers to "increase tenfold the commitment to work."[23] The legitimacy of military service was defended using examples of the Puritans and Oliver Cromwell, "the great man of God" as well as the American Civil War against slavery. This appeal was followed by a series of similar documents with some of them[24] even printed in typography, a sign of a benevolent attitude by the state. Christian patriotism bore its fruits.

The second strategy was absolute loyalty. During the war, the religious policy of the state changed to some extent, and on October 26-29, 1944 a Conference of Evangelical Christians and Baptists took place in Moscow.[25] Ten of the thirty four participants were from Moscow, six from Kiev, the rest came from locations elsewhere. The representative of North Caucasus came from Arkhangel'sk[26] in northern Russia, probably from a prison. The Conference proclaimed the foundation of the AUCECB. Only one year later it proved to be an umbrella for a dozen or so free church confessions, including the large communities of Baptists, Evangelical Christians who were closely related to them, and Pentecostals of various shades, as well as smaller groups like the Salvation Army in Estonia and the Plymouth Brethren in Transcarpathia. A short Statute of the Union of the Evangelical Christians and Baptists[27] (ECB) consisting of ten topics mainly of a doctrinal nature was adopted and an institute of senior presbyters was introduced. In this way the government established an instrument for controlling the main free church bodies. The price for the opportunity to restart church work was loyalty towards an atheistic state.

Not all believers agreed with this position. Since the 1920s a significant portion of Evangelical Christians and Baptists had been pacifists. Secondly, some believers considered loyalty towards an atheistic state as collaboration or even apostasy. These attitudes were so serious that they led to a split in the ECB brotherhood in 1961. Oppression produces resistance, not only loyalty.

At that time, the deported ethnic Germans were not affected by the changes in the religious policy of the state. The war with Germany was still going on. They struggled with bitter poverty and hunger; feelings of loyalty or war patriotism were far from their minds. Later, when many of them joined the AUCECB, they had to put up with patriotism and loyalty and even the alleged collaboration of the first Union leaders.

Phase One: Revival as Fellowship

Pietism: The Genetic Code of the Revival

Beginning in 1942, a spiritual revival slowly emerged among the Germans in the USSR as small underground prayer meetings were started. It developed along pietistic patterns of conversion and fellowship without denominational distinctions.[28]

The experience of Jakob Ginsman, born in 1920, is typical. His father died in 1924. In 1930, the second year of collectivization, his mother with the family fled "from the peasant's persecution" to the Caucasus. On October 8, 1941, after the beginning of the war his family was deported to the region of Kustanai in Kazakhstan. From there Ginsman was mobilized to the Labor Army in Chelyabinsk in 1942. In 1947 he was released from the Labour Army and moved to be with the family of his brother who had died of starvation in the Labour Army and had left five orphaned children. Ginsman decided to raise them. In 1953 he was allowed to move to the village of Osakarovka near the city of Karaganda to be with his brother Johann. Johann had been exiled there in 1947 after he was released following a ten-year sentence. Here Jakob Ginsman and his family met a small number of believers of different denominations, including Lutherans and Baptists who held secret gatherings. Until 1959, Baptists und Lutherans met together. Here Ginsman finally experienced a conversion due to the perseverance of his wife. [29]

Thousands of Germans in the Soviet Union had similar experiences. The restrictive and severe conditions did not eliminate faith. In 1942 the Mennonite preacher Johann Woelk organized secret prayer meetings in Borovsk (Perm region);[30] a Ukrainian, Ivan Gordeyuk, gathered Mennonite women for prayer in Orsk (Ural region) in 1946;[31] Peter Dück started a prayer meeting in 1954 in the village of Komsomolets in North Kazakhstan.[32] The list could easily be extended. Group gatherings and conversion were common to all these examples. Both belonged to the core of Christian identity in its pietistic form that had been present in Russia since at least the 1820s.[33]

The war shattered denominational boundaries and a considerable number of believers formed small secret groups for prayer and sometimes even singing that were attended by Baptists, Mennonites and Lutherans. It was also during the war that the long forgotten interdenominational fellowship was re-established. Denominational identity became less important when believers were faced with survival. Gerd Stricker suggests that the brethren community pattern was the only way to survive, at least for the Lutheran Church in the USSR.[34]

Spread of the Revival

The war-time and post-war revival spread through several different means. Gerhard Woelk, an MB church elder, himself a child of these times, saw women, often widows, as the main driving force behind the revival.[35] The youngest participants of the revival were born around 1930. Until 1941 or 1942 they were under the influence of their parents, first of all, mothers. Indeed, as later congregational statistics indicate, a significant part of the post-war revival participants were young people.[36] Those statistics also indicate a generation gap between 1930 and 1950 in the German churches in the USSR. Therefore, the most important part of the revival was done long before the actual conversion through a Christian upbringing.[37] The next stage of the mission, to lead the children to conversion during dangerous times was easier when the first stage, primary socialization to a Christian spirit was successful. Not all mothers had enough courage and time to give their children a Christian education during the years of collectivization and severe persecutions. So for example Reinhold Mantai's mother was temporarily distanced from the church and returned when her son had already converted.[38]

The revival spread in a specific group within society, the Germans. They were protected in part because they used German even during wartime because it was the language the participants were accustomed to. Russian religious language was unknown to them; they could not even pray in Russian. They were also protected by "fear," i.e. people who were afraid of losing their status in an atheistic society avoided religious gatherings. In comparison, the young deported Germans had nothing to lose and so joined the gatherings, as Nikolaj Reimer, a preacher in Northern Kazakhstan from the 1950s to the 1970s, remembers.[39]

Crystallization Centres of the Revival

The intensity of revival among Germans during and after World War II varied depending on the times. Just after the war the opportunities for revival were ripe. After 1948, and especially from 1950-54, the heavy pressure of prison sentences of up to twenty five years resulted in a decline in revival.[40]

Not all locations of the revival were of equal importance. Only some of these locations became centers of church life for Germans in the USSR. The deciding factors were a high concentration of deported Germans and a kind of a crystallization point. Locations with large numbers of Germans could be found throughout the entire country, from Noril'sk[41] in the extreme north of Siberia to Chelyabinsk[42] in the Ural region, from Kostroma[43] in northern Russia to Karaganda[44] in Kazakhstan. Revivals took place in all these locations but most of them were not later included in the list of German congregations in the USSR.[45] The crystallization of revival did not materialize in these locations.

The most important crystallization point for ethnic Germans in the post-war revival was Karaganda. In 1930 the Soviet government declared the rich coal basin to be the third important coal mining region of the country and turned it into an exile location. In 1931 the mass expulsion to Karaganda began at a tremendous cost in human lives. In the same year, two faith communities began here. The first was a Mennonite church made up of exiles from Am Trakt Mennonite colony. It disintegrated in 1934 when its leaders were imprisoned. The second one, consisting of Russian Baptists and Evangelical Christians, held regular meetings beginning in 1934. Baptisms were conducted starting in 1935 and the congregation acquired legal status in 1946.[46] At that time, it had a total membership of 258 persons[47] and gathered in a house built of adobe bricks. In 1948 it was one of twenty five legalized ECB churches in Kazakhstan,[48] an area of 2,000 kilometres from north to south and 3,000 kilometres from west to east.

At the time of legalization it had a considerable membership of exiled Germans; the member's list for 1946 includes about fifty German names.[49] One of them was Peter Bergmann. He acquired some theological education in the Orenburg MB Bible School in 1923-26[50] and escaped imprisonment in the 1930s by fleeing to Ukraine. After the deportation to Kazakhstan in 1941, he was ordered into the Labor Army in Karaganda where he arrived in 1944. He joined the ECB church and started to preach.

Somewhat earlier, in 1942, a large number of young Germans was mobilized to the Labor Army in Karaganda. Here, behind barbed wire, some of them were converted. Fifteen year-old David Koop was converted through his seventeen year-old brother Johann.[51] With

the end of the war in 1945, the barbed wire around the barracks was removed and some young Germans found their way to the Russian ECB church. Peter Bergmann became their spiritual father. In this way, a substantial number of young Germans became involved in a revival in a church environment.

The revival among young Germans in Karaganda reached its peak in 1949, according to Reinhold Mantai.[52] He was born in 1929, lost his father in the early 1930s and in 1941 together with his mother was deported to central Kazakhstan. His school education was limited to two years of primary school. As a fourteen year-old boy, he was ordered to work in the Karaganda coal mines. In 1948 a Lutheran lay person started regular gatherings in private houses in Mantai's neighborhood. The people were hungry for spiritual food and the living rooms were full. Mantai, previously fully ignorant of religion, was baptized and confirmed according to the Lutheran rite. Sensitized to religion, he discovered the small Russian ECB church in his city in 1949. Here he experienced a conversion and was re-baptized. The twenty year-old Mantai together with his friends Valentin Kemling and Johannes Schwarz started their own evening gatherings. Several times during the week the rooms were full. Conversions occurred often; as many as five people in one evening were converted. Similar gatherings occurred simultaneously in several parts of the city. The converted people joined either the ECB church or the Lutheran circles. In this way, Karaganda developed into the largest crystallization centre of the revival.[53]

After 1945 the number of Germans in Karaganda continually increased due to repatriates who in 1943 were taken by Nazis from Ukraine to Germany and sent by Communists to Central Asia in 1945. These people had experienced a revival in the occupied Ukraine and practiced their faith in German. After the war, family reunions were possible, and people again moved to Karaganda. At least here was no hunger, and a loaf of bread in Karaganda cost only forty rubles at that time, five times cheaper than in Chelyabinsk, another big industrial site.[54] In this way, Karaganda became a large German center.

On December 13, 1955, the Soviet government abolished the deportation status of the Germans in the USSR. More than one million people were allowed to freely choose their place of residence.

Phase Two: Revival as Church

New Survival Strategy: Disobedience

In 1956 a thaw in the country set in. Prisoners of faith were released and the number of faith fellowships rapidly increased. German believ-

ers became more trusting even of the Soviet postal system and began to establish letter contacts and develop their own infrastructure.[55]

The ECB church in Karaganda, having meanwhile grown to almost 1,000 members,[56] with sixty five percent of them Germans,[57] built a spacious building on the outskirts of the city. At the same time, a group of German members were deeply dissatisfied with the situation in the church. It was led by a voluntary appointed council of twenty people as demanded by the religious legislation, had no special member meetings, and the number of preachers was strictly limited. In December 1956, twenty one Mennonites decided to leave the church and organize a new separate German MB church.[58] From the very beginning, the new church adhered to Mennonite patterns of church life. In September 1957 David Klassen was elected elder and Gerhard Harder and Abram Friesen assistant elders. In 1958 they were ordained by a surviving Mennonite preacher. The church introduced regular member meetings, Bible and prayer hours and home visitations.[59] A definite pattern of church activities became the coordinate system and reference point for church life. Within two years, the MB church grew to 900 members. Half of them had been baptized previously and were accustomed to church life while the other half (454 persons) were baptized in the new church.[60] In this way, in a very short period a new church was organized and became known in the country.

In 1958 the political climate in the country changed again, and a new persecution wave began. Churches' legalizations were revoked, prayer houses were confiscated and the disruption of services in homes followed. Leading persons were forced to leave the city or face imprisonment. Mennonites generally were not legalized "in view of [their] reactionary orientation," as the Karaganda oblast executive committee described them.[61] Baptists, Pentecostals, Old Believers, Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses were also considered extremely reactionary and antisocial.[62]

In December 1962, D. Klassen from the Karaganda MB church was sentenced to three years in a maximum security institution.[63] The church was left without its leader, but continued to gather in homes in three different parts of the city. During his absence, new people rose as leaders and a different orientation in the church developed[64] resulting in a deep aversion toward Baptists.[65] In 1965 D. Klassen was granted early release, returned home and resigned from his position as elder. A number of ordained preachers, including the former assistant elders Harder and Friesen, left the MB church and joined the ECB church.

In 1964 the more tolerant Brezhnev era begun. In 1967 the MB church in Karaganda obtained legal status as an autonomous church and in 1968 built a church building.[66] It was integrated neither in the

system of the AUCECB nor the underground Council of Churches of the Evangelical Christian-Baptists (CCECB).

In 1959 the ECB church in Karaganda gained new leadership and in August 1959 the Germans were allowed to conduct separate services. When in 1965 Harder and Friesen left the MB church and joined the ECB church, Harder was appointed leader of the German work. Friesen managed to introduce the most significant Mennonite church practices into the larger ECB church. He developed an addendum[67] to the official Statutes released by the AUCECB and all church workers had to sign it. In this way, the Mennonites and other Germans were able to feel at home in the ECB church.

From Fellowship to Church

The development in Karaganda mirrors the situation in all of Central Asia. With the 1955-58 thaw, the hidden fellowship meetings began to crystallize into ECB and MB churches. Strong and proven principles of church development were not always taken as ultimate guides everywhere. Often the pattern of the restoration of MB and ECB churches was similar, i.e. it was marked by baptisms. This can be exemplified by the first baptisms in villages around the city of Shchuchinsk in northern Kazakhstan. All of them took place in 1956. Andreas Pankratz baptized eight persons in Kotyrkol', Jakob Konrad baptized in Kovalevka, Franz Klassen in Obaly, Jakob Fedrau baptized twelve people in Rai-Gorodok, Abram Koop baptized twenty three to twenty eight people in Zlatopol'ye, Gerhard Unruh baptized one person in Urumkai.[68] Most of the baptized people had been converted after 1946. The picture in other regions was similar.

With the transition to regular church life, the enthusiastic character of the fellowship underwent significant changes. Fellowships continuing in the church became more stable. Previously the gatherings would cease in the event of threats and their participants stopped their activities. Herta Vogel remembers the story of Justine Neufeld who, in 1955, organized a choir in Shchuchinsk that sang in gatherings which included Mennonites, Baptists and Lutherans. On Christmas Eve, 1956, Vogel was summoned by a KGB officer who demanded she collaborate. Eventually she distanced herself from the gatherings, the choir ceased to exist, and a large number of members stopped participating in gatherings.[69] The informal structure of the fellowship was not stable enough to produce a church body that could withstand persecution.

Usually the difference between a fellowship and a church was marked by baptism. Baptism was usually the point at which common gatherings with Lutherans dissolved as happened in Osakarovka in

1959.[70] Traditional Mennonites who did not acknowledge repentance as a condition of baptism distanced themselves as well. The regular celebration of the Lord's Supper consolidated the group, and the traditional church order that included principles of church discipline and the priesthood of all believers[71] contributed to the formation of a homogeneous faith community.

The period of revival coincided with a period of intensive migration of people released from deportation. Some baptized persons moved to places where churches already existed. Those who remained formed small village churches that usually did not disappear during the next phase of persecutions. In this way, a new ECB and MB church geography in Kazakhstan developed with several big churches in cities and a significant number of smaller churches in villages.

An outstanding role in establishing new churches was played by a small number of brethren who survived Stalin's purges and remembered church life of the 1920s. Peter Bergmann, already mentioned, and Johannes Fast of Alt-Samara exiled in 1931 to the Far East are examples. In 1955 Fast moved to Temir-Tau near Karaganda and at age sixty nine began his ministry as an itinerant preacher. He undertook his final extensive preaching tour in 1978 at age ninety two.[72] The brethren visited churches, evangelized, preached, baptized, ordained ministers and ordered church matters. In this way, continuity to the 1920s was established.

Stratification

The first decade of the church restoration in the ECB and MB traditions took place in the turbulent times of the Stalin thaw. The resoration continued through Khrushchev's repressions and Brezhnev's stabilization. During that time, the ECB brotherhood split into two conflicting bodies, AUCECB and CCECB.[73] The latter represented the so-called Reform Baptists who rejected legalization by the Communist state. On a smaller scale, a differentiation and stratification took place in the German churches too.

Atheistic state oppression forced the larger churches to divide into smaller groups which made it easier to find a gathering place. As a result of these very natural actions, the number of church leaders and their influence in the group grew at the expense of the unity of the whole church and at the cost of more egalitarian leadership patterns. The ECB church in Balkhash, for example, was forced to split into four groups. In one of them the leader claimed special revelations about God in the Old Testament; another group tended towards the CCECB that had in absentia excommunicated leaders of a parallel group.[74]

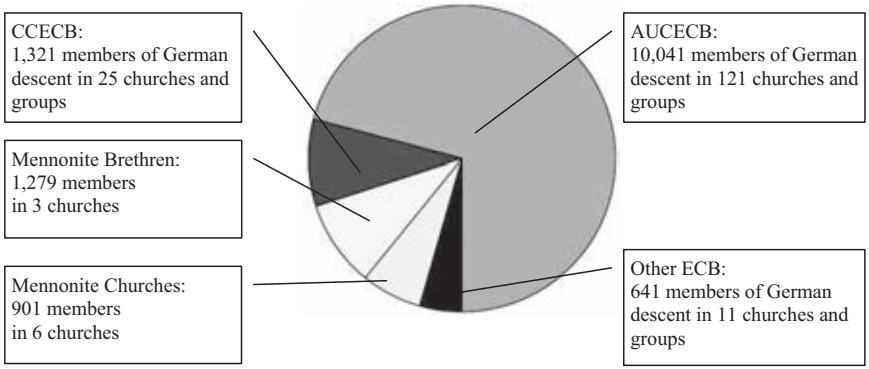
The MB church in Karaganda was forced for several years to split into three groups and gather in three different areas of the city. Each group developed its own affinities. Even decades later in the united MB church there were active supporters of both the underground Baptists and the officially recognized ECB while a majority with a strict Mennonite identity disregarding both.[75] In the battle for the existence of the church, its unity was compromised.

In general at the time of the first regular congress of the AUCECB in 1966,[76] the positions of various groups were already established. As Karl Götz remembers, churches that were ready to legalize chose to be under the auspices of the AUCECB, knowing that even then a confrontation with the state was unavoidable.[77] Those who rejected any compromise with the godless government aligned themselves with the CCECB. The MB church in Karaganda followed a third way, that of an autonomous legalization. In subsequent years, several MB churches in Russia and one in Kyrgyzstan took this route. For Mennonite churches that practiced baptism by pouring or sprinkling, it became the preferred way of legalization.

The time of fellowship, revival and church restoration showed that the Mennonites and German-speaking Baptists were no longer an isolated faith community protected by language and special legislation as in tsarist times. They had all became part of one big group of Evangelicals in the Soviet Union, united by a common church structure and shared practices.[78] Divisions were caused by non-theological issues.

Thus time produced a shift in the identity of a certain segment of Mennonites. The most tolerant on questions of confessional identity was the AUCECB that included different denominations and so Mennonites under its auspices could choose between several models of cooperation on the local church level. The preferred model was that of a church within a church in which the Germans maintained their own leadership and shared only the building with the Russian part of the church, as in Frunze, Kyrgyzstan. The second model provided separate German services under a common church leadership. While the leadership of the AUCECB stressed the presence of MBs in the union, its local representatives preferred to present all members of ECB churches, including Mennonites, as Baptists. In contrast the CCECB with its strict leadership did not tolerate deviations even in the names of its members and designated all groups as Evangelical Christian-Baptists.[79] With the exception of the MB churches, preserving Mennonite identity in a Baptist environment became a task undertaken at the family level.

Appendix



German-speaking Members in ECB and Mennonite churches in Kazakhstan as of 1986 according to AUCECB statistics

Notes

1 Viktor Dik, *Svet Evangeliya v Kasakhstane. Evangel'skie techeniya v pervoi polovine XX veka* [The Light of the Gospel in Kazakhstan. Evangelical Movements in the First Half of the Twentieth Century] (Steinhagen: Samenkorn, 2003), 109.

2 The only exclusion was the Mennonite church in Karaganda that was founded in 1931 by deported Mennonites from Am Trakt and ceased to exist in 1934. See below.

3 Ya. F. Trofimov, "Khristianstvo kak faktor sokhraneniya etnokul'turnykh traditsii" [Christianity as a Factor in Maintaining Ethno-Cultural Traditions], in *Kul'tura nemtsev Kazakhstana: istoriya i sovremennost': Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, Almaty, 9-11 oktyabrya 1998 g.* [The Culture of Germans in Kazakhstan in History and the Present: Materials of an International Scientific and Practical Conference] (Almaty, 1999), 122-127.

4 Middle Asia includes the republics of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. Central Asia is comprised of Middle Asia plus Kazakhstan.

5 *Neu-Samara am Tock (1890-2003). Eine mennonitische Ansiedlung in Russland östlich der Wolga* (Warendorf, 2003), 5-10.

6 Alfred Eisfeld and Victor Herdt, eds., *Deportation, Sondersiedlung, Arbeitsarmee. Deutsche in der Sowjetunion 1941 bis 1956* (Cologne: Wissenschaft und Politik, 1996), 113.

7 Viktor Krieger, "Die demographische Entwicklung der Deutschen in der Sowjetunion der Jahre 1926-1959." In *Heimatbuch der Deutschen aus Russland 2003,* Hans Kampen, ed. (Stuttgart: Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, 2003), 9-21.

8 Interview with S. N. Savinskii by J. Dyck, December 1996.

9 A. L. Klibanov, *Klassovoe litso sovremennogo sektantstva* [The Class Face of the Contemporary Sectarianism] (Leningrad: Priboi, 1928), 15-16.

[10] Beseda s predstavitelyami "Orgkomiteta" 23 marta 1966 g. [Meetings with the Representatives of the 'Orgkomitet' on 23 March 1966] Archive of AUCECB, file 28.10, document nr. 3 (electronic copy), 10.

[11] [Yuriĭ Fedorovich Kuksenko,] Nashi besedy. [Our Conversations] Interview with V. P. Ivanov, Manuscript (2002). J. Dyck's personal archive, 17.

[12] S. N. Savinskii, *Istoriya evangel'skikh khristian-baptistov Ukrainy, Rossii, Belorussii: Chast' II (1917-1967)* [History of the Evangelical Christians. Baptists of Ukraine, Russia, Belorussia: Part II] (St. Petersburg: Bibliya dlya vsekh, 2001), 135.

[13] Ibid., 133.

[14] D. V. Pospelovskiĭ, *Russkaya pravoslavnaya tserkov' v XX veke* [The Russian Orthodox Church in the XX century] (Moscow: Respublika, 1995), 187-88.

[15] Vsesoyuznoe soveshchanie evangel'skikh khristian i baptistov v Moskve s 26 po 29 oktyabrya 1944 g. (Zapisi zasedanii). [All-Union Conference of Evangelical Christians and Baptists in Moscow 26-20 October 1944 (Session recordings)] Typewritten manuscript. Archive of AUCECB, file 11a, document 1 (electronic copy).

[16] Pospelovskii, 188, footnote.

[17] Ibid., 189.

[18] Vsesoyuznoe soveshchanie, 20.

[19] Beseda s predstavitelyami "Orgkomiteta," 13-15.

[20] Georgii Vins, *Evangelie v usakh* [Gospel in Chains] (Elkhart IN: Russian Gospel Ministries, 1991), 130.

[21] Interview with Evlampii Alexeevich Tarasov by J. Dyck, January 2, 2001. Phonogram. J. Dyck's personal archive.

[22] 'Postanovlenie VTSIK i SNK RSFSR o religioznykh ob "edineniyakh *Byulleten" Narodnogo komissariata vnutrennikh del RSFSR № 37 (338) ot 24 oktyabrya 1929 g.*, 685-689. [Regulation of the All-Union Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars for Religious Associations. Bulletin of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of RSFSR № 37 (338) from 24 October 1929]. Archive of AUCECB, file 1.1, document 1 (electronic copy).

[23] Circular Letter of the AUCEC № 457/57 from 28 June 1941. Archive of AUCECB, file 1.1, document 159 (electronic copy).

[24] Pis'mo po voennomu voprosu k evangel'skim khristianam i baptistam v SSSR [Letter on the Military Issue to Evangelical Christians and Baptists in the USSR], circular letter of AUCEC and B from the end of 1942; Vsem evangel'skim khristianam i baptistam, nakhodyashchimsya pod gnetom nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov [To All Evangelical Christians and Baptists Who Are Under the Yoke of German-Fascist Occupants], circular letters with identical title of AUCEC and B from April 1943 and from January 5, 1944; Vsem obshchinam evangel'skikh khristian i baptistov v mestnostyakh, osvoboshdennykh ot nemetskoi okkupatsii [To All Congregations of Evangelical Christians and Baptists in Regions Liberated From the German Occupation]. Archive of AUCECB, file 1.1, documents 156, 161, 150, 151 respectively (electronic copies).

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[40] Reimer, 111.
[41] Ibid., 92-93.
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