

DEPORTATIONS OF 14-18 JUNE 1941

Introduction

The deportations of Lithuanian inhabitants of 14-18 June 1941 have become one of the most popular research subjects of contemporary Lithuanian history. Soon after the operation of deportation the first newspaper publications appeared which actually referred to some authentic NKVD-NKGB documents¹. In 1942 –1943 the work “Lithuanian Archive. The Years of Bolshevism”. (“Lietuvių archyvas. Bolševizmo metai”²) with an overview article by Merkelis “Mass Lithuanian deportation to the USSR” was published. In 1941-1942 the conclusions defining the scale of deportation were published. The statistical data of these conclusions has been used for more than fifty years in different works (meanwhile we could notice it only in publications in English)³.

The first to write about the Soviet deportation and to compile the first deportation map was R. Conquest⁴. M. Gilberg in his “Atlas of Russian History”⁵ summarised the data on deportation in the Soviet Union. Actually, the study focused on the ethnic deportation of people from Caucasus and Crimea. However, the lack of archive sources left a bright mark in these works.

The memories of witnesses and articles of one or another episode of terror were accumulated during the years. However, the conclusions on the scope and consequences of detention did not change substantially⁶. The last study was published by Damušis in 1988 “Victims and losses of Lithuania during the years of World War II and after the war (1940-1959)”⁷. It tried to refer to various sources, however, the author did not attempt to question the number of the deportees in other sources, and therefore the statistical conclusions did not change.

The new period of research started in 1991 when the documents on the deportation of 1941 were being collected from the former secret archives. The first were the studies of Russian historians, which reflected the data from NKVD-NKGB documents on the number of deportees and

¹ Kur išvežti lietuvių tremtiniai, Lietuvos raudonojo kryžiaus žinios, 1941, July 29; Merkelis A. Kaip vyko tremiamų lietuvių medžioklė, Information of mutual assistance, 1942, May 19; Iš kur ir kada buvo išvežti tremtiniai į Rusiją, Ūkininko patarėjas, daily paper 1941, July 33 ir t.t.

² Lithuanian archive. The years of bolshevism, Kaunas., 1942, t. 1-3, 1943. T. 4.

³ Petersen D. Roger, Resistance and rebellion: lessons from Eastern Europe, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 129.

⁴ Conquest R. Soviet deportations of nationalites, London., 1960; Conquest, 1970, p. 94.

⁵ Gilbert M/ Atlas of Russian History, Doprset Press, 1985.

⁶ Swettenham J. A. The Tragedy of Baltic States: A Report Compiled from Official Documents and Eyewitnesses' Stories. London, 1952; Rummel R. J. Lethal Politics, Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder since 1917, London., 1996, 132 p.; Pajaujįs-Javis J. Soviet genocide in Lithuania. New York, 1980.

⁷ Damušis A. Lietuvos gyventojų aukos ir nuostoliai Antrojo pasaulinio karo ir pokario (1940-1959) , Chicago, 1988; Third edition. K., 1991.

their life conditions⁸. In Russian historiography deportations are seen as a manifestation of imposed migration. If the violence was direct and people were moved using a form of repression, only then it was referred to as deportation⁹. Russian authors, such as N. Bugaj¹⁰, A. Gurjanov¹¹, V. Zemskov¹², S. Aljjeva¹³ and others were interested and analysed the problem of deportation. Their ample empirical material is referred to in this study as well. Works that focus on the character and statistics of June 1941 deportations fall into a special category of publications¹⁴.

The first lists with the names of deportees by alphabetical order were compiled. Actually, in this field the Red Cross of Lithuania, which began working in 1941, had the priority. After a couple of decades in 1941 Kerulis compiled and published the alphabetical list of names of political prisoners and deportees with 19 285 names¹⁵. Since 1988 the compilation of alphabetical lists of names has been continuing in Lithuania¹⁶. The first volume of such a list registered 27 806 detained, exiled and killed persons, the revised and supplemented edition in 1988 contained 30 461 people.

⁸ Zemskov V. N. Nekotoryje dannyje o specposelencach – pribaltijcach, raduga, Tallin, 1990, s. 56-61; Zemskov V. N. Massovoe osvoboždenie specposelencev I ssyl'nych (1954-191), Sociologičeskije issledovanija, 1991, Nr. 1, p. 5-26.

⁹ Полян П. Не по своей воле, История и география принудительных миграций в СССР, Москва, 2001.

¹⁰ Бугай Н. Ф. Иосиф Сталин – Лаврентию Берия: «Их надо депортировать» б М., 1992; Власть сатаны. О депортациях народов прибалтики в 40-50-е годы, молодая гвардия, 1993, № 4, с. 40-48.

¹¹ Гурьянов А. Э. Маштабы депортации населения вглубь СССР в мае-июне 1941 г., Репрессии против польских граждан, Вып. 1, М., 1997, с. 137-175.

¹² Земсков В.Н. Спецпоселенцы (по документам НКВД-БВД СССР), Социологические исследования, 1990, № 11, с. 3-17; Спецпоселенцы (1930-1959), Население России в 1920-1950-е годы: численность, потери, миграции б М., с. 145-194; Заключенные, спецпоселенцы, ссыльнопоселенцы, ссыльные и высланные (статистико – географический аспект), Социологические исследования, 1991, № 5, с. 151-165.

¹³ Так это было: Национальные репрессии в СССР 1919-1952 годы, 1-3 т., сост. Алиева С.У., М., 1993.

¹⁴ V. Karaliun, “O pemeščenii protivnikov sovetской vlasti, kapitalističeskich i deklassirovannyh elementov 14 ijunia 1941 goda”, *Latvija na grani epoch*, выпуск 2, pod red. L. Zile i dr., Riga: Avots, 1988, p. 78–94; L. Zile, “Rusifikacija Latvija 1940–1941 gadi”, *Latvijas vesture*, 1992, N. 3, p. 63–64. The figures of this article are based on the letter of USSR worker of the general prosecutor office Terechov in 1965 March 31 to Mikojan (translated into Latvian) and published by Struodas; K. Kandars, “Latvijas statistikas pakvaldes materiali par Baigo gadu Huvera instituta archiva”, *Latvijas archivi*, 1994, N. 2/1, p. 89–91; B. Spridzans, “Ta sakas Latvijas iedzivotaju masveida represijas”, *Represeto saraksts 1941. I. Abrenes aprinkis – Rezeknes aprinkis*, Riga: Latvijas valsts archivs, 1996; D. Kliavinia, “Pamiatu liudej, postradavšich v deportacijach”, *Diena*, Riga, 1996 m. liepos 15 d.; A. Vitkovskij, V. Jampol'skij, “Včera eto bylo sekretom. Dokumenty o litovskich sobytijach 40–50 g.g.”, *Izvestija CK KPSS*, 1990, N. 10, s. 129-139; V. N. Zemskov, “Prinuditel'nye migracii iz Pribaltiki v 1940-1950-ch godach”, *Otečestvennye archivy*, 1993, N. 1, s. 4-19; N. F. Bugaj, *L. Berija – I. Stalinu: “Soglasno Vašemu ukazaniu...”*, M.: AIRO – XX, 1995, 320 s.; N. F. Bugaj, “Vyselenie proizvesti po prikazu tov. Berija”, *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, 1991, N. 1(5), s. 45–52; V. I. Pasat, *Trudnye stranicy istorii Moldovy, 1940–1950-e g.g.*, M.: Terra, 1994, 800 s.; W. Wielhorski, *Los Polaków w niewoli sowieckiej, 1939–1956*. Rada Ziem Wschodnich R. P., Londyn, 1956, 28 s.; J. Siedlecki, *Losy Polaków w ZSRR w latach 1939–1986*, London: Gryf Publications Ltd., 1987, 400 s.; P. Żaron, *Ludnosc polska w Związku Radzieckim w czasie II wojny swiatowej*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990, 464 s. 1.; S. Ciesielski, G. Hryciuk, A. Srebrakowski, *Masowe deportacje radzieckie w okresie II wojny úwiatowej*, Wrocław: Prace historyczne, 1993 179 s.; A. Gurjanow, “Cztery deportacje”, *KARTA (Niezależne pismo historyczne, Warszawa)*. 1994, N. 12, s. 114–136; U. I. Adamuška, *Palityčnyja represii 20-50-ch gadou na Belarusi*, Minsk: Belarus', 1994, s. 106-107; A. E. Gurjanov, *Polskie specpereselency v SSSR v 1940-1941 g.g.*, *Istoričeskije sborniki “Memoriala”*, *vyпуск 1: Repressii protiv poliakov i pol'skich graždan*, Moskva: Zven'ja, 1997, s. 114–136.

¹⁵ Išvežtųjų lietuvių sąrašas. Stalino teroras 1940-1941/ Editor L. Kerulis, Chicago, 1981.

¹⁶ Lietuvos gyventojų genocidas, t. 1: 1939-1941 m., Vilnius, 1992; Second supplemented edition, V., 1998.

There were attempts to correct the method and statistics of 1941 deportation having regard to new archive sources¹⁷. Memoirs (*Look: Bibliography*) mainly helped in dealing with the circumstances of deportation and life conditions of the exiled¹⁸.

The study refers to NKVD-NKGB documents of Lithuanian and Russian archives: Lithuanian Special archive KGB, VRM (Ministry of the Interior) and LKP (Lithuanian Communist Party) document section funds, funds of national archive of Russian Federation No 9401 (USSR NKVD rulings), 9414 (SSRS MVD GULAG), 9479 (SSRS MVD 4th special section).

Geography and character of deportation

Exiles or deportations (lat. “deportatio”- the act of forcing somebody to leave the country, exile) – is a specific type of repression. Political repression (lat. “repressio” – a punitive measure, a punishment, which is intended to control something or somebody) is defined as “measures, which the state was applying on political considerations. Political repression could manifest in depriving smb of life or freedom, placing for imposed treatment into psychiatric hospitals, deporting from the country as well as depriving of citizenship by deporting groups of people from their places of residence, sending them to exile and forced resettlement, employing for forced labour under limited conditions of freedom as well as violating or limiting the rights of individuals who are considered socially dangerous for the state or political system on the basis of class, nationality, religion or other characteristics. The decisions for political repression were made by courts or other institutions, which exercised judicial rights, government institutions or officials, which acted under the administrative procedure, as well as public organisations or their structures with administrative powers.”¹⁹.

A distinctive feature of deportations as a type of repression – their administrative (non legal) manner and the fact that they were directed not towards the particular person but towards the group of people defined by some prejudged criteria. The decisions on exile were made by the leaders of the Soviet Union communist party on the initiative of NKVD-MVD and NKGB-MGB institutions.

The mass deportation of big groups of people was carried out in May-June 1941 from the territories, which had been occupied by the Soviet Union. These territories were annexed under the pact of the Soviet Union-Germany on 23 August 1939 and later agreements with Germany. That was already the fourth deportation to the depth of the USSR since the beginning of World War II.

¹⁷ Anušauskas A. Lietuvos gyventojų sovietinis naikinimas, V., 1996; Grunskis E. Lietuvos gyventojų trėmimai 1940-1941, 1945-1953, V., 1996; Lietuvos kovų ir kančių istorija. Kn. 1. Lietuvos gyventojų trėmimai 1941, 1945-1952: A collection of documents, V., 1994 and 1995;

¹⁸ Juciūtė E. Pėdos mirties zonoje, New York, 1974; Alksnytė-Garbštienė O. Sibire... Tremtinių žeme, V., 1994; Ankevičius S. Už Uralo, žemės galo, V., 1989 ir t.t.

¹⁹ Article 1 of the Russian Federation ruling of 18 October 1991 on ‘The rehabilitation of political victims’, Plg. Полян П. Не по своей воле, История и география принудительных миграций в СССР, с. 11-12.

The first three were launched in 1940 in the eastern territories of pre-war Poland. In 1941 Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Besarabia with Northern Bukovina as well as the western parts of Belarus and Ukraine were the zones of deportation.

Preparation for deportation

The preparations on mass annihilation of Lithuanian nation under the communist ideology started in 1939. Under the calculation of national security lieutenant Zaidenvurm 320 thousand members of national parties and organisations had to be registered in Lithuania as suspects. Therefore, together with their family members some 50% of the Lithuanian nation was meant to be deported to Siberia.

The finishing stage for deportations started on 21 May 1941. On that day the preparation of mass deportation and arrests was discussed during the NKGB called meeting together with the NKGB county principals and their deputies, as well as with the governors of road transport divisions and 5th frontier divisions²⁰. Immediately after two days (on 23 May) Lithuanian SSR national security commissar Gladkov issued a secret decree No 0037 on the preparation of deportation operation.

On 4 June 1941 Serov, the deputy of Merkulov, issued instructions for NKGB county principals on the organisation of the final record of deportees and the deportation process itself. Only those, whose record files contained some “discreditable material”, on the participation in the fight for Independence, occupation of high public service position, belonging to the union of rifles, etc had to be deported.

The number of people who had to be detained decreased from 19 610 (their records were not compiled by 12 May) to 8598 (their records were compiled), whereas the number of the detained family members increased from 2954 to 13 652. Due to such changes the overall number did not change a lot – from 22 564 to 22 252. NKGB was zealously registering women, children, which had to be deported together with their husbands and parents during the whole month. The shift was clear – now the focus was on the annihilation of families not particular people. By annihilating whole families, their years of accumulated experience, social-cultural influence had to vanish. The most educated part of officers, policemen, teachers, journalists etc of the two decades was had to vanish.

Categories and qualitative differences of the detained

The qualitative difference in the works which refer to SSRS NKVD documents occur mostly due to the inner contradiction and discrepancies of statistical data – the qualities which are organically typical to the primary archive sources. The works published in Russia on the deportation of 1941 do not practically take that into consideration.

²⁰Gladkov's report to Merkulov on 28 May 1941, LYA, f. K-1, ap. 10, b. 5, l. 201.

The deportation of 1941 was very different from any analogous operation in 1940, which was carried out in the territories of Molotov - Ribentrop pact. In 1941 the inhabitants of different categories had to be deported. They experienced three different types of repression, whereas in each operation of 1940 all the deportees were of the same status. The deportees from the western parts of the USSR and BSSR were settled in special isolated settlements supervised by NKVD, whereas the family members of the repressed, as deported on the administrative basis under the supervision of NKVD, were settled in the farms of Kazakhstan, Soviet farms and worker settlements. In 1941 the deportee categories were bigger and more varied, there were the members of anti-Soviet nationalist organisations, the category of “the formers”: former gendarmes, policemen, prison guards, soldiers, landlords, manufacturers, traders and former civil servants. All of them were being detained and taken to the NKVD war-prisoners’ camps: Kozelsk, Starobelsk and Juchnov. They were all called “the detained” or “A group” or “the detained of A group” in the convoy documents. Their family members, as well as family members of those “counter-revolutionists” who were detained earlier (including the ones sentenced to death) or transferred to illegal status, fell into another category of the detained in 1941. The exiled, who were sent to Kazakhstan, ASSR, the regions of Altai, Krasnojarsk, Kirov, Novosibirsk and Omsk, were referred to as “group B” or “the detained of group B”. Repatriates from Germany and Germans, who registered to leave for Germany but had not left were in “group A”, whereas the refugees from the “former Poland”, the ones who refused the Soviet citizenship belonged to “group B”. The former prostitutes were deported under the former police records. Criminals were in a separate category, they had to be deported to GULAG labour camps. All these categories and types of repression were similar in the sense that none of the exiled was formally sentenced. NKVD documents call the procedure of deportation “the expulsion of socially alien elements”.

So, three types of repression were designed for tens of categories of the deportees: residence in the area by the NKVD supervision, residence in prison camps and in the GULAG system labour camps. However, the second and the third type of repression practically merged just after Germany’s invasion into the USSR – the deportees to prison camps or people in echelons on the way to those camps were transferred to forced labour camps. There was no evidence found in archive documents that the transition from war-prisoners’ camps to forced labour camps was planned ahead. It seems as if the reason was the unexpected attack of Germany and the desire to deport the detained as far from the approaching frontier as possible or to free the camps for the future German captives.

It is important to mention that these few normative NKVD documents²¹, which were referred to in this study and other studies on the categories of the people who had to be deported in 1941, are only departmental documents, which regulated the procedure of the Soviet government directive unknown to us. However, the ruling of VKP (b) CK political bureau and the council of national commissioners of the USSR stipulated the decision on the form of repression, which had to be applied to the mentioned categories. These legal acts haven't been found yet. The only exception is a common ruling of 14 May 1941 of VKP (b) CK and SSRS LKT No 1299–526ss “On the elimination of counter-revolutionary organisations in the Western parts of the USSR”²². However, this ruling concerns only the western part of Ukraine. It also provided with the main measures for fighting against the OUN – the Organisation of Ukraine Nationalists (only one source mentions Polish organisations).

Up till then deportation operations were carried out under the rulings of VKP (b) CK political bureau and the council of national commissioners of the USSR. Indeed, the record of the USSR KGB central archive, issued in 1990²³, mentions VKP (b) CK and the USSR LKT ruling of 16 May 1941 under which the deportation operation had to be carried out. However, the number of the ruling and its name are not indicated and the content was not retold.

Deportation process. The characteristic feature of deportation was that various categories of the people deported under all the three types of repression were represented by the exiled from the Baltic States only. In the cases where under to the instruction²⁴ found in the convoy army documents family members had to be separated, the deportation operation in 1941 was carried out in two stages. During the first stage of deportation the exiled were taken to the collection points and convoyed to echelons. Also, they or their belongings did not have to undergo any checks; they were distributed to the carriages in families. At the second stage in the places of gathering, the deportees were divided into two groups: “A group” (“the head of the family”) and “B group” (“the members of the family”). “A group” was placed into carriages marked with letter A and sent further into a separate echelon. “Group B” was going in an “independent echelon”. “Group B” had to be placed into echelon without being searched, whereas “group A” had to be convoyed like the detained – each of them was searched and then put on the carriage at the collection point. Also, the echelon documents coming from Latvia and Lithuania, guarded by RNWA prove that sometimes the

²¹ USSR NKVD directive on the expulsion of the socially alien elements from the Baltic Republics, Western Ukraine, Western Belarus and Moldova; a record on the number of anti-Soviet and socially alien elements submitted by Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian SSR NKGB, the Archive of the Government of the Russian Federation (further – ARFG), f. 9479, ap. 1, b. 87, l. 189; Employment and distribution measure plan of the special contingent deported from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Moldova SSR., l. 37–41.

²² Archive of the Government of the Russian Federation f. 93. A collection of documents.

²³ A. Vitkovskij, V. Jampol'skij, “Včera eto bylo sekretom. Dokumenty o litovskich sobytijach 40–50-ch g.g.”, *Izvestija CK KPSS*, 1990, N. 10, s. 129–139.

detained where placed into separate carriages at the initial collection stations, not at the places of gathering.

Deportation started on 14 June at 3 a.m. Since the majority of deportees lived in rural areas, the deportation operation groups would get in touch with the local activists and would determine the place of residence of the families who had to be deported. After that the group would break into the house, the head of the group would check the constitution of the family and then would start the search “for guns”. After the search, the deportees were explained that under the ruling of the government they would be taken to “other parts of the Soviet Union”. If anyone tried to escape, they were shot. One of the main objectives of deportation was to provide the regions of Siberia and northern USSR with free labour force. Therefore, under the instruction of Serov, the deported were allowed to take no more than 100 kilos of their personal belongings: clothes, footwear, utensils, bedding, food, for the inhabitants of rural areas – axes, saws and other small things. Everything depended on the favour of the deportation operation group and local collaborators. Although according to the deportees the details differ a bit, the NKVD people and collaborators were inhuman everywhere.

The archive documents of the convoy army prove how busy were the gathering points (such as the station of Naujoji Vilnia) where the echelons were coming from primary collection stations from all Lithuania. There the head of the convoy would “swap the special contingent” and would form the “homogeneous” echelons of “A group” and “B group”. The reformed echelons were sent to the depth of the USSR, to the points of destination.

Number of deportees. The number of the deportees of the operation of 1941 was established comparing the data of two independent types of archives, which will be called “echelon” and “distribution”. The alphabetical list of the deportees was also based on these documents, however the precision of the alphabetical list is only about 90%. The “echelon” number of deportees from each deportation region and the number of the deportees brought to each region of distribution were calculated by adding the numbers of the deported “contingent” from respective echelons. That was possible to do as the catalogue of almost all echelons, which came from the “deportation zone” during the operation of 1941, was compiled. The data of “distribution” was taken from the territorial NKVD and UNKVD reports on the distribution and accommodation of the arriving deportees. The reports, which date back to September as well as September-October 1941 report with reference²⁵ prepared by the central OTSP of NKVD GULAG invoking on local reports, were relied on most of all. Both of these documents contain a lot of mistakes, which later occurred in the

²⁴ Russian national war archive (further – RNWA), f. 18444, ap. 2, b. 264, l. 152–154, 156.

²⁵ ARFG, f. 9479, ap. 1, b. 87, l. 199–200 verst., 202–204, 206–208, 209–213, 220–223, 225–230, 238. Ibid., l. 15–20, 224.

OTSP summaries and in the contemporary works of authors. All this happened due to the fact that NKVD qualitative data was not evaluated critically enough.

The number of the deportees of all echelons is practically known, convoy documentation was found in some echelons with the names of deportees²⁶. There were 17 echelons deported from Lithuania: 11 echelons with deportees (“B group”), 4 echelons with the detained (“A group”) and 2 echelons with criminal convicts. Out of 11 “B group” echelons 8 were deported to the region of Altai, 1 – to the region of Novosibirsk, 1 – to Komia ASSR and 1 – to the region of Gurjec in Kazakhstan. Out of 4 “A group” echelons 3 were sent to the war-prisoners’ camp in Starobelsk (2 of them were later transferred to Kraslag), 1 – to the war-prisoners’ camp of Juchnov. Both echelons with criminal convicts were sent to the station of Medvezja Gora in Karelia–Finland ASSR – to the concentration camp of the White and Baltic Sea channel (Belbaltlag). There are lists of names of 4 out of 11 echelons with the exiled and 2 out of 4 echelons with the detained from “A group” in the fond archives of 240 and 260 convoy squads.

Among echelons, sent from war-prisoners’ camps to forced labour camps of GULAG, an important echelon was sent from the camp of Juchnov to the dock of Dudinka (Norillag). The prisoners of this echelon were the officers of the Baltic country armies. 256 of them were the officers of the Lithuanian army. The list of officer names deported by this echelon was found in the archive fond of 236 convoy squad²⁷.

Analysing the regional squad “echelon” and “distribution” data differences it is important to take into consideration that only the distribution point and regions are known of many echelons recorded in the catalogue, whereas factual places of destination could have been different when transferring the echelons on their way to another point of destination. It could have happened that some echelons could have been recorded in the ordinary Distribution summaries of the department only “by force of habit”, since they were sent (or only intended to be sent) but did not make it to the point of destination in reality (for example due to the 22 May 1941 was actions). On the other hand, it could have happened that the NKVD/UNKVD of the distribution place correctly indicated the number of the deportees who arrived in their reports; however, they could have made a mistake indicating the deportation regions of one or other deportee groups.

Most people from Lithuanian SSR were deported to the region of Altai, fewer to the region of Novosibirsk, Kazakhstan and Komia ASSR. Besides, the “echelon” and “distribution” data of the latter regions is the same. Also, under the 11 September 1941 report of Kazakh SSR NKVD the indicated region of deportation, from which 488 prostitutes were deported to the region of Gurjev, is not Lithuania but all the Baltic Republics. Later, in October 1941 report of OTSP all the

²⁶ A. E. Gur’janov, “Masštaby deportacii naselenija v glub’ SSR v mae-ijune 1941 g.”, *Istoričeskie sborniki “Memoriala”*, *vypusk 1: Repressii protiv poliakov i pol’skich graždan*, Moskva: Zven’ja, 1997, s. 137–175.

deportees from the Baltic States in Kazakhstan were mechanically added to the deportees from Latvia, therefore the total number of deportees from Lithuania reduced by 488 people. The deportation region of this group is known from the echelon documents, which are in the fond of 226 convoy squad²⁸.

The difference in the “echelon” and “distribution” data on deportees from Lithuania to the region of Altai and Novosibirsk is almost the same (some 2 thousand people), just with the different symbol. Maybe a part of echelons from Lithuania were at first sent to the region of Altai but in reality the deported were detrained earlier, in the region of Novosibirsk.

There isn't a single person from Lithuania deported to the region of Krasnojarsk or the one who crossed it according to the record of echelons. 164 deportees are mentioned in the report of Krasnojarsk region UNKVD report²², they could have arrived there with those “heads of the families” who were transferred from Starobelsk war-prisoners' camp to Krasnojarsk camp (Kraslag), or as a part of one echelon (a few carriages), appointed to the region of Novosibirsk or Altai but were presumably transferred to the region of Krasnojarsk.

The “distribution” number of Lithuanian deportees – 13 170 people – more or less corresponds to the “echelon” number – 12 832 people (having in mind that people would die on the way). The number of detained is added together with the ones who were sent to war-prison camps and criminals who were taken to forced labour camps – 3425 + 1238 = 4663 people. Our total “echelon” number of all the categories of the repressed after the deportation operation in Lithuania is 17501 people (Gladkov's report indicated the deportation of 17 485 people). The total number of people deported from Lithuania on 14-18 June would amount to at least 18 500 people if we consider the fact that a part of echelons did not reach the points of destination and a big group of prisoners was taken at the same time to the prisons of Gorkij and Sol-Ileck.

Some 23 thousand Lithuanian inhabitants were exiled or deported to camps during the period of 1939–1941²⁹. The deportees were not distributed according to nationality; all were attributed to the category of “deportees from Lithuania”. As soon as the war started the national composition of deportees was corrected a bit.

Most deportees were farmers - 29,8% and people working at home (family members of different social standing and of the working age) - 14,3%, then teachers - 5,2% civil servants –

²⁷ , f. 18444, ap. 2, b. 420, l. 2, 102–129, 130–143.

²⁸ ARFG, f. 9479, ap. 1, b. 87, l. 202–204;

Ibid., l. 15–20; RNWA, f. 39398, ap. 2, b. 2, l. 174–224.

²⁹There were some 4 thousand Poles among them (out of them 573 were prisoners), some 1.3 thousand Jews (the number of prisoners is unknown. But it was likely to be some 300 prisoners), some 500 Russians, Belorussians, Germans, Latvians (115 prisoners). According to the data of the mutual help news office, some 3328 were Polish people among the detainees of 1941. However, one might guess that due to the conditions of occupation of that time some Jews happened to appear on the record as Poles (especially war refugees).

5,0%, workers - 3,1%. The social standing of men separated from their families and deported is as follows: civil servants – 15,8%, farmers – 14,0%, police officials - 11,1%, officers - 10,5%, workers – 7,5%.

Destiny of deportees. On 30 July 1941 Polish government (in London) and the Soviet Union concluded a treaty under which the amnesty of Polish citizens was declared on 12 August. 389 041 former citizen of Poland were released from the places of imprisonment or deportation³⁰. Refugees from former Poland (Poles and Jews) who were detained and deported together with Lithuanians were also released³¹. When the number of Jewish and Polish prisoners reduced, since September 1941 Lithuanians made a bigger part of deportees from Lithuania than during the first days of deportation.

The biggest group of deportees was in the region of Altai – 7 232 people, or 58,6% of all the deportees. People deported to the region of Altai were almost from all the regions of Lithuania but mainly from Kaunas, Siauliai, Rokiskis. In 1942 2 795 deportees, mostly women with small children were taken to the north of Jakutia, the islands of the river Lena mouth. People from Lithuania were deported to the woods of Komia (deportees from Samogitia – Raseiniai, Telsiai, Taurage and Kretinga Counties were taken to Komia) (1468 people or 11.9%). In the winter and spring of 1940 people from the eastern regions of Lithuania annexed by the Soviet Union were taken to Kazakh, whereas women once registered in police records as prostitutes were deported there on 14 June 1941. The further destiny of 74% of these deportees is unknown. Individual families were deported to the regions of Krasnojarsk and Novosibirsk, whereas the places of deportation of 1596 people remained unidentified.

After the war, exhausted with hunger and wearing work, trying to save themselves and their relatives from death, the deportees were trying to escape to Lithuania by any possible means. There were special refugee hunting groups waiting on the way home, in Lithuania they were persecuted by Soviet security structures. More than a third of refugees were caught and imprisoned for three years, and later brought back to the place of deportation. As we might see from the chart, the majority of refugees were from Komia – 27.9%, however the percentage of the caught refugees there is also the biggest – 43.5%.

The alphabetical list shows the data on the death rate of deportees according to the age. The highest death rate was recorded among the elderly people, infants and children up to 5 years. It should be emphasized that the death rate of deportees at the age of 40-45 was higher than among other age groups. That happened maybe due to the fact that people of that age had children and old parents, who they had to support sacrificing their own health. Local NKVD groups robbed the

³⁰Kokurin A.I. Evakuacija zaključennyh... S. 6.

deportees of the region of Altai one more time. They would collect the money, cameras and other luxury items. Some 7.5 thousand Lithuanian deportees at Bijsk and Barnaule were distributed to the construction sites and factories. The deportee memories about the life there vary a lot. Even the documents of NKVD note, “the living conditions of special deportees in each region were very different”³². The majority of deportees were accommodated in common barracks and summer houses which were meant only for living in the summer. A lot of children were ill and died due to unsanitary conditions, measles epidemic, and famine. According to deportee Vederaitė, “dysentery and malaria began spreading [...] Half of the people died [...]. A lot of small children died. Almost every day we were burying someone”³³. It couldn't have been otherwise. Deportees were robbed a couple of times, left with no property, they had to do with a meagre bread ration which was not always given (it was baked from flour and chaff). And that was not the end of suffering. In June 1942 half of Lithuanians from Altai were brought to Jakutia ASSR for a real death. 2785 names of Lithuanians deported there are known. After 15 years and later only 1157 people returned to Lithuania³⁴.

Lithuanian deportees were distributed to the island of Tit Arai (at the mouth of the river Lena), the Bykov peninsula (near the Laptev sea), the mouth of the river Jana and elsewhere. It was very difficult to survive in tundra for Lithuanians. Deportee Svitkauskas remembers, “We could not afford to buy these food products which were given on the ration card. We did not earn anything. We would get our bread ration but it wasn't even baked everyday. [...] The famine started. Not only the old but also the young started dying.”³⁵.

Almost 4 thousand deportees were settled in the region of Novosibirsk; about 40% of them were children. They had to face all the same difficulties of deportation as the adults did. One tenth of the deportees were men, the majority of them were elderly people. Women had to carry the burden of keeping the family.

The majority of deportees did not live for a long time in one place of residence. NKVD people not only were moving them to other places a thousand kilometres away (for example from Altai to Jakutia) but also would move them in the district or region itself. That would make the life of deportees even more difficult and there were many graves in all the places of deportation. Meanwhile the labour and special deportee department of GULAG did not register the fluctuation in number of deportees due to their death, also due to the fact that the

³¹This could confirm that more people were deported than the documents recorded. According to NKVD, the data on prisoner distribution was compiled in September 1941 when the number of deportees could have changed a lot.

³²Report of the head of USSR NKVD Altai region council Vološenka on 15 September 1941, Deportation of Lithuanian inhabitants 1941, 1945-1952. P. 77.

³³Vederaitė A. Kaip jie mus vežė... P. 103.

³⁴Žr.: Lietuvos gyventojų genocidas. T. 1 . P. 1 –781.

³⁵Svitkauskas K. Laimės vaikai... P. 41 –42.

number of deportees increased since 863 children were born and 24 people came to their relatives voluntarily. At the places of deportation they were registered. Also, the same rules applied to those who came voluntarily as to the deportees. On 14-19 June 1941 under the lists of NKVD 1274 people were deported to Bellag (Karelia) and Oneglag³⁶ (the region of Archangelsk) from Lithuania. Little is known about what happened to these people after that. After the war began many camps (and the above mentioned ones) were removed, whereas the prisoners were forced to go by foot for a couple of hundred kilometres to other camps. Hundreds of them did not make it to the point of destination and died on the way.

More is known about the men who were separated from their families. At first they were taken to war-prisoners' camps of Starobelsk and Juchnov (Lithuanian soldiers were imprisoned there). After the war began Lithuanians from Starobelsk were distributed to different camps - Carlag, Vorkutlag (the region of Koma), Siblag (the region of Kemerov), Sevurallag (the former Sverdlovsk region) and Kraslag (the region of Krasnoyarsk, Resiotai town).

The destiny of soldiers who were deported to Juchonov camp on 19 June 1941 was slightly different. According to NKVD documents, the echelon was driving 256 people to the station of Babynin (near the camp of Juchnov), however, the witnesses claim (the record of the imprisoned soldiers is being referred to) that about 340 soldiers were imprisoned (14 more were added at Kraslag). The mutual assistance news office established that 426 soldiers were deported (some of them could have been placed on other echelons or Vilnius prison at first). When the war began Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian soldiers (about 1000 soldiers) imprisoned at Juchonov camp were deported to Siberia. On 15 July 1941 Lithuanian soldiers were taken to Kraslag. From that place Lithuanian officers on 28 June were crammed into barge and deported to Dudnik. On 10 August they were deported to Norilsk camp (7th section of the camp). The new prisoners received "deportee clothing, a mattress sheet, a cover, a wooden spoon and a wooden bowl"³⁷. The prisoners worked in the district of Norilsk factories. Worn Lithuanian soldiers started dying soon. Senior officers: 14 Lithuanians, 13 Latvians and 15 Estonians were imprisoned for "improvement courses" further north near Norilsk, at the lake of Lama. The annihilation of the Lithuanian army, which started in 1940, was completed at the camps of Norilsk.

Imprisoned Lithuanians were annihilated more rapidly in the winter of 1942. The majority of Lithuanians imprisoned at the camps or prisons of the Soviet Union in 1941 were still under formal investigation, no article of the Soviet Russia BK was applied to them. These formalities

³⁶Under the project of 14 June 1941 Lithuanians had to be deported to Usollag, Latvians to Bellag and Oneglag (ref: Deportation of the inhabitants of Lithuania in 1941, 1945-1952 p.36). The record of 20 October 1941 says something different: Latvians had to be deported to Ussolag, Lithuanians – to Bellag and Oneglag (ref: the same P.90).

³⁷Navaitis A. Lietuvos kariai Norilsko lageriuose... P. 282.

were carried out in the winter of 1941 – 1942. The suffering of Lithuanians imprisoned far away increased when examinations began.

The files were sent to the special meeting of USSR NKVD. All the prisoners were accused under the chapters of Article 58 and sentenced in absentia for 5-25 years of imprisonment; some of them received a death penalty and were shot.

The results of physical annihilation of prisoners were evident already in 1942. According to NKVD in 1940 35.6% of the prisoners were fit for hard work, 25.2% for medium, 15.6% were fit for easy work and 23.6% were handicapped. In 1942 the prisoners of all these categories were respectively 19.2 %, 17 %, 38.2 % and 25.5 %³⁸.

Most often healthy people were deported to camps. They would fall into all the categories in a year or two and only a few survived in camps during 1941 – 1944. During the 3 years more than 4 million people were imprisoned in camps (2.3 million at the beginning of the war, on 1 July 1944 – 1,2 million prisoners)³⁹, however more than a fourth rests in a hundreds of graveyards of camps and colonies of GULAG⁴⁰. NKVD documents do not indicate how many of those were Lithuanians. Although the exiled were fed like the prisoners during the war, there were seldom cases of death from pellagra. They could eat nettles, mushrooms, berries, whereas the prisoners did not have such a possibility⁴¹.

Also, it should be mentioned that camp and prison sanitary units would write fictitious death certificates. In this way the real reasons of death were being hidden (for example the prisoners tortured by NKVD). Also, the camp or a prison tried not to exceed the established average death rate a lot. For example, in 1941 the average death rate in prisons was 0,21 %, in 1942 – 1 %, in 1943 – 0,8 %⁴², however the percentage means that thousands of people were killed and at firstly these were Lithuanians (as well as Latvians and Estonians). According to the NKVD established formulas of human resistance, almost one fifth of the people who died in prisons had been imprisoned for less than a month⁴³. The majority would die in less than a year in NKVD prisons. Lithuanians would be taken to the prisons with the harshest conditions. In 1942 the recorded prisoner death rate in official NKVD documents was ten times bigger than in 1940. The majority of prisoners taken to camps on 14-18 June 1941 were deported to the camps of Krasnojarsk (33.5%), out of this number 425 officers were deported to Norillag, 1990 men separated from their families -

³⁸The same reference. L. 16.

³⁹The same reference. P. 8.

⁴⁰There were 56 big camps and 69 colonies, which consisted of 910 smaller camps (camp points) and 424 colonies. Look: The same reference. L. 3.

⁴¹Manuscript of Šerėnas memoirs. T. 2. P. 3 // look: Archive of Lithuanian research center.

⁴²Prisoner morbidity and death rate survey of 1941 – 1945 compiled by the head of the USSR NKVD prisoner council Nikolskij, ARFG. F. 9413. Ap. 1. B. 73. L. 55, 100.

⁴³Report of the USSR MVD medical colonel of prisoner council sanitary department Dostovalov on 17 May 1946, the same reference. L. 130.

to Resiotai camp, mostly civil servants, teachers, police officers, etc. The death rate of Lithuanians in these camps amounted to 58,5% (in Norillag - 45,0%, in Resiotai - 61,7%). Higher death rate was recorded in the Molotov region camp Usollag - 71,6 %. The death rate of people deported before the USSR-German war from Lithuania to the camps in the regions of Archangelsk, Cikalov, Gorkij, Vologda, Kazakh and Komia was lower – 27.5%. The burial places of Lithuanian prisoners who died in 1941-1944 still remain unknown.

When USSR NKVD region and district councils were carrying out the search plans for nationalist, files for Lithuanian deportees were compiled. In 1944 they made up 40% of all the Lithuanians who were imprisoned. After the imprisonment period was over, very few came back to Lithuania. In 1941 the prisoners who remained alive were forced to join the deportees. Mostly men separated from their families were in the group of 3 915 people deported to camps, 54.5% of them died in camps. In 1941-1945 about 30% of all Lithuanian prisoners deported in 1940-1941 or 70% died at the places of imprisonment.