

DEPORTATIONS OF THE POPULATION IN 1944-1953

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INTRODUCTION.

It is often doubted whether a phenomenon like Soviet or Communist genocide in general occurred, and if it did, whether it can be applied for naming certain outcomes of terror directed against the Lithuanian nation. After all, unlike in Holocaust, there was no total nation annihilation conducted, no towns or villages were left without Lithuanian inhabitants, etc. Yet it can certainly be claimed that the occurrence of Genocide concept in the Lithuanian history was hardly accidental.

Genocide concept in the Lithuanian history. The term “genocide” has appeared in the Lithuanian historiography rather recently, therefore, its usage varies to a great extent. One might say that there exist different positions substantiating or disproving the usage of this term for naming various methods of human annihilation or different groups of people. On the other hand, the term used internationally, coined by Prof. R. Lemkin and validated in the Convention on the Genocide, is rather precisely defined: “Genocide means killing or isolation of a national, religious or racial group from public life, committed with intent to destroy or discriminate this group.” The Lithuanian historiography, political science and the emigration started applying the term of “genocide” quite early, that is, almost immediately after the publishing of R. Lemkin’s book “Axis Rule in Occupied Europe” in 1946 and the subscription of the Convention on the Genocide on 09 December 1948. Actually, the politicians were the first to master this concept. As early as on 20 October 1948, Prof. M. Krupavičius, Chairman of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania (hereinafter – SCLL), A. Rei, Chairman of the National Council of Estonia, and Bishop J. Rancans, President of the Central Council of Latvia, among others contacted Dr. H. Evatt, President of the Third Assembly of the United Nations, with the statement that “Soviet occupation in-line with Soviet practice of genocide methods, threatens the existence of the Baltic nations”. Two courses of genocide policy were identified. These were systematic physical extermination of people, and cultural and moral annihilation. Since then, the SCLL would annually send similar, perhaps more detailed declarations to the United Nations. The declarations specified the purpose of the Soviet genocide policy (to exterminate autochthones within a short time), its methods (deportations, collectivisation, killing) and results (according to the data of the SCLL, 520,000 people were annihilated within 1941-1949).

The term “genocide” was already used in K. Pelėkis’ book “Genocide. Threefold Tragedy of the Lithuanians” published in West Germany in 1949. In fact, this concept was used for defining the outcomes of both Nazi and Soviet occupations. Since the author did not elaborate on defining the usage of “genocide” term, it is understood that he attributed all losses suffered by the Lithuanian population in 1940-1949 to the genocide outcome. These included deportations, arrests and killing of Lithuanians in 1940-1941, their repatriation to Germany in 1941; Jewish annihilation conducted during the Nazi occupation, victims of concentration camps and killings in Lithuania, those transported to Germany for forced labour, expatriating from Lithuania in 1944 because of political reasons and from Klaipėda Region, victims of mass deportations, military and labour mobilisation; and Polish repatriation.

The term “genocide” was used in relation to the Baltic history for the first time in the books (by A. Kaelas, A. Svabe) published in Stockholm in 1950-1952. Dr. D. Krivickas used “genocide” term in his publication of 1952 already as a concept acknowledged on the international level. It was likewise used by Jonas Rimašauskas in his 1956 article for the Encyclopaedia Lituanica: “The genocide in Lithuania (...) as the annihilation of an ethnical group involved arrests, imprisonment, deportations and killing of the local population”. After the revision of the concept into the “Bolshevik and Russian genocide”, the number of victims stands at 350 to 400 thousand killed or deported persons and “the victims of the Nazi

occupation”, including killed Jewish people, and Lithuanians imprisoned in concentration camps, relocated for forced labour and killed. Meanwhile, J. Rimašauskas already maintains that “Soviet and Nazi genocide until 1955 claimed about 800,000 lives of those who were murdered, deported, killed in guerrilla fights and expatriated by any means from the country (refugees to Germany and repatriates to Poland)”. Thus, it was merely a slight digression from the stance of K. Pelėkis expressed in 1949, which used “genocide” term a bit imprecisely.

Starting from 1969, when the Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Science publicised D. Jasaitis’ article “Nationalist and Communist Genocide in Lithuania”, the attitude, which gradually starts to prevail in the writings published in the exile, is that “the methods of the Soviet and the Nazi genocide are similar and both include subjugation, tortures, forced labour, deportations and mass killing”.

The last major research book of the emigration, “Soviet Genocide in Lithuania” (1980) by J. Pajaujas–Javis, featured and disclosed the range of earlier attitudes held by the emigration towards the “Soviet genocide”. After labelling the same phenomenon as the “KGB genocide”, A. Damušis in 1987 provided the emigration with the calculation of losses suffered by the Lithuanian population (471,175 people). In this instance, the victims of the “Soviet genocide” and “Nazi holocaust” were separated from the emigrants and the repatriates, who were referred to as population losses only.

In general, Lithuanian historiography of Soviet times did not use the term of “genocide” very widely. Even the definition of the concept in an encyclopaedia mentioned “the extermination of entire population groups on the racial, national or religious grounds (...). The genocide was carried out in respect of the Jewish and the Slavs during the Second World War, while at the time being it mainly occurs in Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa and during the US attacks in Vietnam”. Therefore, the transition period of 1989-1991 when the historical positions of Lithuanian and emigration historiography started merging, was marked out by the absence of “genocide” term. It was referred to as “mass repressions”, “deformations of Socialist law enforcement”, “military suppression”, “red terror”, etc. When this period ended, the historians indulged into the unavoidable development of factographic historiography, which was determined by the access to the new historical sources.

One might say that the year 1992 marks the beginning of the broader usage of the “genocide” term in the historiography, however, it still was limited to the description of methods used in the genocidal policy. As one historian put it, “the deportations (...) were the manifestation of national genocidal policy conducted by the Soviet government”, whereas “genocide victims were thousands of men, women and children who never returned from their exile”. The definition of “genocide” is not commented in detail (everything seems said in the International Convention of 1948), but the authors obviously add some different quality to the term. Genocide here is used interchangeably with the phrase “illegal mass repressions” or word “terror”. The term approached its meaning after its inclusion into a political dictionary. This became apparent on 09 April 1992, when the Law on the Responsibility for the Genocide of the Lithuanian Population was adopted. The Law stated that “The killing or torture of Lithuanian people, and the deportations of the Lithuanian inhabitants, carried out in Lithuania during the period of the Nazi or USSR occupation and annexation, meet the attributes of a genocide crime set forth in the international legal standards”.

During the Conference of 1993 called “The Genocide of Lithuanian People During the Nazi and the Soviet Occupations”, the very range of genocide themes such as genocide concept and development, and the methods of genocide execution, were introduced rather broadly for the first time. However, the Conference addressed not only the “physical genocide”. F.Kuzmickas defines main aspects and principal approaches of the “spiritual genocide” (widely introduced Communist ideology, complemented by Russification, restrictions of religion and the demolition of historical monuments), as well as the isolation of the nation from the contemporary world and its culture. In principal, this is “ethnocide”, that is, the actions aimed at the annihilation of culture (in part or in whole). Unfortunately, this concept was not

contained in the Convention on the Genocide. Yet a few years later, F. Kuzmickas continued on shaping the perception of the “spiritual genocide” since it “is carried out in-line with the physical genocide or is the continuation of the latter, also often its tool”, as well as “the outcome of the Sovietisation”.

It can be claimed that the term of “genocide” has fully established itself in the Lithuanian historiography within the last five years. Nevertheless, its definition (concept) has not come close enough to the definition approved by the International Convention. It has been observed that the initial definition, which appeared in the R. Lemkin’s book “Axis Rule in Occupied Europe” (1946) and based on which the first project of genocide definition was drafted, is still widely used. This definition also includes “the extermination of political groups” and cultural genocide (ethnocide). Meanwhile, “genocide” like every other concept requires clear-cut and seemingly consistent usage. Even if that is impossible to implement today, we can console ourselves thinking that “during the process of cognition, not only the cognition object changes but also does its image” (depending on the available data and raised issues).

Of course, not all victims of Soviet terror may be classified as the genocide victims. Those who fought for the restoration of the Independence of Lithuania with arms or unarmed are classified as the victims of either political terror or the Second Independence War (guerrilla war) that took place in the 20th century. Yet one of the methods used in the Soviet terror, namely, deportations, best comply with one of genocide execution approaches.

I. Mechanism of Deportations.

As soon as the second Soviet occupation started, and passive and active resistance of the Lithuanian nation occurred, the officials of the NKVD (National Committee of the Interior), the NKGB (National Committee of State Security) and Soviet Prosecutor’s Department put all their efforts to justify the need for mass deportations. First of all, they focused on the measures supposed to suppress the boycott of military mobilisation. Every hiding man armed or unarmed was announced to be a ‘bandit’, whereas their families were called ‘bandit families’. On 20 October 1944, Major-General M. Byčkovskiy, Head of the Border District, proposed elevating terror “to a higher level” and taking to necessary “repression measures in respect of bandit families”. His proposal soon received support. Terror organisers and executors mailed requests to Moscow for sanctioning the initiation of the deportations. One of the first to express his opinion was F. Girko, the Interim Prosecutor of the Lithuanian SSSR, who claimed that “to respond to the present situation we need vehement and decisive measures, that is, deterrents and measures of remorseless suppression (...) so that the members of active bandit families would be repressed (...)”¹.

Just like in 1941, the “anti-Soviet elements” were started to be registered, however, S. Kruglov, the expert of solving the “problem” of Chechens, Ingushians and Crimean Tartars, who arrived on 04 December 1944, urged to employ other “measures of remorseless suppression” for the meantime. He proposed to P. Berya to sanction “the deportations of the active members of armed squads, Motherland traitors and people of German nationality”. Nevertheless, at that time thousands of people were being arrested and physically annihilated, while the farms of the guerrilla families and their supporters were confiscated. Furthermore, the war was not yet over, so the time for mass deportations was hardly auspicious because the deportations could only cause even more severe resistance of the Lithuanians in the rear of the Soviet army.

¹ The Deed of F. Girko, dated 13 November 1944, to the USSR Prosecutor K. Gorshenin and A. Sniečkus, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (b) // Lithuanian Archives of Public Organisations (hereinafter – LVOA). Funds 1771. Folder 7. File 92. Page 42. (This document has been already partly publicised. Rf.: Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 94.)

The Soviets intended first to deport Germans who resided in Lithuania. Since all the Germans who lived in the Soviet Union were deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan already before 1941, the Soviets on 16 December 1944 begun the preparations for the deportation of Lithuanian Germans “despite their social status, business, age and gender”². They also planned to relocate all persons related to the German families but not German by nationality, for example, wives, husbands, adoptees and relatives of the Germans. Thus, people who had relatives in Germany, who taught German or members of Lutheran Church³ found themselves in the lists of those to be deported.

Just before the end of the war, in the mid-April of 1945, the Soviets in the fourteen Lithuanian regions started detaining families to be deported. The very methods of deportation differed little from those employed in 1941: the same deceitful instructions issued by the NKVD and the NKGB, the same lack of control and violence. The entire property of the deportees was seized, whereas they were allowed to bring with them only limited amount of food and clothes. All preparations for the deportation were under the control of Colonel A. Chechev, the Head of the NKVD Prison Department of the Lithuanian SSR.

At the end of April of 1945, the deportees, gathered in the stations of Marijampolė, Kretinga, Šiauliai and Tauragė, were relocated to Kaunas City. On 03 May, their echelon moved from Kaunas to the north, i.e. to the Komi ASSR. When the echelon reached Vologda on 09 May, it turned to the south. Only in June the deportees were finally brought the place of their exile, i.e. Tajikistan (Vahsho River Valley)⁴. According to the official data, 854 people (219 men, 372 women and 263 children) were deported there, although the initial plan was to deport minimum one thousand people (including 313 children). One document mentions 1,048 deported persons⁵. For as little sum as one hundred thousand roubles (this was the payment paid to the echelon supervisor for travel expenses) the cotton plantations have been provided with free labour force for an entire decade. These deportees were classified as German deportees and, therefore, never mentioned in any subsequent reports of the MVD, the MGB or the KGB concerning deportees from Lithuania.

On 24 May 1945, during the session of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (hereinafter - VKP(b) CK), chaired by M. Suslov, it was resolved to request the approval of L. Berya for the organisation of mass deportations, i.e. deporting 50-60 families from each district. In the meantime, according to the preliminary data, the lists of “anti-Soviet” families drafted by the NKVD enlisted 9,603 families (31,696 people). Candidates for new deportations were selected from those lists. Their cases were prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel Burylin, the Head of the Banditry Control Department of the NKVD. After finishing the preparatory work, Colonel-Generals F. Kobulov and A. Apolonov arrived to Vilnius bringing L. Berya’s permission for the deportation of people and signed the instruction of deportation. The deportations lasted as long as 45 days and were carried out in-line with the struggle against the Lithuanian resistance, and the legalisation of hiding men. The deportation was postponed for some families whose hiding men came to the branches of the NKVD for legalisation. Other families from additional lists were deported instead of these.

All units of the NKVD army and all collaborators were involved in the deportation execution and their security. They formed five-fold combatant groups for deportation execution, siege of the deportees’ steadings (the latter groups were called cover groups of operation object), security of deportation route to the railway station (the latter groups were called security

² Order of J. Bartašiūnas and A. Guzevičius of 16 December 1944 // Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 96.

³ Tarasonis V., Bajoriūnas A., Gediminskas D. Lietuvos tremtiniai Tadžikijoje (Lithuanian Deportees in the Tajik SSR). Page 15.

⁴ Ibidem. Pages 17, 21; Grunskis E. Lietuvos gyventojų deportacijos... (Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents...) Page 10.

⁵ *Kairiūkštytė N.* Lietuvos vokiečiai - pirmieji pokario metų tremtiniai (Lithuanian Germans, the First Deportees in the Post-War Period) // Chronicles of the Lithuanian History. Vilnius, 1993. Page 98.

groups of deportee evacuation route), security of railway stations (so-called collection points) and deportee echelons⁶. Deportations were carried out by the officers of both the NKVD and the NKGB as well as the soldiers (all ranks) of the NKVD army (in total 4 people in each group). The collaborators constituted 50-70% of all siege, route and railway station security groups. The deportee echelons were secured by only the NKVD army (Regiment No. 211 of railway security).

383 families consisting of 1,392 people (the final report reduced the family number to 382, while the deportee number to 1,389)⁷ were deported from the districts of Alytus, Vilnius, Trakai, Utena, Švenčionys, Zarasai and Ukmergė on 17 July.

365 families consisting of 1,294 people (the final report increased the family number to 366, while the deportee number to 1,343)⁸ were deported from the districts of Biržai, Kaunas, Kėdainiai, Mažeikiai, Panevėžys, Raseiniai, Telšiai, Šiauliai and Rokiškis on 24 July.

Deportations were also carried out on 15 August (from the districts of Alytus and Trakai), and on 30-31 August (from the districts of Biržai, Rokiškis, etc.). After the deportation of 152 people from the districts of Panevėžys and Švenčionys on 01-03 September, the deportations were cancelled.

The NKVD officers faced certain resistance for the first time. On 24 July, during the deportation process in Šiauliai district, 14 guerrillas and one NKVD officer were killed. A farm of a deportee was burnt in Beržiniai Village, Pakruojis county, while J. Šiksnyš⁹, who tried to escape, was shot in Pataniškiai Village, Šiauliai county. The NKVD officers who were shooting all running people in Biržai district killed a shepherdess of some 13-14 years, who was supposedly taken for a family member of the deportee¹⁰.

Now local collaborators (including local inhabitants), first secretaries of the district committees of the LKP(b), chairmen of executive committees and the agents of the People's Commissar Board (hereinafter – LKT) actively participated in the drafting of deportee lists and deportation execution. The latter were mostly concerned with the arrangement of deportee robbing and utilisation of the seized property (livestock, grain, etc.), however, they used to check deportee lists together with the NKVD soldiers in the stations.

During these deportations it was typical to exile people who were the members of guerrilla families and their supporters, while their farms (with few exceptions) were confiscated before the deportation. Ridiculous was the demagogic permission to take with them “up to 1.5 ton of their belongings” and the surprise of K. Didžiulis, the agent of the LKT, at the fact that “as a rule, all relocated families had very small amount of valuables and products, therefore, they did not take much with them”¹¹. The Communist figures were well-aware of what doom awaited these people.

The provided document below shows the numbers of people deported in 1945¹² (see Document 20 in the Annexes).

⁶ The Plan of the Colonel Veselov, Head of Kaunas Operational Sector of the NKVD and the NKGB, dated 08 July 1945 // Archives of the Ministry of the Interior (hereinafter – VRMA). Funds 139. Folder 1. File 6. Pages 2-3.

⁷ Report to L. Berya, V. Merkulov, B. Kobulova, M. Suslova and A. Sniečkus concerning the developments of the deportations in the operational sectors of Utena and Vilnius // Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 10. File 3/7. Page 98.

⁸ Ibidem. Page 121.

⁹ Ibidem. Page 122.

¹⁰ Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 117.

¹¹ Ibidem. Page 108.

¹² Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 10. File 13/1. Page 49.

CERTIFICATE
on the number of bandit families
deported beyond the boundaries of the Lithuanian SSR

Districts	July		August		September		Total in 1945	
	Number of families	Family members	Number of families	Family members	Number of families	Family members	Number of families	Family members
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Alytus	88	317	103	374	-	-	191	691
2. Biržai	24	72	12	48	-	-	26	120
3. Vilnius	33	127	-	-	-	-	33	127
4. Zarasai	42	148	12	34	-	-	54	182
5. Kaunas	69	222	-	-	-	-	69	222
6. Kėdainiai	29	101	3	18	-	-	32	119
7. Mažeikiai	39	139	-	-	-	-	39	139
8. Panevėžys	52	189	-	-	31	103	83	292
9. Raseiniai	41	168	3	17	-	-	44	107
10. Telšiai	29	107	-	-	-	-	29	107
11. Trakai	44	180	33	115	-	-	77	295
12. Ukmergė	55	204	16	62	-	-	71	266
13. Utena	47	162	7	20	-	-	54	182
14. Šiauliai	53	179	-	-	-	-	53	179
15. Švenčionys	73	251	-	-	14	49	87	300
16. Kretinga	-	-	24	88	-	-	24	88
17. Lazdijai	-	-	32	134	-	-	32	134
18. Marijampolė	-	-	77	396	-	-	77	396
19. Rokiškis	30	166	17	86	-	-	47	252
20. Joniškis	-	-	2	7	-	-	2	7
21. Tauragė	-	-	30	76	-	-	30	76
22. Šakiai	-	-	40	120	-	-	40	120
<i>Total:</i>	748	2,732	411	1,595	45	152	1,204	4,479

Lieutenant-Colonel, Head of the NKVD Banditry Control Department of the Lithuanian SSR
(Burylin) (Signature)

02 February 1946

However, the above document is not very accurate either. As usually, the NKVD officers did not know how many people were deported in fact. One document says that from Kėdainiai district on 17 July there were deported 32 families, whereas another mentions 29 families. One document specifies that 268 people were deported from Raseiniai district, while the other mentions 169 people instead. According to one source, 148 families and 493 people were deported on 15 August from the districts of Alytus and Trakai, meanwhile, a document submitted earlier indicates 136 families and 489 deportees. According to yet other documents, the number of deported families may be increased by 26, while the number of deportees by 5 people¹³.

¹³ Presumably the accuracy of the NKVD documents stands at 98% only. Rf.: Ibidem. Funds 18. File 2/81. Pages 160, 163; Funds 10. File 2/29. Page 188. There also exist other differences between documents: 35 families instead of 33 families were deported from Vilnius district, 75 families instead of 73 families were deported from Švenčionys district. Rf.: Certificate issued by Major-General Kaparalov on 03 August 1950 // Ibidem. File 5/51 (306). Pages 42-13.

The NKVD reports included deportations of neither German nor individual families. Following the Resolution No. 326 (the document is classified as “wire decision”) of the USSR NKVD, dated 16 June 1945, the total of 6,320 people¹⁴ (excluding Germans) were deported to the Komi ASSR, Molotov (now Perm) and Sverdlovsk regions.

Just because the other terror method, i.e. that of imprisonment and relocation of the Lithuanians to the extermination camps (supposedly for concluding the cases), surpassed the deportations, they only were renewed at the beginning of 1946. Until then, preparatory activities had been conducted. On 02 February, 573 families (consisting of 1,305 adults and 561 children) were selected from 907 proposed for deportation in all districts. As well as in 1945, the majority of families had no property anymore, and their farms had been confiscated.

When the preparatory activities were accomplished, Major-General J. Bartašiūnas, the People’s Commissar of the Interior, on 15 February 1946, issued the first and the last public order: “To arrest and deport the families of bandits and bourgeois nationalist figures, who failed to submit to the institutions of the People’s Commissariat of the Interior (...)”¹⁵.

The NKVD operated in a very close cooperation with the LKT of the Lithuanian SSR and the Central Committee of the LKP(b). They had division of roles: ones collected and deported the deportees, while the others confiscated and distributed their property remaining behind.

The deportations were arranged in four districts (those of Alytus, Marijampolė, Lazdijai and Tauragė) on 18-21 February 1946. The lists of families proposed for deportation expanded thrice or four-fold within two weeks (02-17 February) here. The total of 424 families (1,713 people)¹⁶ were crammed into the echelons. After adding the individual deported families, the total of deportees in 1946 sums up to 501 families (2,082 people)¹⁷, while 16,182 people were transported to the concentration camps.

Small-scale deportations were carried out in Lithuania in 1946-1947. Only imprisoned people were relocated to a larger extent. No documents, verifying the deportations of the Lithuanians to other locations than Molotov (now Perm), Sverdlovsk and Tumen regions as well as Komi ASSR and Tajik SSSR, were detected. However, 1,715 Lithuanian families (5,201 people)¹⁸ (excluding those deported in Winter of 1947-1948) were settled in the said exile locations on 01 February 1948.

On 10 and 18 December 1946, S. Kruglov, Minister of the Interior of the USSR, signed the Directive No. 5672 and Order No. 001164¹⁹ concerning the preparation of cases (for deportations) for the families of the Lithuanian guerrillas and other “anti-Soviet elements”, however, mass deportations started only in 1947, when the MGB took over a number of the MVD functions.

On 29 September 1947, the Cabinet Council of the USSR adopted the Resolution for the deportation of identified families of the guerrillas and their supporters to the remote regions of

¹⁴ Report of the USSR MGB on the work conducted with special deportees in 1950 // State Archive of the Russian Federation (hereinafter – RFVA). Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 641. Page 367.

¹⁵ Ibidem. Funds 3. File 15/22. Page 3.

¹⁶ 149 families, 647 people in Alytus district, respectively 114 and 452 in Marijampolė district, 66 and 277 in Lazdijai district, 95 and 364 in Tauragė district. Rf.: Report of J. Bartašiūnas on 23 February 1946 to V. Riasnoy, Deputy People’s Commissar of the Interior of the USRS, and A. Leontyev, the Head of Senior Board of the Banditry Control Department // Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 128.

¹⁷ Certificate issued on 14 April 1953 by Lieutenant-General Zhukov, the Head of the 8th Department of the 1st Senior Board of the USRS MVD // Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 3. File 56/43. Volume 1. Page 247.

¹⁸ RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 435. Page 55. Other deportees were already dead. The certificate of the USSR MVD on the birth rate and mortality of the special deportee’s children up to 16 years of age indicates 880 Lithuanian children who died and 46 children who were born in exile. Rf.: Ibidem. File 436, Pages 65-66.

¹⁹ Ibidem. File 641. Pages 65-66.

the USSR. For the enforcement of this Resolution, Colonel-General V. Abakumov, the Minister of National Security of the USSR, on 16 October 1947 subscribed a Decree concerning the deportation of the aforementioned families. Eager voices were raised in the bureau of the Central Committee of the LKR(b). On 12 December, the bureau established that “repressive measures (deportations) were used indecisively” in response to the guerrilla attacks and in respect of resistance supporters. Mass deportations started on the very same day.

In December 1947, there were deported 736 families (i.e. 2,782 people²⁰, while in January-February of 1948, they deported 284 families (1,134 people)²¹. All districts of Lithuania suffered losses. From 129 to 363 people were deported from each of them²². Before 15 April 1948, the number of deported families reached 1,022 (3,938 deportees)²³. 12,304 people (the number though does not exceed 10,499 in any of the deportation reports of 1945-1952) were deported within two and a half years before the major deportation of 1948. Although the struggle with resistance movement and its supporters served as the pretext for the deportations, subsequent documents single out 3,785 (1,678 in 1945; 2,107 in 1947-1948) so-called kulaks²⁴. It is easy to arrive at a conclusion that in 1947-1948 the majority of people selected for deportation were chosen not because of supporting the resistance movement, but in order to implement the postulate of the Communist ideology, i.e. “to liquidate the kulaks as the class” (that is to annihilate well-off peasants²⁵). The perception of property and labour of these peasants was not in-line with the Communist dogmas. The said selection principle of the deportees prevailed in 1948-1951, when the Communist reform in agriculture, including forced collectivisation of land, was being conducted in Lithuania, and Lithuanian resistance was not so capable as during the first years. The Soviets achieved the same results in Lithuania as had been achieved in the Soviet Union early in 1930-1933.

The major deportations of the Lithuanians during the period of 1948-1951 were carried out pursuant to the following Resolutions of the Cabinet Council of the USSR: No. 447-160-ss dated 21 February 1948, No. 390-138-ss dated 29 January 1949, and No. 3309-1568-ss dated 05 September 1951²⁶. The first two deportations were officially targeted at the families of identified guerrillas and hiding persons, killed guerrillas and convicted persons, also at resistance supporters (the Soviet ideology treated all supporters of anti-Soviet resistance as “kulaks”). The deportations of 1951 were directed against the peasants who withstood the collectivisation wave and did not give up their individual farms, and against “kulaks who acted against collective farms”²⁷. Puppets of the Cabinet Council of the Lithuanian SSR and local branch of the MGB used to detail in their instructions and orders all resolutions adopted by both the Cabinet Council of the USSR and the MGB. The final approval of the resolutions concerning the deportations of so-called kulaks was performed by the Cabinet Council of the Lithuanian SSR, while those concerning the deportation of the families of guerrillas and their supporters were approved by the Extraordinary Council of the USSR MGB.

The district (region) branches of the MGB were engaged in the preparations for deportations and the conclusion of cases for deportees, while the secretaries of the LKP(b) regional

²⁰ Certificate of Major-General P. Kapralov, dated 30 January 1948 // Ibidem. Funds 3. File 41/135. Volume 1. Page 21.

²¹ Ibidem. Page 122.

²² Certificate on the operational status and the MGB operation during the period from 15 November 1947 to 19 January 1948 // Ibidem. Page 87.

²³ *Grunskis E.* Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents... Page 11.

²⁴ Certificate of Lieutenant-General Zhukov, issued on 14 April 1953 // Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 3. File 56/43. Volume 1. Page 247.

²⁵ That is only formal translation of the Soviet term, since all deportees (including poor farmers) were called “kulaks”.

²⁶ RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 641. Pages 367-368. Publicised in *Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952*. Pages 155, 303, 392.

²⁷ *Grunskis E.* Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents... Page 18.

committees and the chairmen of the executive committees approved the lists of people to be deported. The year 1951 was some kind of exception since the deportee lists were drafted by the local Soviet institutions.

The preparations for the major deportations were secret. They were carried out by the MGB and the MVD internal (the 4th Riflemen Division, later joined by the 2nd one, too), border, railway security (Regiment No. 211) armies, aided by the armed forces, militia and the collaborators. They were also supported by extra forces from Russia and Belarus, which used to commission 2.5 thousand or more MGB officers each²⁸. For the execution of deportations in May 1948 alone there were rallied 30,118 officers of the MGB and the MVD, soldiers, military officers and the collaborators. They were supported by 11,446 members of the Communist party and Soviet activists²⁹. The commissioners of the USSR MGB used to make visits from Moscow, too. In May 1948, Lithuania was visited by Lieutenant-General S. Ogolcov, the Deputy Minister of National Security of the USSR, together with the operational group (including Lieutenant-Colonel Starozhuk, Lieutenant-Colonel Labutin, and Major Brind³⁰) of the 2nd Senior Council of the USSR MGB. In March 1949 and September-October 1951, Lieutenant-General J. Jedunov³¹, the Deputy Head of the 2nd Senior Council of the USSR MGB, paid a visit to Lithuania, too. The genocide campaigns were minutely planned and controlled with their assistance.

The following summary reflects the losses suffered by Lithuania because of the deportations conducted during 1945-1949.

Table 43. Deportee distribution in terms of districts in 1945-1949

No	District	July-Sep. 1945	Feb. 1946	Dec.1947- Feb.1948	May 1948	Mar- Apr.1949	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Alytus	691	647	345	1,367	595	3,645
2.	Anykščiai	-	-	-	751	620	1,371
3.	Biržai	120	-	-	1,175	1,229	2,524
4.	Joniškis	7	-	-	1,278	1,018	2,303
5.	Jurbarkas	-	-	-	501	278	779
6.	Kalvarijos	-	-	-	-	577	577
7.	Kaišiadorys	-	-	-	633	416	1,049
8.	Kaunas	222	-	-	2,190	1,012	3,424
9.	Kelmė	-	-	-	698	569	1,267
10.	Kėdainiai	119	-	-	1,250	631	2,000
11.	Klaipėda	-	-	-	919	1,062	1,981
12.	Kretinga	88	-	364	1,850	1,425	3,727
13.	Kupiškis	-	-	246	1,196	524	1,966
14.	Kuršėnai	-	-	227	632	692	1,551
15.	Lazdijai	134	227	218	1,530	911	3,070
16.	Marijampolė	396	425	165	1,295	671	2,952
17.	Mažeikiai	193	-	-	1,438	1,699	3,276
18.	Pagėgiai	-	-	-	206	291	497
19.	Panevėžys	292	-	267	2,019	1,181	3,759
20.	Pasvalys	-	-	130	945	1,237	2,212
21.	Plungė	-	-	247	1,095	879	2,221

²⁸ Ibidem. Page 18.

²⁹ Report of Lieutenant-General S. Ogolcov, the Deputy Minister of National Security of the USSR, and D. Jefimov, Minister of National Security of the Lithuanian SSR, dated May 1948, to Colonel-General V. Abakumov, the Minister of National Security of the USSR // Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 210.

³⁰ Report of Major-General P. Kapralov, dated 12 June 1948, to Lieutenant-General S. Ogolcov // Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 3. File 36/9. Page 16.

³¹ *Grunskis E.* Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents... Page 15.

No	District	July-Sep. 1945	Feb. 1946	Dec.1947- Feb.1948	May 1948	Mar- Apr.1949	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
22.	Prienai	-	-	-	1,019	675	1,694
23.	Radviliškis	-	-	159	913	1,097	2,169
24.	Raseiniai	185	-	165	940	486	1,776
25.	Rokiškis	252	-	217	1,145	1,278	2,892
26.	Šakiai	120	-	144	925	1,247	2,436
27.	Šiauliai	179	-	222	1,623	1,412	3,436
28.	Šilutė	-	-	-	517	215	768
29.	Širvintos	-	-	-	-	688	688
30.	Švenčionys	300	-	-	702	764	1,766
31.	Tauragė	76	364	181	1,291	734	2,646
32.	Telšiai	107	-	135	1,200	576	2,018
33.	Trakai	295	-	-	394	604	1,293
34.	Ukmergė	266	-	34	1,617	915	2,842
35.	Utena	182	-	-	1,101	526	1,809
36.	Varėna	-	-	315	979	427	1,721
37.	Vilkaviškis	-	-	157	1,333	552	2,042
38.	Vilkija	-	-	-	-	344	344
39.	Vilnius	127	-	-	624	773	1,524
40.	Zarasai	182	-	-	571	915	1,668
Total:		4,479	1,713	3,938	39,766	31,588	81,484

The table has been drafted based on the following initial documents, which do not reflect the final results of the deportations: Certificate issued by the NKVD of the Lithuanian SSR in September 1945 // Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 121; Report of Major-General J. Bartašiūnas on 23 February 1946 // Ibidem, page 129. Certificate of Major Grishin of April 1948 // Ibidem, page 158. Certificate of Lieutenant-General J. Jedunov of August 1948 // Ibidem, pages 297-299. Certificates of Major-General P. Kapralov of 16 April 1949 on the major and the additional deportations of 1949 // Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 10. File 5/30 (280). Pages 259-263.

All deportations bore tragical resemblance in respect of their inhumanity. The deportation operation of 1948, which had a code name “Vesna” (Spring), was carried out on 22-23 May. The Moscow plans intended to deport 12,134 families, i.e. 48,000 people³², to Yakutia (later changed to Buryatia-Mongolia ASSR) and Krasnoyarsk region. The MGB and their supporters managed to collect and seize 27,023 people on 22 May. 10,665 families, i.e. 36,932 people (10,615 children, 14,888 women, and 11,429 men) were crammed into echelons before 2 pm on 23 May. 11,068 people managed to find temporary escape³³. To fulfil the deportation plan, the MGB collected a few thousand more people following the lists often compiled by illiterate local activists. Even old women aged 95 and 112, who were unable to walk, were brought to the station on the stretchers³⁴. Free labour force was needed in Siberia, therefore, these old women were left undeported. However, that was an exception only. In case, they failed to collect all enlisted families, the officers took other families, selected by the security officers and collaborators, to the echelons. Even the lists were often compiled in the stations after bringing there the families³⁵. All people found in the besieged steading such as children without parents or parents without children were taken. Quite

³² The report of J. Bartašiūnas and V. Bochkov, the Council Head of Convoy Army of the USRS MVD, of 18 May 1948 to S. Kruglov, Minister of the Interior of the USSR // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 427. Pages 1-2. The document has been publicised in whole in *Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952*. Page 178.

³³ Wire messages of Lieutenant-General V. Bochkov and Major-General J. Bartašiūnas to S. Kruglov // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 427. Page 60.

³⁴ Certificate issued on 02 July 1948 on the formation of deportee echelons and their departure // Ibidem. Page 71.

³⁵ Ibidem. Page 70.

relevant in this case was the proposal of Lieutenant-General S. Ogolcov “to allow admitting into the echelons of the relocated those Lithuanians who will request a permit to leave Lithuania together with the relocated on their free will”³⁶. Former deportee A. Jakštienė recalls “The husband of Chodosevičienė was a prisoner. When their children were taken to the railway wagon, she was away from home. When she came back, she did not find her children. So she went to ask the permit to be relocated with them”³⁷.

When the echelons set out to the deportation destinations, 40,002 people³⁸ were already crammed into them (yet according to the other source, the echelons carried 39,766 people, including 10,897 children, 16,499 women and 12,370 men)³⁹. 8,679 family members of these deportees remained unseized and stayed in Lithuania (the MGB had plans to necessarily deport 7,184 out of these people⁴⁰). Officers of the MGB and the MVD, soldiers and collaborators would shoot people who tried to escape. Five people were thus shot⁴¹. One man of the deported people from Kaunas, seventy-year-old Ivanauskas, plunged into a well and drowned on 22 May⁴².

Each echelon going to the deportation destination contained 304-443 families, 915-1,656 people (including 280-586 children). During the transportation in the animal wagons, people started to die. One to five persons died in each echelon before reaching the destination place. For example, five people died out of 915 in the echelon No. 97914 despatched from Kaišiadorys station to Jarvec station (Krasnoyarsk region). The Superintendent of this echelon Captain Komarov shot deportee Rekevičius, who tried to run away in Krichev station, Mogiliov region. Out of 25,852 people (no data found on the deportation of other people) transported to the deportation destinations, 23 died (“the dead were brought out of the train and left beside the road”⁴³), 35 got ill (were left behind in the stations passed), 27 fell behind (sometimes children would fall behind, too) and 8 people escaped during the relocation. Part of the deportees were taken without any food provisions (these were people seized in cities mostly). People who had lost all their property were robbed once again. The guards would maraud scanty food provisions of the deportees, which following the MGB instructions had to “suffice for 45 days”, took away their bread and meat⁴⁴. People were mocked at during the entire trip. Sometimes they were served “tainted cabbage soup and at times they were allowed to fill in their bottles with boiled water”⁴⁵. In the Maryinsk station, Senior Lieutenant Gryaznov prohibited serving food to the deportees on the whole. The Superintendent of another station, Lieutenant Kolotilin, demanded leaving him five girls for the passing permission to the echelons⁴⁶.

The deportees were transported in this way for several weeks. One echelon with deportees suffered an accident on 01 June 1948. 19 deportees were killed and 57 injured. Those killed were buried at the spot, that is, in the station of Jumatov (23 km from Ufa). Other deportees

³⁶ Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 179.

³⁷ *Jakštienė A. Sibiro taigoje (In the Siberian Taiga) // "Tautų tėvo" karalystėje (In the Kingdom of the "Nations' Father")*. Page 136

³⁸ *Grunskis E. Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents...* Page 16.

³⁹ Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 208-209.

⁴⁰ *Grunskis E. Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents...* Page 16.

⁴¹ Report of A. Sniečkus, dated June 1948, to A. Zhdanov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the VKR(b) // Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 259.

⁴² Wire message of Lieutenant-General V. Bochkov and Major-General J. Bartašiūnas at 10 am of 23 May 1948 // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 427. Page 62.

⁴³ *Jakštienė A. Sibiro taigoje...* (In the Siberian Taiga) Page 139.

⁴⁴ Certificate of Junior Lieutenant Bolotov, dated 02 July 1948, on the formation and departure of the echelons // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 427. Page 69-73. (Minor section of this document (table of echelons) has been publicised in *Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952*. Pages 266-267.) No detailed data found on the transportation circumstances of other 15,000 deportees.

⁴⁵ *Žitkevičienė L. Sugrįžimas (The Return) // "Tautų tėvo" karalystėje (In the Kingdom of the "Nations' Father")*. Page 120.

⁴⁶ RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 427. Page 75.

reached their destination, i.e. Igark, a month later⁴⁷. According to incomplete data, minimum 50 Lithuanians were killed during the journey to the deportation destination.

The second major deportation, MGB code name "Priboj" (Swash), was carried out on 25-28 March 1949. The deportations were concurrently arranged in Latvia and Estonia, too. 8,500 families (25,500 people) were intended to be deported from Lithuania.

This time the plans were exceeded right away. 13,785 officers of the MVD and the MGB, soldiers and military officers, 7,166 collaborators and 9,500 Soviet and party activists formed the deportation execution groups (each group consisted of one officer either from the MGB or the MVD, two soldiers, two collaborators and three Soviet and Communist party activists) that crammed 8,765 families (28,981 people including 8,357 children, 11,541 women and 9,083 men)⁴⁸ into animal wagons and despatched before 31 March. Five people were shot during the deportation procedure.

Since the Lithuanian people had already seen a number of mass deportations, judging by the symptoms (the arrivals of new security groups, empty echelons, etc.) they could forecast in advance that a new genocide campaign was approaching. The relatives of those imprisoned or deported did not sleep at home at nights, stayed in hiding and tried to hide their children, too. During the first wave of deportations, the MGB failed to find 3,236 families and 3,912 individuals. The total of 13,777 people⁴⁹ managed to avoid deportation in March 1949. 5,235 people⁵⁰ were collected instead of them according to the extra lists compiled by the MGB, Soviet and party activists. Tauragė region where over half of the people escaped the deportation could serve as an example.

"Paper" instructions concerning the catering and medical help to the deportees were supposed to mask the inhumanity of the deportations. At least 50 people, including a number of babies, died during the relocation.

On 10-20 April, they organised the manhunt of those families that managed to escape deportations, and two additional echelons of deportees were formed in Gubernija (Šiauliai) station. V. Riasnoy, the Deputy Minister of the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR, considered them to be "esp. dangerous contingent for whom the wagons had to be equipped like for prisoners"⁵¹. 2,927 people (680 children, 926 women and 1,321 men) were deported in this way to the gold mines of "Lenzoloto"⁵² Company in Bodaib (according to revised data, 3,090 people⁵³ were deported).

During the deportations of March-April 1949, 9,598 families (31,917 people)⁵⁴ were deported from Lithuania. One does not have to be an expert to see that the genocide organisers were provided with inaccurate numbers of the deportees, since they were based on preliminary calculations. Minimal number of the deportees should stand at either 32,270 or 32,735⁵⁵. This

⁴⁷ Report of Major Mordvinenko of August 1948 // Ibidem. Page 161.

⁴⁸ Report of Colonel Efremov of 03 April 1949 to V. Riasnoy, the Deputy Minister of the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR // Ibidem. File 475. Page 157; Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Pages 337-338. According to revised data, 29,180 people (8,817 families) were deported. Rf.: Report of Major-General P. Kapralov, dated 16 April 1949 // Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 10. File 5/30 (280). Page 259.

⁴⁹ *Grunskis E.* Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents... Page 18.

⁵⁰ Report of Colonel M. Zaharov of 05 April 1945 // Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Pages 358-359.

⁵¹ Deed of V. Riasnoy dated 15 April 1949 // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 475. Page 202.

⁵² Letter of V. Riasnoy to M. Doshlov, the Head of MVD Irkutsk Council // Ibidem. Page 198.

⁵³ *Grunskis E.* Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents... Page 18.

⁵⁴ Report of S. Kruglov to J. Stalin, V. Molotov, L. Berya and G. Malenkov of 09 May 1949 // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 475. Page 228. (The document publicised in: *Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952.* Pages 386-388. Different mailing date indicated herein)

⁵⁵ Certificate issued by Lieutenant-General Zhukov on 14 April 1953 // Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 3. File 56/43. Volume 1. Page 247.

genocide campaign achieved what other kinds of terror failed to. “Stormy collectivisation” began and the numbers of Comsomols increased⁵⁶. It was made clear that one could avoid deportation to Siberia by giving up their farms on “a free will” (obeying collectivisation), while the young had to give up their beliefs.

The MGB organised a few large- and small-scale deportations from Lithuania within the period from June 1949 to August 1952. They occurred on 06 June, 07 July 1949, 14 April, 01-02, 19 September 1950, 31 March – 01 April, 19-20 September, 02-03 October, 30 November 1951, 23 January, 06 August 1952⁵⁷. The thing that is common to all these deportations is that the Soviet and Communist party activists (LKP(b) secretaries of various ranks, committee members, chairmen and members of executive committees, etc.) took esp. active part in compiling the deportee lists. The majority of these activists came from Russia. The extent of the terror increased. Mass deportations in Autumn 1951 were executed only in Lithuania, while there were none committed in Latvia or Estonia.

For the enforcement of the Resolution “Concerning the Relocation of Kulaks and their Families from the Lithuanian SSR”, issued by the Cabinet Council of the USSR on 05 September 1951, the MGB enlisted “kulak” families. They identified 4,215 families of these peasants (14,950 people), whereas every other of them (2,258 families)⁵⁸ had already gave up their property and joined the collective farms. The total of families entered into the deportee lists was 5,001. As before, the MGB formed 2,600 “operational groups” for the execution of deportations. 15,088 MGB officers, soldiers, military officers, militiamen and collaborators as well as 8,000 Soviet Communist activists joined the campaign⁵⁹. This deportation campaign was called “Osen” (Autumn).

Before midnight of 02 October 1951, 3,992 families (15,041 people⁶⁰) were detained in Lithuania. A thousand more people were collected on 03 October. When 16,150 people (5,278 children, 577 women and 5,090 men) were gathered, the echelons set out to the deportation destination in Krasnoyarsk region. 2,395 people, whom the MGB officers did not find in their homes, remained undeported (they included 121 already deceased, 13 deported earlier, 91 arrested people and 53 escapees)⁶¹.

39 children⁶² never reached deportation destinations. Their deaths marked the entire route of the Lithuanians to Siberia.

Table 44 shows how many people and when became the victims of these genocide campaigns. It provides data only on the deportation of 111,990 people in 1945-1952 (the MGB reduced this number to 106,037⁶³, then the KGB increased to 108,362⁶⁴). However these figures are not final since they do not include a few victims of the smaller-scale deportations. For example, only 2,668 deportees of the year 1952 are included, while in fact within that year at least 2,934 people⁶⁵ were deported. Total number of deportees in 1945-1952 should amount to at least 118,000⁶⁶. Even more Lithuanians were transported to GULAG camps and colonies but that is the subject of the next chapter.

⁵⁶ Certificate on the additional operation "Priboj" // VRMA. Funds 135. Folder 7. File 170. Page 22.

⁵⁷ Certificate issued on 22 August 1952 on the deportations carried out in August 1951 – 01 August 1952 // Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 3. File 56/28. Pages 194-195.

⁵⁸ Certificate of Security Commissar P. Kapralov of the Lithuanian SSR, dated 06 September 1951 // VRMA. Funds 125. Folder 71. File 328. Page 30.

⁵⁹ Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 398.

⁶⁰ Certificate on the deportation progress // VRMA. Funds 135. Folder 7. File 328. Page 130.

⁶¹ Certificate of P. Kapralov, dated 07 December 1951 // Ibidem. Page 275.

⁶² Rf.: Certificate of Major Turov, dated 29 April 1954 // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 641. Page 282. The number of women was increased by 100, while the number of children decreased by 100 here.

⁶³ Ibidem. Funds 3. File 56/28. Page 264.

⁶⁴ Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents in 1941, 1945-1952. Page 424.

⁶⁵ Ibidem.

⁶⁶ Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania has data only on 113,000 people deported in 1945-1952.

The Lithuanians have always constituted the large share of Communist genocide victims. Before 1946-1952, 676,835 people⁶⁷, who were called “specially relocated persons” (in the documents of both the MVD and the MGB) were relocated to the deportation destination in the Soviet Union. Nearly each sixth deportee was of Lithuanian nationality, while in some years Lithuanians used to constitute even 50% of all the deported persons (see Table 45).

⁶⁷ This number is not accurate since it does not include the victims of any small-scale deportations.

Table 44. Major Deportations and the Number of the Victims

No.	Ordered by	Deportation date	Number indicated in the preliminary documents of the MVD and the MGB	Number indicated in the later documents of the MVD, the MVD and the MGB	Number of the deported children	Deportation Destination
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Order No. 4/0174 issued by the NKVD of the Lithuanian SSR on 18 April 1945	20 04 - 03 05 1945	1,048	854 were not added to the number of Lithuan. deportees	313	Stalinabad Region (Tajik SSR)
2.	Resolution No. 328 of the USSR NKVD of 16 June 1945	17 07 -03 09 1945	6,320	4,479	x	Komi ASSR, Molotov and Sverdlovsk Region
3.	"	18-21 02 1946	2,082	2,082	576 ^a	Sverdlovsk Region
4.	Resolution of the Cabinet Council of the USSR of 29 September 1947	12 1947	2,782	2,782	x	Tomsk, Tumen Region, Komi ASSR
5.	"	01-02 1948	1,156	1,134	x	Tomsk Region, Krasnoyarsk Region
6.	Resolution No.447-160 of the Cabinet Council of the USSR of 21 February 1948	22-27 05 1948 "Vesna"	40,002	39,482	11,066 ^b	Krasnoyarsk region, Irkutsk District, Buryatia-Mongolia ASSR
7.	Resolution No.309-138 of the Cabinet Council of the USSR of 29 January 1949	25-28 03 1949 "Priboj"	29,180	28,981	8,357	Irkutsk District, Krasnoyarsk Region
8.	"	10-20 04 1949	3,090	2,927	680	Irkutsk District
9.	"	06 06 1949	apprx. 500	x	x	"
10.	"	07 07 1949	279	x	x	"
11.	"	14 04, 1-2 09, 19 09 1950	1,355	761	x	Altai and Chabarovsk Region
12.	Resolution No. 377-190 of the Cabinet Council of the USSR of 13 February 1951, Resolution No.667-339 of the Cabinet Council of the USSR of 03 March 1951	31 03 - 01 04 1951	433	x	x	Irkutsk and Tomsk Region
13.	Resolution No. 3309-1568-vs of the Cabinet Council of the USSR of 05 September 1951	20-21 09 1951	3,807 ^c	2,987	1,255	Irkutsk District
14.	"	2-3 10 1951	16,150	16,109	5,278	Krasnoyarsk

No.	Ordered by	Deportation date	Number indicated in the preliminary documents of the MVD and the MGB	Number indicated in the later documents of the MVD, the MVD and the MGB	Number of the deported children	Deportation Destination
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		"Osen"				Region
15.	"	03 10 1951 ^d	334	x	73	"
16.	Resolution No.3309-1568-vs of the Cabinet Council of the USSR of 05 September 1951	30 11 1951	452	x	x	Altai Region
17.	"	23 01 1952	2,195 ^e	1,844	519	Krasnoyarsk Region
18.	"	6-7 07 1952 ^f	465	x	x	x
19.	Resolution of the Extraordinary Council of the USSR MGB	5-6 08 1952	359	x	x	Krasnoyarsk Region
Total:			111,990	104,422	28,117 ^g	

The table has been drafted based on the aforementioned documents from the sources stored in the Lithuanian Particular Archives, RFVA and VRMA as well as the following documents: Certificate of Major-General P. Kondakov, dated December 1951 // Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 3. File 56/28. Page 264; Certificate of 22 August 1952 on the number of deportees // Ibidem. Pages 194-195.

^a The number of children among 1,644 deportees.

^b The number of children deported during this campaign was reduced to 10,897.

^c RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 642. Page 282.

^d Another document mentions the deportation of only 88 families (306 people including 111 men, 122 women, 73 children). Rf.: Report of Major-General P. Kapralov to A. Sniečkus, dated 03 October // Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 10. File 5/51 (306). Page 205.

^e RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 642. Page 284.

^f Lithuanian Particular Archives. Funds 10. File 9/2 (329). Page 37.

^g The age of 14,874 persons remains unknown. Children were not separated but considering that they constituted about 30% of all deportees the total number of deported children would amount to over 32,000.

Table 45. Proportion of Lithuanian Deportees Among All People Deported in the USSR

Year	People deported in the USSR	Number of Lithuanian deportees	Percentage of Lithuanians (%)
1946-1947	255,198	8,402 ^a	3.2
1948	89,261	43,940	49.2
1949	221, 263	33,500 ^b	15.1
1950	43,063 ^c	1,355	3
1951	45,483 ^d	21,177	46.5
1952	22,599 ^e	2,934	13
Total:	676,835	111,308	16.4

The table has been drafted based on the aforementioned sources as well as the Certificate of Major Turov, dated 29 April 1953 // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 641. Page 270. The data on the people deported in the USSR in 1945 are incomplete.

^a Deportees of December 1947 are not included into this number. In the documents of the MVD and the MGB they are usually attributed to the deportees of 1948.

^b Rf.: *Grunskis E.* Deportations of the Lithuanian Residents... Page 18.

^c Lithuanian deportees were not included into this number.

^d The document also mentions another number – 33,979. Rf.: RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 641. Page 282.

^e This number includes only 2,195 Lithuanians deported in January 1952. Rf.: *Ibidem.* Page 284.

It has to be noted that the population of Lithuania under occupation constituted only 1/75 of the entire population of the Soviet Union. In 1941-1950, the Russians who were deported as kulaks in 1930-1933 were started to be released in the USSR (864,000 people released). Different policy was conducted in respect of the Lithuanians though. They were deemed “kulaks” (as many as ¾ of all deportees were labelled with this epithet) and deported to the locations where living conditions were much harder. Namely the children aged 16 of the post-war deportees were subjected to the inhuman Order (applied to the deportees of certain nationalities only) issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR on 26 November 1948, which provided for the punishment for the deportee escape (20 years of servitude), whereas later the deportation terms were annulled and the deportees were destined to remain in Siberia forever.

(Deported) Lithuanians in Siberia

At least 118,000 people, by force deported from Lithuania in 1945-1952, found themselves under the supervision of the special governorates of the NKVD (MVD) in a vast territory stretching from Komi to Yakutia and the Tajik SSR. Although, in principle, their status was the same, the documents of the NKVD (MVD) classified them into three categories:

- 1) the relocated (*vyslannye* - Russ.), i.e. deported pursuant to the judgements of the NKGB and the NKVD Courts;
- 2) those settled by force (*ssyl'no-poselency* - Russ.), i.e. exiled after the term of imprisonment in the extermination camps and prisons expired;
- 3) those settled for a special purpose (*specposelency* - Russ.), i.e. deported pursuant to the Resolution of the Government most often for belonging to a certain nationality⁶⁸.

The Lithuanians were usually classified as “those settled for a special purpose” (deportees of 1941)⁶⁹ and “those settled by force”. Pursuant to the Resolution No. 35 “The Legal Status of the Special Deportees”⁷⁰ issued by the Government of the Soviet Union on 08 January 1945, the deportees had no right to leave the deportation location and had to check in the special governorates regularly. The said Resolution of the LKT demagogically stated that the deportees “exercise all rights except the free choosing of the place of residence”⁷¹. Furthermore, they were attached to some deforestation site, industrial enterprise or had to perform some other tasks.

The situation of the first post-war deportees was especially difficult. The deportees deported to the Tajik SSR in June 1945 were dispersed to the collective farms of the Vahsho River Valley. The majority of these deportees died within the first two years because of wearisome labour in the cotton fields, diseases (malaria, etc.) and famine. Since they were classified as Germans, very scanty data on their destiny remains. The entire families of the deportees who died were simply removed from the lists of the NKVD special governorates. According to preliminary data, 300 deportees from Lithuania died in 1945, 280 in 1946, 80 in 1947, 30 in 1948, and 20 in 1949 in the Tajik SSR. Former deportees recall: “There was neither a rag nor a sack for shrouding them, let alone any boards for a coffin. Usually only a cheesecloth scarf was wrapped on the head (...)”⁷².

The high mortality rate of the deportees little concerned the NKVD officers so far as it did not interfere with the plan fulfilment of labour force employment. After all, the Lithuanians deported to Komi, Molotov, Sverdlovsk and Tumen regions in 1945-1946 were supposed to carry out the most difficult works, i.e. deforestation and rafting⁷³. They had to toil without any training or preparation. Old and ailing deportees were not able to work and gradually died off.

Large families could not feed all children. People were looking for any rescue possible and, first of all, they tried to escape back to Lithuania. Only 5,201 people remained out of 8,402 Lithuanian deportees⁷⁴ (deported in Summer 1945 and February 1946) on 01 February 1948. Among the deceased ones there were 880 children including 142 who died in 1942, 351 in 1946 and 387 in 1947⁷⁵. In comparison with the deportees of other nationalities, Lithuanians

⁶⁸ Provisions of registration categories // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 615. Pages 196-199.

⁶⁹ They were attributed to the deportee category of “those settled by force” in 1952. Rf.: *Zemskov V. N. Černye dyry istorii* (Black Holes in History) // Raduga. 1990. No. 9. Page 56.

⁷⁰ Certificate of Lieutenant-Colonel V. Alidin on the legal status of special deportees, dated 13 March 1954 // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 836. Page 215.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*. Page 216.

⁷² *Tarasonis V., Bajoriūnas A., Gediminskas D. Lietuvos tremtiniai Tadžikijoje* (Lithuanian Deportees in the Tajik SSR). Page 15-17.

⁷³ *Racėnas R. Komių žemėje* (In Komi Land). Kaunas, 1995. Page 44.

⁷⁴ The documents of the NKVD (MVD) mention the deportation of only 6,402 Lithuanians.

⁷⁵ The certificate on the birth rate and mortality of the special deportee’s children up to 16 years of age // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 436. Pages 65-66. Russian historian V. Zemskov provides the data

escaped most often: in 1945-1947, 113 (44 were caught) out of 908 Lithuanian deportees in Komi escaped (data of 01 February 1948), 599 escaped (204 caught) out of 2,438 in Molotov Region, 253 escaped (114 caught) out of 1,042 in Sverdlovsk Region, and 11 escaped (1 caught) out of 453 in Tumen Region. Special deportee hunting squads awaited deportees attempting to return to their Fatherland, while the MGB was consistently persecuting them in Lithuania. Captured deportees were convicted for three years of “corrective labour” in the camps or returned to the deportation destination. Sometimes families that escaped were separated, i.e. parents imprisoned, while children returned to the previous deportation destination. However, this hardly deterred the deportees who with increasing insistence tried to return home. On 01 February 1948, the MGB was still searching for 603 Lithuanians which accounts for 11.78% of the deportees of 1945-1948 (meanwhile, they searched for 3.28% Ukrainian and 2.06% Russian (Vlasov’s followers) deportees)⁷⁶.

Starting from 1948 when mass deportations of the Lithuanians began, the condition of the deportees was further restricted and regulated by the Resolutions of the USSR Government (“On the Deportee, Forced and Special Relocation”, dated 21 February 1948, “On those Settled by Force”, dated 24 November 1948) as well as the Orders issued by the MVD and the MGB (MVD Order No. 00246 of 08 March 1948, MVD Order No. 001145 of 07 December 1948, and MGB Order No.00552 of 16 November 1950)⁷⁷.

Legal status of the deportees was regulated by the following provisions:

- 1) the deportees had no right to leave the deportation destination without the MVD permit;
- 2) they had marks on the restriction of the residence place (only deportation region) made in their passports by the militia, but the passports were taken from them and returned in 1955 only);
- 3) at least once per month the deportees were checked, that is, the adults had to check in the special governorates, which were entitled to request more frequent check-in depending on the “dangerousness” and “provision of employment and accommodation” of the deportee. Meanwhile, the governors had to check the adult deportees in their places of residence personally or through their supervisors at least twice per month;
- 4) pursuant to the Order “On the Criminal Charges for the Escape from the Deportation Destinations” issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR on 25 November 1948, each captured refugee was sentenced to twenty years of servitude (formally the Order was applicable only to Chechens, Germans, Crimean Tartars deported during war and the deportees of other nationalities, yet it was applied to Lithuanian, Latvians, Estonians and Ukrainians, too);
- 5) pursuant to the Decision adopted by the Cabinet Council of the USSR on 03 June 1948, each deportee could be imprisoned for “the avoidance of work”⁷⁸.

The attitudes of those who organised the genocide of the Lithuanian nation are well reflected in their position towards the deportee children. During the period of 1945-1952, over 32,000 children were deported. As indicated in the MVD documents, there were instructions to “deport all persons of the specified nationalities [Caucasian nations, Germans who lived along Volga River - A. A.], including children. Corresponding instructions were given in the subsequent decisions of the Government”⁷⁹. “Family registration cards” were issued to the family heads in the deportation locations. All family members (in spite of their age) as well as

of children mortality as the mortality of all deportees in his article. Rf.: *Zemskov V. N. Černyje дыry istorii* (Black Holes in History) // Raduga. 1990. No. 9. Page 56.

⁷⁶ Certificate issued by Colonel Shiyan, dated 08 March 1948 // Ibidem; RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 435. Pages 6, 9-11.

⁷⁷ Ibidem. File 836. Page 215.

⁷⁸ Ibidem. Pages 215-216.

⁷⁹ Certificate “On the Children of Special Deportees” issued by Lieutenant-Colonel V. Alidin on 13 March 1954 // Ibidem. File 836. Page 217.

children born in the deportation location were included into these cards. After they turned sixteen, personal registration files were compiled for them like for all adult deportees. Thus, the position of the old and the young was the same. Yet the deportees were united not only by blood. The documents did not indicate Lithuanian, Latvian or Estonian nationality, and only the attitude of the NKVD officers towards children reflected their anti-Lithuanian, anti-Latvian and anti-Estonian position. Only people of certain nationalities were meant to be exterminated in the destination locations. Since the nationality of a child was established according to his/her father's nationality, there was foreseen a possibility to make the new-borns deportees also. In his reply of 06 January 1946 to the Head of the NKVD Special Deportee Department of the Council of Molotov Region, the Head of the Special Deportee Department of the USSR NKVD explained that "children born in the families of a deportee and non-deportee woman should be entered into the register, while children born to a deportee woman and non-deportee man do not have to be enlisted into the register"⁸⁰.

When the restrictions of the deportee regime were made more stringent, the policy directed against the Lithuanians and other "unreliable" nations (Chechens, Latvians, Estonians, etc.) was made even more clear-cut in September 1949. S. Kruglov, Minister of the Interior of the USSR, and Safonov, Solicitor-General, set the procedure for entering deportee children (over 16 years of age) into the general deportee register (that is, for eternal deportation). After turning 16, children born in mixed families of deportees and non-deportees, had the right to choose their father's or mother's nationality. Children who chose the nationality of a deportee father or mother were entered into deportee register, whereas children who opted for the nationality of a non-deportee, were not enlisted into this register⁸¹. That was the method for encouraging denationalisation. The young generation who renounced their nationality, language and culture could elude the destiny of their parents. Meanwhile the children of Russian deportees (so-called Vlasov followers and "ukazniki"), who supposedly suffered the same fate, were not included into the deportee register at all. Lithuanians, among whom mixed families were a rare phenomenon, were more subject to the following Paragraph 12 of the said Order: "Children younger than 16 who escape from the deportation location, after capturing them, shall be sent to the deportation location of their parents. In the event they are orphans [i.e. their parents died in the exile – A.A.], the captured minors shall be placed in the foster homes"⁸². Sixteen-year-olds and older refugees were sentenced to twenty years of servitude. In order to prevent people from hiding the deportee children, the supporters of deportees or their children (or those who helped them to settle in the Motherland) were sentenced to five years of imprisonment. In this respect, the people who hid Lithuanian deportees were equalled to the supporters of resistance members, who were also crammed into prisons and camps for hiding the guerrillas.

So that Lithuanian children would have no opportunity to evade deportation (even by renouncing the nationality of their parents), the 1949 Order was for the last time amended on 16 February 1953: "Children born to parents who were deported as special deportees for the lifetime term, shall be entered into the deportee register in spite of the nationality they chose"⁸³. The genocidal policy executed so consistently resulted in the deaths of 4,071 Lithuanian children in deportation locations (in 1945-1950), while 689 Lithuanian children born in Siberia (in 1945-1950) complemented the deportee ranks.

Since the very first deportations in 1941, the Lithuanians were settled in the most remote regions. About 80% of all Lithuanian deportees exiled in 1948-1951 were settled in Irkutsk District and Krasnoyarsk Region (in these locations the Lithuanian deportees constituted respectively 42 and 26% in 1953). In-line with the set procedure of deportee distribution, most of them were employed in the deforestation sites and timber processing enterprises.

⁸⁰ Ibidem. File 388. Page 175.

⁸¹ Ibidem. Pages 176-177.

⁸² Ibidem. Page 178.

⁸³ Deed of Colonel Krotkov, the Head of the 2nd Department of the 9th Council of the USSR MGB, dated 16 February 1953 // Ibidem. File 615. Page 22.

According to the documents, on 01 January 1949, 22,025 of 24,725 adult deportees worked for the enterprises “under the Ministry of Forest and Paper Industry”. This was the hardest, most consumptive work, but women had to work together with men. G. Almonaitis exiled to Krasnoyarsk Region in 1948 recalls: “(...) all works were rather tough, while quotas were huge. We had to carry out all tasks manually. (...) Older people were assigned to various auxiliary works”⁸⁴.

Hard work, poverty and starvation made even the deportees of 1948 seek for salvation by hiding in the Motherland. 1,722 of them escaped from the deportation locations until 1949 (in January-October 1948, 424 deportees attempted escape, 1,070 were captured). 600 refugees were imprisoned in the extermination camps, 470 returned to the deportation destinations. The manhunt never stopped. Every month, the MGB would trace and arrest a few dozens of refugees in Lithuania. 219 refugees were captured (in January-March 1949)⁸⁵ before the mass deportations of 1949. For the enhancement of deportee supervision and terrorisation, new special governorates (each had a governor, his assistant and 2-4 supervisors) were set up in Buryatia-Mongolia, Irkutsk District and Krasnoyarsk Region⁸⁶. The governors not only managed the deportee accounting, but also could arrest any person suspected of anti-Soviet activities. The Lithuanians suffered especially. Although in January-March 1949, they constituted only 2% of all deportees of the Soviet Union, but among 4,285 arrested deportees there were 250 Lithuanians, i.e. 5.8%. Moreover, 919 Lithuanian deportees were imprisoned. The Lithuanians were gradually exterminated in Siberia by employing these persecutions. Their mortality rate twice exceeded that of the deportees of other nationalities: 482 out of 11,479 people who passed away in exile, or 4.2%, were Lithuanians (in January-March 1949)⁸⁷. That is hardly surprising. Even the documents of the security officers claim that “the deportees in Krasnoyarsk Region, commissioned to Igark timber group of enterprises, were accommodated in unsuitable premises where the roofs are leaking, windows are glassless, neither furniture [that is, steel beds, - A.A.] nor bed linen provided. People sleep on the ground. There were cases of typhoid and dysentery, some of them resulted in death. The number of Lithuanian refugees grows because of ill conditions of living and household”⁸⁸. It is not a wonder that the issuing security officer did neither mention thousands of Lithuanians who died per year nor that the living conditions were unbearable not only in Igark.

According to the testimonies of former deportees, several families, dozens of people were packed into barracks and small rooms of abandoned houses of local inhabitants⁸⁹. “Roofless and windowless barracks without any stove, full of garbage, household waste and rags (...)”, “(...) we received a 12 m² room [for six people – A.A.] where local inhabitants used to keep goats”⁹⁰, etc. There are plenty of deportees’ recollections of this kind.

It is difficult to establish the number of people who died living in the unbearable conditions like these. The MVD reports provide a variety of contradictory numbers, esp. that refers to the documents issued before 1949. Usually people deported from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were attributed to one accounting category without bothering to separate them according to the nationalities. The number of deportees who died was reduced because the victims of

⁸⁴ *Almonaitis G. Gražinkite man gyvenimą (Give Me Back My Life)*. Kaunas, 1992. Pages 119-120.

⁸⁵ Certificate on the deportees who escaped and were captured. // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 488. Pages 13, 23-24.

⁸⁶ Special deportees and payroll of the special governorates // *Ibidem*. Page 25.

⁸⁷ In January-March 1949, the mortality rate of the Lithuanians exceeded three times that of the Ukrainians, and thirteen times that of the Polish exiled to Kazakhstan. Rf.: Certificate of the 1st quarter of 1949 on the number and movement of the deportees // *Ibidem*. Page 39.

⁸⁸ Certificate of Colonel Shiyan, dated November 1948 // *Ibidem*. File 436. Page 2.

⁸⁹ *Almonaitis G. Gražinkite man gyvenimą (Give Me Back My Life)*. Page 118.

⁹⁰ *Jakštienė A. Sibiro taigoje (In the Siberian Taiga) // "Tautų tėvo" karalystėje (In the Kingdom of the "Nations' Father")*. Pages 140-141; *Martišius J. Dešimt tremties metų (Ten Years in Exile) // Ibidem*. Page 175.

individual deportations were attributed to the people exiled earlier during the major deportations.

No data remains on the deportee mortality in 1945-1947, July-December 1948, October 1949-1951, 1953, 1955 and 1958. Meanwhile, the data of January-June 1948, January-September 1949, January-June 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1957 are incomplete. The special governorates of the MVD recorded only the losses of labour force. Deceased children were often not recorded at all. According to the available documents of the MVD and the MGB, it may be concluded that on 01 January 1953 there were 98,286 alive out of 118,000 people deported in 1945-1952. Thus, the number of deportees decreased by 20,000⁹¹. Several hundred people (some relatives of the collaborators, etc.) were released from deportation as “unjustly deported” (for example, 163 people were released in January-September 1949). Furthermore, about one thousand deportees were imprisoned or killed in the extermination camps. The number of the deportees increased when they were joined by approx. 2,000 children born in exile⁹². The total of Lithuanian deportees who passed away in 1945-1952 amounts to 11,000-16,500 (the first figure is based on documents and deportee list, containing 113,000 surnames, stored in the archives, while the second was calculated taking into account the inaccuracies and falsification of the MVD and the MGB documents). According to the preliminary data, about 3,500 people also died in exile in 1953-1958 (the documents record the deaths of 1,773 people, but no data are provided on the mortality rate in 1953, 1955 and 1958)⁹³.

20,000 Lithuanians who perished in exile add to the victim list of the Soviet genocide. It cannot be ignored that 5,000 children were among these victims. This is one of the most horrible pages of the Lithuanian deportation history. The children would usually die because the first winter in exile was unbearable for them.

Table 62. Deportees' children in 1945-1954

Year	Number of deportees' children (on 01 January)	Born	Deceased	Aged 16 and added to the number of adults
1945	1,600	3	142	-
1946	2,200	35	351	-
1947	1,850	8	387	45
1948	1,600	145	1,235	571
1949	13,300	251	1,190	564
1950	21,750	247	766	1,050
1951	20,180	425	x	1,010
1952	26,000 ^a	809	183	1,806
1953	25,241	x	x	x
1954	24,347	x	x	1,138 ^b
Total:	34,000 ^c	1,923	4,253 ^d	6,184

The table has been compiled based on the Certificate on the birth rate and mortality rate of children (up to 16) // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 436. Pages 65-67; Certificate issued by Major Kurochkin on 07 July 1952 // Ibidem. Page 106; File 641. Page 10-11.

⁹¹ Substantiated by the MVD documents. For example, 49,331 people were deported in 1945-1948, while on 01 July 1950 there were 45,299 deportees. Rf.: Certificate of the USSR MGB on the Deportee Labour // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 641. Page 367. 22,113 people (including 8,339 women and 6,913 children) were deported from Lithuania in January 1951, while the report of 01 January 1953 mentions only 18,104 Lithuanians. Rf.: Ibidem. File 642. Page 6; File 641. Page 11.

⁹² Other provisions also possible. For example, the number of people sent to the exile (to their families) after serving a term of imprisonment was not taken into account.

⁹³ Estimates based on the mortality rate, which was growing with each year. About 40% of deportees died in 1945-1947 (per year; calculated from the total number of deportees), 4% in 1948, 3% in 1949, 2% in 1950, 1.2% in 1951-1952, 1% in 1953-1955, 0.85% in 1956-1957. These numbers are conditional and very much dependable on the deportation location. For example, 80% of all deportees died in the Tajik SSR.

^a The numbers of deportees' children in 1945-1952 are not very accurate, closer to these based on which the total deportee number was estimated by the MVD. For example, the MVD documents state that on 15 July 1949 there were 13,305 children, excluding the deportees of 1949. Rf.: Certificate on those who underwent deportee register // Ibidem. File 436. Page 19.

^b Before 05 July 1954, when children were formally "released" from exile, i.e. no longer registered.

^c The number of deported Lithuanian children.

^d Preliminary figure, since in 1949-1951 the deportees of 1949 were attributed to the general category of "those from the Baltics".

After J. Stalin's death, the policy in respect of the deportees remained the same. The Ministry of the Interior of the Soviet Union nurtured secret plans to reduce the number of invalid deportees and enhance Russification. Lieutenant-Colonel V. Alidin, the Head of Deportee Department of the MVD, proposed to S. Kruglov, Minister of the Interior of the USSR, to stop the deportations of:

- "(...) – Nationalists who had to be deported but were not and still live in the place from where they had to be deported [i.e. to abstain from arranging new deportations – A.A.];
- orphans living in foster homes or with relatives (non-deportees), as well as children of mixed families;
 - Nationalists, released from general camps, whose families were deported in 1950-1952 (...).

and to release from the exile:

- Russian, Ukrainian and other women and their children who were deported together with people of other nationalities [the document says "other contingent" – A.A.] in case their husbands died or they were divorced;
- women whose husbands were Russians or of other nationality whose people were not deported."⁹⁴

No exceptions covered Lithuanians, Latvians or Estonians.

The implementation of the said plan was initiated in 1954-1955. First of all, pursuant to the Resolution "On the Abolishment of Certain Restrictions Pertaining to the Legal Status of the Deportees", issued by the Cabinet Council of the USSR on 05 July 1954, the deportees' children (under 16) were removed from the deportee lists. The Order applied to 19,483 children from the deportations of 1945-1949 and 5,186 children deported with their parents in 1951⁹⁵. This counted as conditional "freedom" since children continued living with their deportee parents. However, neither children born in exile, nor those who died were any longer counted.

The liberation process of the deportees of 1954-1955 was extremely slow. 735 Lithuanian deportees were released in 1954 (510 by the Decision of the Cabinet Council of the Lithuanian SSR), 1,779 in 1955 (1,147 by the Decision of the Cabinet Council of the Lithuanian SSR), and 15,879 in 1956⁹⁶. While R. Rudenko, Solicitor-General of the Soviet Union, and S. Kruglov, Minister of the Interior of the USSR, were planning to release from deportation people older than 55-60, incurable and disabled persons, the "exception" was made to the Lithuanians. They together with West Ukrainians⁹⁷ had to stay in the exile "for the public security"⁹⁸.

⁹⁴ Deed of 06 July 1953 // Ibidem. File 836. Pages 180-182.

⁹⁵ *Zemskov. V. N. Massovoe osvoboždenie specposelencev i ssyl'nych (1954-1960) (Mass Release of the Special Settlers and those Settled by Force in 1954-1960) // Sociologičeskie issledovanija (Social Investigations) 1991. No. 1. Page 10.*

⁹⁶ RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 900. Page 178; Certificate on the Lithuanian deportees removed from the register in 1955-1956 // Ibidem. File 949. Page 64.

⁹⁷ The document calls them "OUN members"(OUN stands for the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists).

⁹⁸ Deed of September 1954 // Ibidem. File 836. Page 263.

Soviet liberalism was also manifested in the abolishment on 13 July 1954 of the inhuman order of 26 November 1948, following which the deportees who escaped and were captured, were convicted for twenty years of servitude⁹⁹. The procedure that was in place before 1948 was resumed and the refugee was for three years imprisoned in the extermination camp. Actually, the refugees were no longer punished at this time. As before, the Lithuanians constituted the most numerous part of the refugees: out of 611 refugees (“special deportees”) in 1955 there were 120 Lithuanians, out of 1,104 in 1956 there were 382 Lithuanians¹⁰⁰.

When the Cabinet Council of the Lithuanian SSR was entrusted with the revision of the deportee files (i.e. checking of the “validity” of the deportation) in 1954, and the process was supervised by the Investigation Commission for the Deportee Cases¹⁰¹ under the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian SSR in 1957-1958, the Lithuanians were released from the exile very slowly. Former deportees were not really desired in the Lithuania ruled by the Communists where their property had been shared out and looted long ago. Before the major deportee release, the Cabinet Council of the Lithuanian SSR on 05 March 1957 approved the property restoration procedure following which people would lose the right to regain their property six months after their return from the exile. People who had no required documents, or were late to return from remote locations or due to other reasons, were deprived of the right to recover their property. Actually, very few used this pseudo privilege. Until 01 May 1958, the said Commission chaired by K. Preikšas admitted that the deportation of only 2,573 families was unfounded and allowed them to recover the confiscated property (i.e. what remained of it). Since usually there were no documents of the confiscated property, this opportunity was used by very few¹⁰². The deportations were far from being condemned (the deportee cases were reviewed by the same people who had arranged the genocide of the Lithuanian nation such as K. Preikšas, A. Gailevičius, etc.) and were further considered to be an important political campaign. People were released only when there was some instruction violated during the deportation process or it was determined that they were entered into deportee lists by mistake¹⁰³. Thus, the traces of genocidal campaigns were attempted to be concealed.

When a greater number of the deportees was released in 1956-1957 (during the first six months), there occurred a phenomenon most feared by the security officers, that is, the former deportees left all their possessions and went to their Fatherland. 85% of the released deportees in Chabarovsk, Irkutsk, Molotov, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Tomsk, Chita districts and Buryatia-Mongolia left for Lithuania. In their efforts to stop this flow, the local departments of the MVD did not release even “released” deportees. They were detained for five days for “administrative arrest”¹⁰⁴. Conditionally free children of the deportees were not released either. Yet, people left Siberia anyway: without passports, without documents of release from deportation, and after selling all property they had acquired there¹⁰⁵.

Only every other deportee exiled in 1941, whose situation was extremely hard, survived till 1953 (Rf. Table 64).

Table 64. Major deportation destinations of the deportees exiled in 1941

⁹⁹ The lists of Resolutions (concerning deportees) adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR and the Cabinet Council of the USSR // Ibidem. File 949. Page 11.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem. Page 9.

¹⁰¹ Established pursuant to the Order adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Council on 21 January 1957. Rf.: LVOA. Funds 1771. Folder 193. File 27. Page 62.

¹⁰² Report of K. Preikšas on the progress of deportee file reviewing. // Ibidem. Folder 190. File 11. Pages 123-125.

¹⁰³ *Zemskov V. N. Massovoe osvoboždenie... (Mass Release of the Special Settlers...) // Sociologičeskie issledovanija (Social Investigations) 1991. No. 1. Page 12.*

¹⁰⁴ The report of Colonel Novikov, the Head of the 4th Special Department of the USSR MVD, to N. Dudorov, Minister of the Interior, dated 18 July 1957 // RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 949. Page 37.

¹⁰⁵ The report of Colonel Novikov to N. Dudorov of September 1957 // Ibidem. Page 48-49.

Deportation Destination	1941	1953	01 July 1957	01 January 1959
Komi	1,549	672	364	14
Altai Region	7,462	2,047	959	137
Yakutia ^a	2,785	2,051	610	26
Novosibirsk Region	1,549	156	86	10
Tomsk Region	-	3,898 ^a	273	18
Krasnoyarsk Region	164	x	197	51
Total:	12 682	about 5,400	2 649 ^c	279

The table has been compiled referring to: RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 641. Page 103; File 949. Page 10; File 976. Page 192.

^a Relocated from Altai Region in 1942. This figure may be higher since another document exists (dated 01 November 1944) that indicates other figures: there were 3,386 deportees “from the Baltics” (i.e. Lithuanians), 1,097 in Komi, 3,391 in Altai Region. The accuracy of these figures raises doubts. Rf.: Specpereseleny v SSSR v 1944 godu ili god Bol’shogo pereselenija (Special Deportees in the USSR in 1941 or the Year of the Great Deportation) // Otečestvennye archivy (National Archives). 1993. No. 5. Pages 110-111.

^b Together with the Latvians and the Estonians. In 1941, the Lithuanians constituted 45% of all people deported from the occupied Baltic states. They were in Novosibirsk Region in 1941.

^c There were 62 Lithuanians in Kemerov Region, and 43 Lithuanians in Kazakhia at that time.

The calculation of the victims among these deportees is even more difficult than among the post-war deportees. The initial number of the deported people was reduced, later increased for a few times when including into it people who survived in the camps and were deported (children born in exile also slightly increased this number). In any case it is possible to determine that minimum 8,000 of the first deported Lithuanians perished in exile. These were the immediate results of the Soviet genocide. The surviving ones were deemed “especially dangerous criminals” by the Communist government. The Soviets were procrastinating the release of the first deportees, even though tens of them died in exile in 1953-1958: 98¹⁰⁶ in 1954, 26 in 1956, and 14¹⁰⁷ in 1957. These figures could have been decreased by the MVD officers because they estimated 1,607 children of the Baltic people, while after six months there were already 2,070 (Rf. see the below table).

Table 65. The changes in 1953-1959 in the numbers of deportees exiled in 1941

Date	Total of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians	Lithuanians	Refugees	Arrested and imprisoned	Children	Released
15 October 1941	25,586	12,682	x	x	x	x
01 January 1953	14,301	x	63	177	1,607	x
01 July 1953	15,819	x	x	x	2,070	x
01 January 1954	13,791	x	x	x	x	x
01 January 1955	13,115	x	32	127	x	666 ^a
01 January 1956	12,226	4,682	x	x	x	817 ^b
01 June 1956	x	4,193	x	x	x	x
01 January 1957	7,442	3,148	x	22	x	1,604 ^c
01 July 1957	5,545	2,649	x	x	x	x
01 January 1958	3,841	1,878	5	15	x	1,287 ^d
01 January 1959	426	279	x	x	x	x

The table has been compiled referring to: RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 641. Page 103; File 642. Pages 13, 231; File 836. Page 283; File 900. Page 178, 185; File 949. Pages 1, 6, 10, 28, 58. Refugees,

¹⁰⁶ Together with Latvians and Estonians. Rf.: Ibidem. File 836. Page 283.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem. File 949. Pages 6, 58.

arrested and imprisoned as well as released deportees in 1957-1958 (only Lithuanians), and 1953-1956 (Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians together).

^a 1954 - Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians.

^b 1955 - Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians.

^c 1956 - Lithuanians.

^d 1957 - Lithuanians.

The Lithuanians kept in exile until 1958 (excluding the deportees of 1951, whose number stood at 13,660) were classified into five groups, namely, “bandits and nationalists”, “family members of bandits and nationalists”, “supporters of bandits”, “family members of the supporters” and “kulaks nationalists with their families”. The Soviets did not want to release specifically these who were former participants of the anti-Soviet Lithuanian resistance to return to Lithuania. Their files were formally reviewed and requests for release from the exile were rejected.

After the issue of the Order of 19 May 1958 by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, a new policy was started to be conducted in regard of these last deportees. Only the resistance members and their families were left in exile, while all others were conditionally released from the exile. They were not subject to the restoration of the confiscated property nor were they allowed to return to their Motherland. Only puppet Cabinet Council of the Lithuanian SSR could give them permission for the residence in Lithuania¹⁰⁸. It was either hardly possible or entirely impossible for a former deportee to obtain such permit. They would always face major hardships after the return (their applications for employment or registration were rejected, etc.). A huge number of 37,505 (about 48,000-50,000 people with children) Lithuanians who were still in exile on 01 January 1958 never returned to Lithuania. This is a painful loss of the Lithuanian nation.

The last Lithuanians were released from exile only after the issue of the Order of 07 January 1960 by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR. Pursuant to this Order, the exile was abolished in regard of family members of resistance participants (3,632 people on 01 January 1959) and the last deportees of 1941, i.e. “former member of bourgeois governments and political parties” (279 people). The Order does not cover the release of the anti-Soviet resistance participants (1,275 people), yet the documents of the MVD of the Soviet Union are still sensitive. It is thought that they were entirely prevented from returning to Lithuania. The Communists were more concerned with the fate of the colonists going to the building campaigns of monstrous industrial complexes that with that of the Lithuanians who had suffered so much in Siberia and were still suffering.

There existed one more category of genocide victims. These were those people who were released from the camps and deported but not included into the category of special deportees. They were called “the relocated” and “those settled by force”. During the period from 1953 to (01 January) 1956, the number of Lithuanian deportees in exile increased from 1,989 (187 “relocated”) to 5,324 (7 “relocated”)¹⁰⁹. Former prisoners were massively added to the number of the “special deportees”, therefore, in the fifties the total number of Lithuanian deportees sometimes even increased. Former political prisoners (they constituted the major part among Lithuanians) were deported (usually they were only re-entered from the category of prisoners into that of deportees and left in the same territory) pursuant to the Order of 21 February 1948 issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR¹¹⁰, which demanded that “especially dangerous state prisoners” were by force settled in the northern and eastern periphery of the USSR. On 10 March 1956, this procedure was abolished and the deportees of the said categories were released. However, again this did not apply to all Lithuanians since

¹⁰⁸ *Zemskov V. N. Massovoe osvoboždenie... (Mass Release of the Special Settlers...) // Sociologičeskie issledovanija (Social Investigations) 1991. No. 1. Pages 21-22.*

¹⁰⁹ RFVA. Funds 9479. Folder 1. File 641. Pages 114, 119; *Zemskov V. N. Massovoe osvoboždenie... (Mass Release of the Special Settlers...) // Sociologičeskie issledovanija (Social Investigations) 1991. No. 1. Page 19.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem. Page 20.*

an “exception” was again adopted for the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians: they had to join their families in exile and stay there. The further fate of the political prisoners depended on the resolutions of the said Soviet authorities.

The losses suffered by the Lithuanian nation because of the “deportations”, one of the methods of the Soviet genocidal policies, equal to the outcomes of the prisoner extermination in the concentration camps. Out of 132,000 people who were deported to the “eternal exile” in 1941-1952¹¹¹ even 28,000 died of diseases, starvation or unbearable labour. Other 50,000 people could not return to Lithuania for a long time or never made their way back. These refer to minimal losses only because the documents issued by the genocide organisers and executors are inaccurate, while the death statistics are very superficial. Yet, this was the price Lithuania paid for the survival during the Soviet occupation and long-term rule of the Communists.

Epilogue.

Live memories linger about the times when in the mid-19th century Lithuanians were deported to Siberia for slavery. Today we call it genocide. Genocide refers to the phenomenon when interchanging occupants in various methods annihilated the citizens of a formerly independent state.

Genocide was a core method of the Sovietisation of Lithuania and the disruption of its community. The Communists called their crimes “suppression”. This “suppression” or “red terror” targeted everyone who tried to prevent the implementation of the Communist doctrines, who resisted this or expressed their dissatisfaction. The Soviet system was unique in that by signing International Conventions on the Responsibility for the Genocide, it concurrently physically, later also spiritually attempted at exterminating all nations subdued by the Soviet Union. The Soviets annihilated not “nationalists”, “kulaks” or otherwise labelled persons. Starting from 1940, namely Lithuanians together with all other nations (West Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians and Polish) that became subordinate to the Soviet Union pursuant to the Molotov-Ribentrop Pact became the victims of the Soviet extermination or genocide. The nationality of the person had a significant role even in the fate of an individual. Certain execution methods of the genocide (imprisonment in GULAG camps, deportation to Siberia or the North) were not considered physical extermination of the Lithuanians. However, pursuant to the Convention on the Genocide, these people were provided with unbearable living conditions in spite of the repressive method they were subjected to. This resulted in the partial or total extermination of these people.

The deaths of the deported people would occur from the moment when the operational groups of deportation execution would storm into the flats or houses of the people to be deported. Each attempt to escape or resist was hushed up by a weapon. The officers fired at the running people, while the captured or resisting ones were brutally beaten. High numbers of deaths was influenced not only by the transportation circumstances when people were crammed into animal wagons, kept in insanitary conditions where they suffered the shortage of air and often food, as well as extreme spiritual distress, but also the fact that over 70% of the deportees were women and children. About 40,000 children and over 50,000 women were deported. Besides children, during the transportation the first to die were elderly people, pregnant women and babies born in echelons. Deaths marked all roads to exile. In 1948 alone, two hundred deportees either never reached the deportation destination or were injured on the way. After reaching the deportation destination, the human extermination continued. Every other deportee of June 1941 was dead or killed before 1945. The same fate awaited the post-war deportees. Their extermination was performed in the most refined methods. For example, in Ural, Sverdlovsk Region, over a thousand Lithuanians, including hundreds of children, tens of disabled and elderly people, constituted only a minority of all deportees in one of the forest

¹¹¹ Excluding men separated from families in 1941 and taken to the camps (they are included into another figure). The archival documents and registers verify that over 128,000 people were deported.

industry farms. Yet, namely the Lithuanians were not distributed food cards, even though the issue of food cards did not guarantee that there will be money to buy the food. Extermination organisers found a simple method. They called the entire deforestation district a district of “agriculture”, where children and elderly persons were prohibited to receive portioned food. The MVD generals held to the opinion that the deportees were forced “to feed on nettle and other grasses”. As a result, because of starvation, children and old people very soon fell ill with dystrophy and started to die in tens. Women who carried out hard works but were hardly paid could not help much. “The persisting difficult living conditions will soon lead to absolute loss of efficiency and mortality,” – claimed Lieutenant-General V.Riasnoy, one of the principal organisers of the Lithuanian genocide.

The vitality of the deportee families largely depended on their supporters and persecutors, who not only consistently annihilated people in Siberia, but also conducted the massacre or arrests of potential deportee supporters in Lithuania after each wave of deportation. The troika of the NKVD generals Tkachenka, Bartašiūnas and Jefimov demanded that “the pressure of bandits, rebels and their active supporters were intensified following their blood relations **until the total liquidation of their farms** (...) In the farms foreseen for liquidation, all men have to be arrested (...), adjudicated and deported beyond the boundaries of the republic”. Every other Lithuanian man has become a victim of the genocide or underwent the “filters” of terror system, was physically and spiritually crippled. During the first year of the second occupation alone, over 200,000 people suffered the violence of the occupants, that is, were imprisoned, mobilised, forced to hide or exterminated.

In exile as well as in the extermination camps, people had to undergo great physical and moral tortures. The documents called this human annihilation “enhancement of isolation and fight against the anti-Soviet manifestations as well as the maintenance of physical condition and its full utilisation for labour”. According to a former deportee and prisoner, “the purpose of the Soviet camps was to enslave people, to make them submissive and obedient to any kind of government, however small or big, to make them incapable of thinking, resisting violence or licence”. Those who tried to avoid it escaped back to their Motherland and were persecuted even more brutally. Following the inhuman order approved in Moscow in 1948, each refugee was convicted for twenty years of servitude. Formally, the Order applied only to the Chechens, Germans, Crimean Tartars and people of some other nationalities deported during war, but it was also applied to the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Ukrainians. For hiding the Lithuanian deportees and their children, who have escaped exile, the Soviet laws prescribed the imprisonment of five years in the extermination camp, i.e. the punishment did not differ from that for the hiding of the resistants.

It has been recently determined that out of 155,796 people who were entered into the deportee lists, minimum 132,000 people were deported to Buryatia-Mongolia, Komi, Krasnoyarsk Region, Irkutsk, Tomsk, Molotov (now Perm) and other Siberian and Northern regions by the genocide organisers. In the Soviet Union, every sixth deported person was Lithuanian in the post-war period, while during some years the Lithuanians would constitute one half of all people deported to Siberia. In the mid-20th century, Lithuanians were ordered like slaves for labour in deforestation sites, gold and coal mines, constructions and monstrous Soviet industrial complexes “Ĉeliabinskugol”, “Karagandaugol”, “Vostsibugol”, “Kuzbasugol”, “Tomles” and “Lenzoloto”. Delivered deportees were left for absolute disposition of the special governorates and factory directors.

It was later disclosed that the absolute majority of the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and West Ukrainians were kept in exile until the very 1958. The deportees of namely these nationalities were deemed especially dangerous. When Moscow allowed the release of children from exile in 1954, the check-in of adult deportees in the special governorates just once per year, and planned the release of the deportees older than 55-60 years, incurable and disabled persons, this did not cover and did not have to cover the Lithuanians. It was planned to keep them in the exile of stringent regime with no relief of the situation provided. This affected nearly 340,000 Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Ukrainians. The Moscow

Communists were well-aware that the return of the deportees to Lithuania that had been bleeding for a decade would consistently revive the anti-Soviet feelings. Therefore, the return of the deportees was regularly prevented.

The determination of special status for the Lithuanian and other deportees of “unreliable” nationalities, aggravation of their return to the Motherland and the fact that every third deportee was a child proves that the annihilation of the Lithuanian population was first directed against the Lithuanian nation with an intent to bury the Independence idea of the Lithuania.

The losses suffered by the Lithuanian nation because of the “deportations”, one of the methods of Soviet genocidal policies, equal to the outcomes of the prisoner extermination in the concentration camps. Out of 132,000 people who were deported to the “eternal exile” in 1941-1952 (minimal number of deportees exiled in 1945-1952 had to amount to 118,000), even 28,000 died of diseases, malnourishment or insufferable labour. The last few thousand of Lithuanians were released from exile only in December 1963. About 50,000 people could not return to Lithuania for a long time or never made their way back. The Lithuanians had always constituted absolute majority of the Communist genocide victims. 676,835 people, in the MGB documents called “specially relocated persons”, were exiled to the deportation destinations in the Soviet Union in 1946-1952. Almost every sixth deported person was Lithuanian in the post-war period, while in some years (1948 and 1951) the Lithuanians would constitute one half of all deported people. Over 32,000 children (5,000 died in exile), included into the deportee lists, were deported in 1945-1952 alone. Even still unborn babies were entered into deportee lists. Children born to the families of a deportee man were also enlisted. Children aged 16 who chose **the nationality of their parents deportees** (note that no “kulak origin” is mentioned anymore) were included into deportee lists. Meanwhile, those who chose the nationality of non-deportees (for example, Russian) were no longer included into the deportee lists. But that referred only to the children of mixed families. Those who hid children of deportees who escaped from exile were sentenced for five years of imprisonment. Even after modifying the policy towards the deportee, the role of the nationality remains important: S. Kruglov, Minister of the Interior of the USSR, on 06 July 1953 proposed “to release women and their children of Russian, Ukrainian and other nationalities (...) provided their husbands are Russians or from **non-deported nations**” but Lithuanians counted as a deported nation. No “kulaks” or “nationalists” were mentioned anymore.

An entire list of prohibited occupations was compiled for the former deportees who returned to Lithuania. They were prevented from leaving outside the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Those who returned never had their property restored, while the KGB implemented such measures as the “discrediting and moral political isolation” of former deportees and political prisoners.

The genocide that accompanied the process of the Sovietisation annihilated not only people but entire strata of the Lithuanian community with all their preserved culture, property and social influence. It is difficult to estimate the total demographic, material and other losses the Lithuanian nation has suffered but they are going to have a long-lasting impact on the existence of our community and State in future.