

Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937–1949

J. Otto Pohl

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Comrades, let us reach for some other facts. The Soviet Union is justly considered as a model of a multinational state because we have in practice assured the equality and friendship of all nations which live in our great fatherland.

All the more monstrous are the acts whose initiator was Stalin and which are rude violations of the basic Leninist principles of the nationality policy of the Soviet state. We refer to the mass deportations from their native places of whole nations, together with all Communists and Komsomols without any exception; this deportation action was not dictated by any military considerations.

Thus, already at the end of 1943, when there occurred a permanent breakthrough at the fronts of the Great Fatherland War benefiting the Soviet Union, a decision was taken and executed concerning the deportation of all the Karachay from the lands on which they lived.

In the same period, at the end of December 1943, the same lot befell the whole population of the Autonomous Kalmyk Republic. In March 1944, all the Chechen and Ingush peoples were deported and the Chechen–Ingush Autonomous Republic was liquidated. In April [*sic*] 1944, all Balkars were deported to faraway places from the territory of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Republic and the Republic itself was renamed the Autonomous Kabardian Republic.

The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also.

—Nikita Khrushchev, 20th Party Congress,
24–25 February 1956

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Preface

It has now been over 40 years since Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin's deportation of the Karachays, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, and Balkars. During this lapse of time only two scholarly books devoted to this subject have appeared in English. Robert Conquest's *The Nation Killers* (1970) and Aleksander Nekrich's *The Punished People* (1979) both dealt with this subject without access to most of the relevant archival documents. The partial opening of the Soviet archives has led to the verbatim publication of much of this documentation in the Russian academic press. These new revelations now make it possible to present, in a single English-language volume, a more comprehensive account of Stalin's policy of deporting whole nationalities to remote areas of the Soviet Union.

Despite the vast amount of information available on this subject in Russian, most people know very little about Stalin's national deportations. This general ignorance has allowed certain writers to make outrageous claims regarding the history of the Soviet Union and World War II. An entire school of revisionist scholars dedicated to whitewashing Stalin's crimes has arisen in Europe and the United States. The aim of these scholars is to portray the Jewish Holocaust as the only instance of state-sponsored mass murder based upon ethnicity in world history. Information on Stalin's mass deportation of whole nationalities is a serious threat to this false view of history. Charles Maier, a German Holocaust scholar, claims, "No Soviet citizen had to expect that deportation or death must be so inevitable by virtue of ethnic origins."¹ Professor Deborah Lipstadt, who holds the Dorot Chair of Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies has also asserted, "In contrast, no citizen of the Soviet Union assumed that deportation and death were inevitable consequences

of his or her ethnic origins."² This statement, which appeared in her 1993 book (ironically titled) *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, shows a willful ignorance of the systematic deportation of the Soviet Koreans, Germans, North Caucasians, Kalmyks, Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks, and others to the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia. The Stalin regime deported these national groups in their entirety based solely upon their ethnicity to areas whose living conditions inevitably led to hundreds of thousands of deaths. In the six years following their deportation, the North Caucasians lost more than a quarter of their population due to the harsh conditions of exile. Most of the other exiled nationalities experienced only slightly lower mortality rates. Lipstadt's denial of Stalin's extensive ethnic cleansing is an assault upon truth as great as denying that the Nazis murdered millions of people in Auschwitz, Belzac, Treblinka, Sobibor, Chelmno, and Madjanek. Unfortunately, Dr. Lipstadt exerts a tremendous degree of influence in both academia and popular culture. It is my sincere hope that this book will inform both the academic world and the general public of the truth about Stalin's policy toward what are now known officially as "Repressed Peoples."

Glossary

Abwehr—German military intelligence.

ASSR (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic)—Soviet territorial unit based upon nationality rather than geography. Many of the nationalities deported by Stalin had ASSRs prior to their exile.

Aussiedler (Settler Abroad)—German word for ethnic Germans living in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Balkars—Turkic Muslim nationality living in the North Caucasus. The Balkars are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school and speak a Kipchak Turkic language closely related to Karachay. The NKVD deported the Balkars to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia on 8–9 March 1944.

Chechens—Muslim North Caucasian nationality in the area south of the Terek River. The Chechens are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school and speak an Ibero-Caucasian language related to Ingush. Together Chechen and Ingush form the Nakh branch of the Ibero-Caucasian language group. The NKVD deported the Chechens to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia from 23 to 29 February 1944.

Crimean Tatars—Turkic Muslim nationality that inhabited the Crimean peninsula from the Middle Ages to World War II. The Crimean Tatars are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school and speak a Kipchak Turkic language. The NKVD deported the Crimean Tatars to Uzbekistan from 18 to 20 May 1944.

GKO (State Defense Committee)—During World War II, Stalin created the GKO in order to coordinate the Soviet War effort and streamline the implementation of Soviet policy. The GKO was the highest state organ in the USSR during World War II. GKO orders took precedence over all other government decisions. Stalin personally chaired the GKO. After the end of World War II, Stalin dissolved the GKO.

- Ingush**—Muslim North Caucasian nationality in the area south of the Terek River. The Ingush are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school and speak an Ibero-Caucasian language related to Chechen. Ingush and Chechen form the Nakh branch of the Ibero-Caucasian language group. The NKVD deported the Ingush to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia from 23 to 29 February 1944.
- ITL (Corrective Labor Camp)**—These are the infamous labor camps of the Gulag (Main Administration of Camps). Other forms of incarceration in the Soviet Union were ITKs (Corrective Labor Colonies) and prisons.
- Kalmyks**—Buddhist Mongol nationality living on the northwestern shores of the Caspian Sea, southwest of the Volga River. The Kalmyks practice a form of Lamaist Buddhism derived from Tibet. They speak an Oirat Mongol dialect. The NKVD deported the Kalmyks to Siberia and other remote areas of the Soviet Union on 28–29 December 1943.
- Karachays**—Turkic Muslim nationality living in the North Caucasus. The Karachays are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school and speak a Kipchak Turkic language closely related to Balkar. The NKVD deported the Karachays to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia on 6 November 1943.
- Khemshils (Khemshins)**—Armenians who converted from Christianity to Islam under Ottoman rule. The NKVD deported the Khemshils living in Georgia to Kazakhstan and Central Asia from 16 to 25 November 1944.
- Kolhoz**—Soviet collective farm. Farmers on *kolhozes* received a portion of the farm's agricultural output as payment for their labor.
- Komsomol**—Communist Youth League of the Soviet Union.
- Korenzatsiia (Nativization)**—Literally, to take root. Soviet policy of promoting non-Russians in Soviet government and Communist Party posts and promoting non-Russian cultural institutions.
- Kray**—Soviet territorial division below *oblast* based upon territory rather than nationality. Usually translated into English as territory.
- Kurds**—Nomadic Muslim nationality living in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and the former Soviet Union. The Kurds are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi School and speak an Indo-Iranian language related to Farsi. The NKVD deported the Kurds living in Georgia to Kazakhstan and Central Asia from 16 to 25 November 1944.
- Meskhetian Turks**—Georgians who became assimilated into Turkish culture during the Ottoman occupation of the Caucasus. The Meskhetian Turks converted to Islam, adopted the Turkish language, and acquired Turkish cultural customs. The Meskhetian Turks are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school. The NKVD deported the Meskhetian Turks to Kazakhstan and Central Asia from 16 to 25 November 1944.
- MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs)**—Soviet government agency responsible for internal security from 1946 to 1953. The MVD replaced the NKVD in March 1946. *See* NKVD.
- NKO**—People's Commissariat of Defense.
- NKPS**—People's Commissariat of Transportation.

- NKVD** (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs)—Soviet government agency responsible for internal security from 1934 to 1946. The NKVD carried out most of the mass deportations of nationalities in the Soviet Union.
- Oblast**—Soviet territorial division below ASSR based upon geography rather than nationality. Usually translated into English as province.
- Prikaz** (Order)—The orders and instructions given by Beria to the NKVD were *prikazi*.
- Raion** (District)—The smallest territorial unit in the Soviet Union above the village soviet. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Soviet government created a number of national *raions* for small minorities. Before 1937, the Soviet Union had German, Polish, Jewish, Greek, Finnish, and Korean national *raions* as well as national *raions* for ethnicities indigenous to the USSR.
- SNK** (Council of People's Commissars)—Highest State organ in the Soviet Union. The SNK had authority over all of the various people's commissariats in the Soviet Union. Vyacheslav Molotov was the chairman of the SNK during the Stalin regime. During World War II, the SNK became subservient to the newly created GKO.
- Sovhoz**—Soviet state farm. The Soviet government organized these farms as agricultural factories. Farmers on *sovhozes* received a regular salary as payment for their labor.
- Special Settlement**—Restricted area of punitive exile created by the Soviet government during the collectivization of agriculture from 1929 to 1931. During World War II, the Stalin regime deported the Soviet Germans, Karachays, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks, and other nationalities to special settlements.
- Trudarmii** (Labor Army)—Soviet Germans mobilized into work colonies and battalions under NKVD *prikaz* 35105 and GKO orders 1123ss, 1281ss, and 2383ss.
- Ukaz** (Order)—The resolutions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet were *ukazi*.
- Volksdeutsche**—German term for ethnic Germans living in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
- WDASSR**—Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.
- Wehrmacht**—Regular German army.
- Workers Militia**—Regular Soviet police force.

Introduction

“Ethnic cleansing” is a term that has gained recent currency with the war in Bosnia. The forced removal of national groups from their traditional areas of settlement by the state, however, is not a new phenomenon. The Assyrians deported large numbers of Jews from the Kingdom of Israel to Gozan and Media during the 8th century B.C.E. In 587 B.C.E., the Babylonians exiled a large number of Jews from the Kingdom of Judah to Babylonia. During the Middle Ages, many European nations expelled their Jewish populations: England in 1290; France in 1306 and 1394; Spain in 1492; and Portugal in 1496. In 1609, King Philip III ordered the expulsion of the Moriscos (Moors that converted to Catholicism) from Spain. During the 19th century, the U.S. military relocated numerous native American nations onto reservations far from their ancestral homelands. The most ruthless of these relocations occurred to the Cherokees and Navajos. In 1838, the U.S. Army forcibly removed close to 18,000 Cherokees from Georgia to Oklahoma, a distance of over 800 miles. During the trek, named the “Trail of Tears” by the Cherokees, almost 4,000 people died. In 1864, the U.S. Army deported over 8,000 Navajos more than 300 miles from their homeland east to Bosque Redondo, New Mexico. Many Navajos died during this forced relocation. The Navajos refer to this tragic chapter in their history as “The Long Walk.” In the 20th century, the development of transportation technology and political organization has facilitated the task of ethnic cleansing. A state with a powerful and well-organized apparatus of coercion and a functioning rail system could relocate whole nations in a matter of only a few days.

The Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin perfected this modern style of ethnic cleansing between 1937 and 1949. From 1941 to 1948, the Stalin

regime deported 3,266,340 people from their homes to special settlements in the interior of the USSR.¹ More than two-thirds of these punished people were members of national groups deported in their entirety on the basis of their ethnicity. The special settlements were under the strict administration and surveillance of the Soviet security organs. Special settlers lived in deplorable material conditions and had almost no rights. The Soviet government operated the special settlements as prisons without walls. Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Urals, and Siberia became areas of punitive exile for whole nations.

The Stalin regime routinely exiled entire national groups to the interior of the USSR. In 1937, the NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs) deported the Soviet Koreans from the Far East to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Between September 1941 and January 1942 the NKVD deported the Soviet Germans from the Volga, Ukraine, Caucasus, and European Russia to special settlements scattered throughout Soviet Asia. During May 1942 they deported the first wave of Greeks from the Black Sea coast and the Transcaucasian republics. In late 1943, the NKVD deported the Karachays and Kalmyks, and during the course of 1944 they deported the Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Crimean Tatars, Crimean Greeks, Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils to Kazakhstan and Central Asia. During June 1949, February 1950, and August 1950, the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) exiled many of the remaining Greeks from the Black Sea coast and Caucasus to Kazakhstan. The Stalin regime presided over a system of national repression that dispossessed millions of people of their ancestral homelands on the basis of their ethnicity. The deported nationalities lost their homelands, property, much of their cultural vitality, and hundreds of thousands of lives in exile. Between 1941 and 1950, more than 377,554 exiles perished in special settlements.² More than one out of every ten people deported to special settlements died during their confinement. Stalin's deportation of national groups was one of the worst crimes against humanity perpetrated in the 20th century.

The large number of deaths among national groups deported to special settlements raises the question of genocide. The very word "genocide" means to kill a race. Although the word genocide is often used frivolously to refer to any massacre, it should be reserved for those cases in which a state targets an ethnic group for physical destruction. Three clear cases of genocide exist in the 20th century: Turkey's attempt to exterminate the Armenian people; Nazi Germany's attempted annihilation of Europe's Jews and Gypsies; and the Hutu majority government of Rwanda's systematic attempt to murder every member of its Tutsi minority. In all three cases the total extermination of the victim nationality was halted only by the military defeat of the perpetrating state.

Stalin's deportation of national minorities meets only part of this definition of genocide. The Soviet regime deliberately exiled all the members

of certain ethnic groups to areas with unhealthy climates, poor housing, and insufficient food. In some cases this callous policy led to the death of more than a quarter of the deported nationality as a direct result of the conditions in exile. Stalin and his cohorts sought to punish the exiled nations in their entirety and showed little concern over the massive mortality that naturally followed from this policy. Still the deportations did not constitute genocide in the sense that the Armenian, Jewish, Gypsy, and Tutsi cases did. The Soviet government did little to stop deaths from exposure, disease, or hunger among the exiles; but it did not pursue the complete extermination of the deported nationalities.

In addition to the strict definition of genocide discussed above, genocide is a legal term in international law. This legal definition of genocide is considerably more liberal in its application than the literal definition of genocide. The General Assembly of the United Nations approved the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide on 9 December 1948.³ Article II states, "In the present convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group."⁴ The convention then lists five acts that can constitute genocide. Among these acts is "Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part."⁵ This passage aptly describes the Stalin regime's exile of whole nations to special settlements. The Stalin regime deliberately inflicted material conditions on the deported nationalities that it knew would bring about their partial physical destruction.

The Stalin regime embraced the ethnic prejudices of the former Tsars. Despite their Georgian origins, Stalin and Beria behaved like Russian chauvinists. This marked a sharp divergence from the earlier Bolshevik policy of *korenzatsiia* (nativization) pursued during the 1920s and early 1930s. The Soviet government officially adopted the policy of *korenzatsiia* at the 12th party conference in 1923.⁶ Under *korenzatsiia* the Soviet government actively sought to promote the cultural development and political participation of non-Russian nationalities. The various national territorial units of the USSR had real cultural autonomy during the era of *korenzatsiia*. In the mid-1930s, after Stalin's consolidation of political power, the Soviet government began to severely curtail this autonomy.

The policies of *korenzatsiia* included the creation of national territorial units for national minorities, supporting non-Russian cultural institutions, and increasing the number of non-Russians in Communist Party and Soviet government posts. These national territorial units ranged in size from village soviets to republics and conducted their operations in the titular language of the territory. They also provided the necessary infrastructure to support a myriad of non-Russian cultural institutions. Among these institutions were schools, newspapers, journals, libraries, theaters, book publishers, and museums. The Soviet government's cul-

tural accommodation of almost every non-Russian group in the USSR did not have universal support. Many Russians resented the promotion of cultural autonomy among nationalities they perceived as having little loyalty to the Soviet state. This resentment contributed to the widespread support for the deportations among the Russian population. The charges of treason against the deported peoples fit perfectly into the national stereotypes of Russian nationalists.

Stalin and Beria deemed many of the national groups in the USSR as inherently disloyal to the Soviet state. These groups fell into two main categories. The first category consisted of national groups that immigrated to the Soviet Union from other countries. These groups had ethnic and cultural ties with states outside the USSR. The Stalin regime feared that these national groups were filled with potential spies and saboteurs awaiting orders from their ethnic homelands. These extraterritorial nationalities included the Soviet Koreans, Finns, Germans, Greeks, Meskhetian Turks, Khemshils, and Kurds. Paranoia motivated the Stalin regime to deport these nationalities as a prophylactic measure against diversionist attacks.

The second category of deported nationalities consisted of nationalities indigenous to the Soviet Union that had a history of conflict with the Russian Empire. This second group included the Karachays, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, and Crimean Tatars. A small number of these nationalities served in German armed units against the Soviet military during World War II. The Stalin regime used this limited collaboration as an excuse to deport these nationalities.

Collectively, the deportation of all thirteen of these nationalities (see Table I.1) furthered the security and foreign policy goals of the Stalin regime. The Soviet government removed those nationalities it distrusted from the borders and strategic areas of the USSR, eliminated the possibility of espionage and sabotage by these nationalities, and suppressed opposition to its rule in sensitive areas of the Soviet Union. A large number of these exiles died as a result of these deportations (see Table I.2). The deportation of national minorities was a successful military and political policy.

The deportations also provided a secondary benefit to the USSR. They provided the Soviet government with a supply of labor to develop the economy of Siberia, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and other sparsely populated areas. The Stalin regime assigned the exiles in special settlements to agricultural work, animal husbandry, fishing, lumber preparation, mining, construction, and industrial work. Exiled national minorities greatly assisted the economic development of Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia.

In 1956, at the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev explicitly denounced Stalin's deporta-

Table I.1
Major National Deportations under Stalin, 1937–1944

Nationality	Date	Number	Location	Release
Koreans	21-8-37 to 25-10-37 ¹	171,781 ²	Kazakhstan Uzbekistan ³	1954 ⁴
Finnns	31-8-41 to 7-9-41 ⁵	89,000 ⁶	Kazakhstan ⁷	Various
Germans	3-9-41 to 15-10-41 ⁸	749,613 ⁹	Kazakhstan Siberia ¹⁰	13-12-1955 ¹¹
Kalmyks	28-12-43 to 29-12-43 ¹²	93,139 ¹³	Siberia Kazakhstan ¹⁴	17-3-1956 ¹⁵
Karachays	6-11-43 ¹⁶	69,267 ¹⁷	Kazakhstan Kirghizia ¹⁸	16-7-1956 ¹⁹
Chechens	23-2-44 to 29-2-44 ²⁰	387,229 ²¹	Kazakhstan Kirghizia ²²	16-7-1956 ²³
Ingush	23-2-44 to 29-2-44 ²⁴	91,250 ²⁵	Kazakhstan Kirghizia ²⁶	16-7-1956 ²⁷
Balkars	8-3-44 to 9-3-44 ²⁸	37,713 ²⁹	Kazakhstan Kirghizia ³⁰	28-4-1956 ³¹
Crimean Tatars	18-5-44 to 20-5-44 ³²	183,155 ³³	Uzbekistan Molotov ³⁴	28-4-1956 ³⁵
Crimean Greeks	27-6-44 to 28-6-44 ³⁶	15,040 ³⁷	Uzbekistan Mari ASSR ³⁸	27-3-1956 ³⁹
Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils	15-11-44 to 26-11-44 ⁴⁰	94,955 ⁴¹	Uzbekistan Kazakhstan Kirghizia ⁴²	28-4-1956 ⁴³
Total		1,982,142		

¹N. F. Bugai, "O vyselenii koreitsev iz dal'nevostochnovo kray," *Otechestvennaia istoriia*, no. 6, 1992, doc. 2, pp. 142–143; N. F. Bugai and Haruki Wada, "Iz istorii deportatsii 'russkikh koreitsev,'" *Druzhba narodov*, no. 7, 1992, pp. 220–221.

²Bugai and Wada, "Iz istorii deportatsii 'russkikh koreitsev,'" pp. 220–221.

³Ibid.

⁴Michael Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation: The Far-Eastern Koreans," *Russian Review*, vol. 54, July 1995, p. 409.

⁵N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (hereafter *Ikh nado deportirovat'*) (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 11, p. 47.

⁶Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 32, p. 65.

⁷Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 11, p. 47.

⁸Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 6, p. 40.

⁹Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 33, pp. 65–66. The Stalin regime confined 1,209,430 Soviet Germans to special settlements between 1941 and 1945. They deported 846,340 of these Germans in accordance with specific deportation orders; another 203,796 were repatriated from areas formerly under Nazi control; 48,001 were mobilized Germans demobilized from work colonies and sent to special settlements; and 110,332 were Germans already living in Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia. The re-

maining 961 “Germans” were non-Germans who accompanied their German spouses into exile. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 45, pp. 75–76; V. N. Zemskov, “Zakliuchenye, spetsposelentsy, ssyl’noposelentsy, ssylne, i vyslanye,” *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table no. 3, p. 155.

¹⁰Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 33, pp. 65–66.

¹¹Document reproduced in Svetlana Alieva, ed., *Tak eto bylo: Natsional’e nye repressi v SSSR, 1919–1952 gody* (Moscow: Russian International Central Fund, 1993), vol. I, p. 245; A. Andreevich and Ch. Georgievna, eds., *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev v dokumentakh 1763–1992* (Moscow: International Institute for Humanitarian Programs, 1993), p. 177.

¹²Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 10, p. 91.

¹³Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 2, p. 85.

¹⁴Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 4, p. 86.

¹⁵Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 66, pp. 270–271; also reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 69.

¹⁶N. F. Bugai, L. Beria–I. Stalinu: “Soglasno vashemu ukazaniiu . . .” (hereafter *Soglasno*) (Moscow: “AIRO XX,” 1995), p. 62.

¹⁷N. F. Bugai, ed., “Pogruzheny v eshelony i otpravleny k mestam poselenii . . .” L. Beria–I. Stalinu,” *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1991, doc. 4, p. 145.

¹⁸Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 62.

¹⁹Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 59, pp. 274–275; also reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 227.

²⁰Document reproduced in N. F. Bugai, ed., “Deportatsiia: Beriia dokladyvaet Stalinu,” *Kommunist*, no. 2, 1991, p. 104; Bugai, “Pogruzheny,” doc. 11, p. 143; and Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 13, pp. 105–106.

²¹Ibid.

²²Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 30, p. 114.

²³Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 59, pp. 274–275; also reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 227.

²⁴Document reproduced in N. F. Bugai, ed., “Deportatsiia,” p. 104; Bugai, “Pogruzheny,” doc. 11, p. 143; and Bugai *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 13, pp. 105–106.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 30, p. 114.

²⁷Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 59, pp. 274–275; also reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 227.

²⁸Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 26 and fn. 1, p. 112.

²⁹Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 29, pp. 113–114.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 57, p. 273; also reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, p. 72.

³²Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 13, pp. 138–139.

³³Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 20, p. 144. The Stalin regime expelled a total of 194,155 Crimean Tatars from the Crimea. In addition to the 183,155 Crimean Tatars deported to special settlements, the Soviet Red Army conscripted 6,000 Crimean Tatars into labor battalions, and the Moscow Coal Trust mobilized 5,000 Crimean Tatars during May 1944. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 13, pp. 138–139.

³⁴Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 155.

³⁵Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 57, p. 273; also reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, p. 72.

³⁶N. F. Bugai, “K voprosu o deportatsii narodov SSSR v 30–40 kh godakh,” *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 6, 1989, p. 141.

³⁷Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 20, p. 144.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 53, p. 258; Zemskov, "Massovoe osvobzhdienie spetsposelentsev i ssyl'nykh (1954–1960 gg.)," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 1, 1991, table no. 3, p. 14.

⁴⁰Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 4, p. 155, and doc. 5, pp. 155–156.

⁴¹N. F. Bugai, "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov (svidetelstvuiut arkhivy NKVD-MVD SSSR)," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1992, doc. 23, p. 133.

⁴²Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 7, p. 157.

⁴³Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 57, p. 273; also reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, p. 72.

tion of the Karachays, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, and Balkars. He neglected to mention the Germans, Crimean Tatars, or Meskhetian Turks. The Soviet regime's charges of treason remained against the Germans until 1964, and against the Crimean Tatars until 1967. Despite efforts by the Crimean Tatars, Soviet Germans, and Meskhetian Turks to seek redress from the Soviet government, Moscow ignored the plight of these people until the era of *glasnost*.

In the late 1980s, with the partial opening of the Soviet archives, the subject of national deportations emerged into open debate in the Soviet Union. On 14 November 1989, the Supreme Soviet issued a declaration entitled "On Recognizing the Illegal and Criminal Repressive Acts against Peoples Subjected to Forcible Resettlement and Ensuring their Rights."⁷ This declaration explicitly condemned the Stalin regime's deportation of eleven repressed peoples. The Soviet government specifically recognized the Koreans, Germans, Karachays, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks, Greeks, and Kurds as "Repressed Peoples."⁸ This resolution passed by a voice vote of 370 for, 5 against, and 16 abstaining.⁹ With this vote, the Soviet government approved the historical rehabilitation of these repressed nationalities.

The Supreme Soviet's declaration condemning the deportation of whole nations was just the first of several legislative acts aimed at rehabilitating the victims of Stalin's crimes. On 7 March 1991, the Supreme Soviet issued a resolution, "On Negating the Illegal Acts in Relation to the Declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on 14 November 1989 'On Recognizing the Illegal and Criminal Repressive Acts against People Subjected to Forcible Resettlement and Ensuring their Rights.'"¹⁰ This resolution negated the decrees and resolutions passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR relating to the deportation of national minorities.¹¹ The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR followed suit and on 26 April 1991 passed a law, "On the Rehabilitation of Repressed Peoples."¹² Before its collapse, the Soviet Union finally formally repudiated the Stalinist policy of national deportations, almost 40 years after Stalin's death.

Information on the subject of national deportations in the USSR has been limited until recently because of the inaccessibility of Soviet archives. Since 1989, however, the partial opening of these archives has

Table I.2¹
Deaths in Special Settlements, 1941–1948

Nationality	Number	Percentage of Nationality
Germans	42,823	3.5%
Kalmyks	16,594	17.4%
North Caucasians	144,704	23.7%
Crimean Tatars, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Armenians	44,887	19.6%
Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils	14,895	14.6%
Ukrainians	10,384	NA
Former Kulaks	30,439	NA
Others	5,958	NA
Total	309,100 ²	NA

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: “Ikh nado deportirovat’ ”: dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 48, pp. 264–265.

²Although the total 309,100 appears in the original document, the sum of the column is 310,684, a difference of 1,584.

led to the publication of a great deal of information on this subject by Russian academics. Scholars such as N. F. Bugai, V. N. Zemskov, Svetlana Alieva, and others have written numerous articles and books on the deportation of national groups to special settlements. The Russian academic press has published verbatim a large number of decrees, orders, instructions, resolutions, telegrams, and other government documents related to this subject. This new research has unearthed a great deal of information on the exile of national and ethnic groups to remote areas of the Soviet Union during the reign of Joseph Stalin.

The published collections of Soviet documents on Stalinist deportations formed the basis of my research for this book. These collections include Svetlana Alieva’s three-volume *Tak eto bylo: Natsional’nye repressii v SSSR, 1919–1952 gody* and A. Andreevich and Ch. Georgievna, eds., *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev v dokumentakh 1763–1992*. The most prolific compiler of Soviet government documents on Stalin’s national deportations is N. F. Bugai. Dr. Bugai is the head of the Russian government’s Department of Repressed and Deported Peoples. The single most important document collection in writing this book was Bugai’s *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: “Ikh nado deportirovat’ ”: dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii*, a 286-page compilation of Soviet government documents dealing with Stalin’s deportations. These archival documents provide a wealth of new information on one of the worst crimes against humanity in the 20th century.

1

Koreans

In its time, in the period of Stalin's ascendancy, Soviet Communism also was national Communism. At that time Russian Communism abandoned internationalism, except as an instrument of its foreign policy.

—Milovan Djilas, *The New Class*, 1957

The Stalin regime distinguished itself by massive repression against its own citizens. Among its worst crimes was the exile of entire nations from their ancestral homelands to areas of desolate wasteland. Although the Volga Germans, Chechens, and Crimean Tatars are the most famous of the deported nationalities, they were not the first. The World War II deportations had an earlier model. In the fall of 1937, the Soviet regime exiled almost the entire Korean population from the Soviet Far East to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In just a few months the Soviet state forcibly relocated an entire national minority of over 170,000 people halfway across the continent of Asia. The Soviet Koreans were the first nationality the Stalin regime deported in its entirety on the basis of their ethnicity. It was an act of national repression on a grand scale.

The Korean population of the Commonwealth of Independent States arrived in the Russian Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The first Koreans in the Russian Empire were 5,310 Koreans (761 families) in 28 settlements in the territory ceded to Russia by China in the Peking Treaty of 14 November 1860.¹ During the late 19th century, famines in Korea spurred further immigration to the Russian Far East. Close to 15,000 Koreans fled to Russia during the famine of 1869–1870.² Poverty

and land shortages continued to motivate Koreans to immigrate to Russia after the famine. In 1872, Korean immigrants in Russia founded the village of Blagoslovennoe.³ By 1883, there were officially 32,298 Koreans in the Russian Far East.⁴ Immigration to Russia from Korea continued into the 20th century. The Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 caused a further influx of immigrants into Russia. Most of these immigrants remained stateless and landless in Russia. In 1914 there were 64,309 Koreans in the Russian Empire, of which only 20,109 were Russian citizens.⁵ The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and the Russian Civil War from 1918 to 1921 did nothing to deter further immigration from Korea. Instead, the Japanese suppression of the 1919 independence movement caused more Koreans to cross the Russian border.⁶ By 1923, there were 106,817 Koreans in the Maritime Province, of whom only 11,598 were Soviet citizens.⁷ The Soviet government made attempts in 1924 to stop further immigration from Korea, but it was not successful until 1931.⁸ In 1931, the Soviet Union halted immigration from Korea and required all Korean immigrants to become naturalized Soviet citizens.⁹ According to the 1937 Soviet census there were 168,259 Koreans in the USSR.¹⁰ Almost all of these Koreans lived in the Soviet Far East near the Korean and Manchurian borders.

During the mid-1920s and early 1930s the Soviet Koreans benefited greatly from the policy of *korenzatsiia*. In 1926, the Soviet government created the Pos'et Korean national *raion* (district) located on the border of Korea and China.¹¹ This *raion* possessed 55 Korean village Soviets and conducted its activities in Korean.¹² Another 105 Korean village soviets existed in 15 mixed national *raions* in the Far East Kray (territory).¹³ Between 1932 and 1937 the Far East Kray supported seven Korean newspapers, six Korean journals, 380 Korean schools, a Korean pedagogical institute, two Korean teachers' colleges, three Korean hospitals, and a Korean theater.¹⁴ The largest Korean language newspaper in the USSR was *Vanguard*, published in Vladivostok with a circulation of nearly 10,000.¹⁵ After October 1937 the Soviet Koreans permanently lost most of these cultural institutions.

In the Soviet Far East local officials viewed the Koreans with suspicion because of their ethnic and family ties to areas under Japanese control. The Soviet government feared a possible war with Japan in 1936 and 1937.¹⁶ This fear arose from the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and from memories of the loss of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. The Soviet regime suspected that many of its Korean citizens were engaged in intelligence work on behalf of the Japanese Empire.¹⁷ Frequent border crossings by Soviet Koreans heightened this suspicion.¹⁸ During 1937, the UNKVD (Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs) in the Far East Kray issued numerous reports on the growth of "wrecking Trotskyite-Japanese spies" in Korean-populated areas.¹⁹ On

23 April 1937, *Pravda* ran an article on Japan's use of ethnic Korean spies in the Soviet Far East.²⁰ This article accused Japan of infiltrating ethnic Korean spies into the USSR "masked as natives of the region."²¹ These accusations evidently had some basis in truth. Information from Japanese sources indicate that their intelligence operations in the Soviet Far East did benefit from the assistance of Soviet Koreans.²² The loss of this assistance moved the Japanese embassy in Moscow to issue a protest on 3 November 1937 against the deportation of the Soviet Koreans.²³ The Soviet regime believed that the deportation of the Soviet Koreans from the Far East Kray was a necessary security measure against Japanese subversion.²⁴ Stalin did not hesitate to sacrifice the rights of a small national minority in order to strengthen the security of the Soviet Union.

During the course of World War II, the absence of the Soviet Korean population in the Far East greatly hampered the ability of the Japanese to launch diversionary strikes against the rear of the Red Army. It is clear that the Japanese military intended to infiltrate Korean agents into the Soviet Far East to commit acts of sabotage against military targets and then blend into the local Korean population.²⁵ Despite the deportation of the Soviet Koreans, Soviet forces liquidated at least one group of 42 Koreans sent into the Soviet Union by Japan for this purpose during World War II.²⁶ The exile of the Soviet Koreans made identifying spies and diversionists sent from the Japanese Empire much easier. Ethnic Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans were easy to identify among the white Slavic population of the Soviet Far East.

The Stalin regime decided to deport the Koreans in the Soviet Far East to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in the summer of 1937. On 21 August 1937, the SNK (Council of People's Commissariats) and Central Committee of the Communist Party passed resolution 1428-326 ss entitled, "On the Exile of the Korean Population from Border *Raions* of the Far East Kray."²⁷ Stalin and Molotov personally signed this resolution.²⁸ This resolution ordered the Communist Party, executive committee, and UNKVD of the Far East Kray to immediately deport the Koreans living in the *raions* bordering Korea and Manchuria.²⁹ This resolution gave the designated organs of the Far East Kray a deadline of 1 January 1938 to complete the relocation of the Koreans from the border *raions* to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.³⁰ The order stated that the deported Koreans could bring their household property and livestock with them to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. It also pledged that the Soviet government would compensate the Koreans for property abandoned in the Far East due to the deportation.³¹ Despite this promise, the Soviet government paid less than one-third the value of this lost property to the Soviet Koreans.³² The exiled Koreans permanently lost most of their property without compensation as a result of the deportations.

The order instructed the UNKVD not to impede the orderly crossing

of the border into Manchuria or Korea by Soviet Koreans who wished to enter Japanese occupied territories.³³ It is not known how many Soviet Koreans chose the option of leaving the USSR for Korea or Manchuria, but it was evidently relatively few. The NKVD ended up deporting almost the entire Soviet Korean population to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The initial deportation order, however, increased the number of border guards by 3,000 in the Far East Kray to prevent the return of any expelled Koreans.³⁴ The order gave the responsibility of providing for the Korean exiles to the SNKs of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.³⁵ Finally, the deportation order gave permission to the NKVD to use the abandoned property of the deported Koreans for their own lodging.³⁶ The former houses and farms of the Soviet Koreans soon became the residences of Russians.

On 8 September 1937, the SNK passed resolution 1539–354 ss entitled “On Resettling the Koreans.”³⁷ This resolution stated that all Korean workers would receive their last two weeks of wages and that each deportee would receive five rubles a day during transit.³⁸ The chief of the the Far East Kray NKVD, Genrikh Liushkov, personally directed the mass deportation of the Soviet Koreans.³⁹ Russian and Russian Korean scholars note that Liushkov, a Russian Jew, was a thoroughly despicable man.⁴⁰ The Far East Kray organs completed the deportation of the Soviet Koreans months ahead of schedule. By the end of September they had deported 74,500 Soviet Koreans from the border *raions* of the Soviet Far East Kray to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.⁴¹ Along with the first wave of Soviet Koreans, the NKVD also exiled 8,000 ethnic Chinese to the interior of the USSR.⁴² In the course of deporting the Korean population from the Soviet Far East, the NKVD arrested 2,500 Koreans, 11,000 Chinese, 600 Poles, and 9,000 Communist Party members and Red Army soldiers suspected of being unreliable.⁴³ The Stalin regime successfully removed all ethnically suspect individuals from the Soviet Far East.

On 28 September 1937, the SNK passed a resolution, “On Resettling Koreans from the Territory of the Far East Kray,” ordering the deportation of the remaining Korean population in the Soviet Far East Kray.⁴⁴ During the month of October 1937 the Soviet regime deported the Korean population of Vladivostok, the Buriat-Mongol ASSR, Khabarovsk Kray, Chita Oblast, and other regions east of Lake Baikal to Kazakhstan and Central Asia.⁴⁵ This second wave of exiled Koreans numbered 97,281.⁴⁶ The Stalin regime carried out this deportation in a manner similar to the first wave. On 29 October 1937, Nikolai Yezhov (the People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs and General Commissar of State Security) wrote a letter to Vyacheslav Molotov informing him of the deportation of the Koreans from the Far East Kray.⁴⁷ A ruthless Chekist, Yezhov also directed the vast purges of 1937 and 1938. Yezhov informed Molotov that, by 25 October 1937, the Soviet authorities of the Far East Kray had deported 171,781 Koreans (36,442 families) on 124 train echelons.⁴⁸ They

Table 1.1¹
Location of Korean Exiles in Uzbekistan, 5 December 1937

Oblasts	Number of Exiles	Number of Families
Tashkent	37,321	7,861
Samarkand	9,147	1,940
Ferganda	8,214	823
Namangand	972	243
Surkhan-Dar'in	29	8
Khorezem	5,799	1,197
Karakalpak	12,831	2,993
Total	74,500 ²	16,307 ³

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat' ": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 14, pp. 31–32.

²Although this figure is given as the total in the original document, the component numbers add up to 74,313, a difference of 187.

³Although this figure is given in the original document, the component numbers add up to 15,065, a difference of 1,242.

exiled 95,256 Koreans (20,170 families) to Kazakhstan and 76,525 (16,272 families) to Uzbekistan.⁴⁹ According to this letter a total of 76 train echelons had already arrived at their destinations with their human cargo, and 48 were still en route.⁵⁰ Only 700 Soviet Koreans scheduled for deportation remained in the Far East Kray, Kamchatka, and Okhotsk.⁵¹ The local Soviet organs intended to exile these remaining Koreans on 1 November 1937.⁵² In just a little over two months the Stalin regime purged the Soviet Far East of its Korean minority (see Table 1.1).

The journey to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan averaged about a month. A 29 January 1938 letter from Pak Ezhi, the chairman of a Korean village in Guryev Oblast Kazakhstan, to Molotov states that he spent from 4 October 1937 until 2 November 1937 aboard a train.⁵³ The train journey was not only long but also overcrowded and unhygienic. Very few of the resettled Koreans received the allowance of five rubles a day promised in SNK resolution 1539–354ss of 8 September 1937.⁵⁴ The exiled Koreans arrived at their new destinations traumatized and destitute.

The exiled Koreans suffered from poverty and cultural deprivation in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The deported Koreans found the winter of 1937 and 1938 especially difficult. Many urban Korean workers could not find employment in their new places of residence. On 5 November 1937, Deputy Commissar of Internal Affairs Chernyshov wrote to Deputy Chairman of the SNK Chubar concerning unemployment among Korean exiles in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.⁵⁵ Chernyshov noted that these workers had a lower standard of living than Koreans resettled on *kolhozes*

(collective farms).⁵⁶ He recommended that the SNKs of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan provide work for unemployed Korean workers and give their families allowances or loans.⁵⁷ On 2 December 1937, Chairman Isaev of the Kazakhstan SNK informed Chubar that the only assistance they had been able to provide the resettled Koreans was housing for the winter.⁵⁸ Isaev noted that a lack of materials and machinery impeded further economic construction among the exiles.⁵⁹ Poor conditions for the deported Koreans continued into 1938. The letter from Pak Ezhi to Molotov on 29 January 1938 complained of desperate living conditions among the exiled Koreans in Kazakhstan.⁶⁰ Among the problems faced by the exiled Koreans were lack of employment, the inability of rice farmers and fishermen to raise food in the desert climate of Kazakhstan, and impending starvation.⁶¹ The Soviet Koreans initially found it difficult to adapt to the conditions of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

A large number of Soviet Koreans died in exile from these harsh conditions. Official figures for the number of fatalities are unavailable. Estimates based upon available population statistics, however, indicate that during the first year of exile the deported Koreans lost more than a fifth of their population to malnutrition, disease, and other causes. Around 40,000 Soviet Koreans, 22% of the population, perished in 1937 and 1938.⁶² The fatalities in subsequent years were not so high. Children and the elderly unable to adapt to the conditions of exile probably formed the bulk of deaths during the first year. The remaining population consisted of those with hardier constitutions. Also by the end of 1938, the exiled Koreans had acquired more adequate housing and access to food. These improvements reduced the incidents of malnutrition and infectious disease among the exiles.

The Soviet regime assigned most of the resettled Koreans to agricultural work. On 5 December 1937, there were 16,307 Korean households with 74,500 inhabitants in Uzbekistan.⁶³ A total of 9,300 of these households lived on *kolhozes*, and 7,007 were supported by workers in urban occupations.⁶⁴ The Soviet government organized 7,755 Korean households with 38,308 people into separate Korean *kolhozes* and placed 1,525 Korean households on previously existing Uzbek *kolhozes*.⁶⁵ The Soviet government assigned another 1,446 Korean households with 5,270 people to the cotton *sovhozes* of "Dal 'verzin'" and "Bayaut."⁶⁶ The exiled Koreans settled in *kolhozes* developed most of the rice farming and fish ponds in Central Asia.

A similar economic pattern prevailed among the Koreans exiled to Kazakhstan. On 8 January 1939, Kazakhstan had 18,085 Korean households.⁶⁷ A total of 7,205 of these households had united to form 61 *kolhozes* and another 1,331 had united to form 13 fishing *kolhozes*.⁶⁸ Another 4,018 Korean households in Kazakhstan had joined 169 already-existing *kolhozes*.⁶⁹ The exiled Koreans also worked in the handicraft industry.

A total of 1,039 Korean households in Kazakhstan formed handicraft artels.⁷⁰ The Korean-populated *kolhozes* became some of the most productive agricultural units in Kazakhstan.

The Soviet government classified the deported Koreans as administratively exiled rather than as special settlers. The Soviet regime did not confine the exiled Koreans to restricted settlements under NKVD supervision as it did other deported nationalities. Instead, the Soviet Koreans only had five-year restrictions in their internal passports on where they could live.⁷¹ The restrictions on their place of residence prohibited Soviet Koreans from living outside Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics and banned them from the border *raions* of these republics.⁷² According to Gerasim Iugai the exiled Koreans also needed special permission to move from one *raion* to another within the area where the Stalin regime allowed them to live.⁷³

The sentence of administrative exile should have expired in 1942, but it remained in place until 1954.⁷⁴ On 2 August 1946, the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) issued directive 196 on giving new passports without the five-year restriction to administrative exiles.⁷⁵ The MVD, however, superseded this order on 3 March 1947 with directive no. 36, which issued new passports to the Soviet Koreans with the restrictions on residence in place.⁷⁶ Only Koreans who received new passports in the seven months prior to MVD directive no. 36 could live outside Kazakhstan and Central Asia until 1954.⁷⁷ During this time the Stalin regime confined the exiled Koreans to the interior of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, far from the borders of Korea and Manchuria.

The Soviet government did not exile the Koreans as a form of punishment, as it did the Karachays, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, and Crimean Tatars. The Koreans, however, still suffered under repressive restrictions. The Soviet regime prohibited the exiled Koreans from serving in the armed forces. The Koreans were “people deprived of the right to defend the country by force of arms.”⁷⁸ The Soviet government also prevented Koreans from studying science or technical subjects at institutions of higher learning.⁷⁹ The Stalin regime reduced ethnic Koreans to second-class citizens in the USSR.

The exiled Koreans also lost most of their cultural institutions as a result of the deportation. Although the Soviet government initially set up Korean language schools in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, after 1939 they changed the language of instruction to Russian.⁸⁰ From 1939 to 1945, Soviet schools only taught Korean as a second language, and after 1945 they did not teach it at all.⁸¹ The only Korean-language publication in the Soviet Union was “Lenin Kichi” (Lenin’s banner), founded on 15 May 1938.⁸² Printed in Alma Ata, this newspaper published official documents of the Communist Party and Soviet government, and little else.⁸³ The loss of Korean-language schools greatly reduced the number of So-

Table 1.2
Percentage of Soviet Koreans Speaking Korean as a Native Language

Year	Percentage
1926	98.9% ¹
1959	79.3% ²
1979	55.4% ³
1989	49.4% ⁴

¹Gerhard Simon, trans. Karen and Oswald Forster, *Nationalism and Policy toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union: From Totalitarian Dictatorship to Post-Stalinist Society* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991), table A.8, p. 396.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Chey Youn-Cha Shin, “Koreans,” in Paul Friedrich and Norma Diamond, *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*, vol. VI, *Russia and Eurasia/China* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1994), p. 205.

viet Korean speaking Koreans as a native language (see Table 1.2). In 1926, 98.9% of Soviet Koreans spoke Korean as a native language.⁸⁴ By 1959, only 79.3% of Soviet Koreans did.⁸⁵ Linguistic assimilation continued unabated in the 1960s and 1970s. By 1989 only 49.4% of Soviet Koreans spoke Korean as a native language.⁸⁶ The conditions of exile emasculated the expression of Korean culture in the Soviet Union.

During World War II the Soviet government imposed additional burdens upon its citizens of Korean nationality. Although the Stalin regime prohibited most Koreans from serving in the military, it exploited Korean labor to support its war effort against Nazi Germany. On 10 January 1942, the GKO (State Defense Committee) passed resolution N 1123ss.⁸⁷ This order mobilized Soviet citizens of suspect nationalities into work battalions and colonies under NKVD supervision.⁸⁸ Although this resolution originally applied only to Germans, according to V. N. Zemskov the Stalin regime mobilized a total of 20,000 Koreans, Chinese, Greeks, Crimean Tatars, Bulgarians, and Kalmyks into work battalions and colonies under the provisions of this decree.⁸⁹ These work battalions and colonies often worked at corrective labor camps, even though the NKVD counted them as a separate contingent from the Gulag (Main Administration of Camps) prisoners.⁹⁰ The NKVD mobilized a total of 7,765 Soviet Koreans into work battalions under the provisions of GKO order N 1123ss.⁹¹ More than 5,000 of these mobilized Koreans worked in the Tula coal basin during World War II.⁹² On 5 December 1943, GKO order No 4726 authorized the Red Army to mobilize another 2,500 Korean laborers in Uzbekistan by 1 January 1944 to help construct a metallurgical factory.⁹³ In 1945, the NKVD moved 1,500 Koreans in work battalions to the Ukhta corrective labor camps.⁹⁴ An additional 1,347 Soviet Koreans worked in corrective labor camps as Gulag prisoners on 1 January 1945.⁹⁵

Table 1.3
Soviet Koreans in Corrective Labor Camps, 1939–1947¹

1939	2,371
1940	2,800
1941	2,108
1942	2,403
1943	1,806
1944	1,257
1945	1,397
1946	909
1947	959

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Gulag (istoriko-sotsiologicheskii aspekt)," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 6, 1991, table no. 5, p. 17, and table no. 11, p. 26.

(see Table 1.3). Near the end of 1945, however, the NKVD sent all of the Koreans that it mobilized in work battalions and colonies to administrative exile in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.⁹⁶ Laborers mobilized into work battalions and Gulag prisoners suffered substantial deprivations during World War II. They worked long hours at dangerous and exhausting tasks on meager rations. The increased demand for labor during World War II coupled with a renewed Russian chauvinism made the lives of Korean forced laborers particularly burdensome.

After their release from administrative exile in 1954, only a minority of Koreans chose to return to the Soviet Far East.⁹⁷ Instead, most of them opted to remain in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, where they have contributed greatly to the regional economy. In 1959, 68% of the population of the Soviet Koreans lived in Kazakhstan and Central Asia.⁹⁸ By 1970, this portion had increased to 72.6%.⁹⁹ In 1989, the Soviet census showed a total of 439,000 Soviet Koreans.¹⁰⁰ Today more than two thirds of the Korean population of the former Soviet Union still live in Kazakhstan and Central Asia.¹⁰¹ The largest group of Russian Koreans remains in Uzbekistan.¹⁰² The exile of the Soviet Koreans by Stalin permanently rooted the bulk of their population in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union there has been some movement by the Koreans in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan to reestablish an autonomous region in the Russian Far East. The Russian population of the Far East, however, has resisted the return of the exiled Koreans to their former area of residence. In 1991, the Association of Ethnic Koreans of the Commonwealth of Independent States submitted a referendum to the citizens of the Maritime Province of Russia.¹⁰³ This proposal would have created a Korean autonomous region in the province.¹⁰⁴ Already con-

cerned about immigrants from China and Korea, the Russian population of the province rejected this proposition in a referendum.¹⁰⁵ Most Russian Koreans have not been able to return successfully to the Far East from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Despite the burden of exile, many Soviet Koreans have achieved recognized success in such varied fields as agriculture, science, and music. One of the most famous Soviet Koreans was Viktor Tsoi. A popular rock star in the USSR, Tsoi was an ethnic Korean whose father and grandparents endured the trials of exile. Before becoming a successful singer, Tsoi worked as a stoker. Since his untimely death in an automobile accident, Tsoi has become a cult figure for many rock music fans in Russia.¹⁰⁶ Tsoi's success is symptomatic of the social progress Soviet Koreans made between the 1950s and the 1980s.

During the 1990s, the Soviet and Russian governments passed legislation aimed at rehabilitating the Koreans deported by Stalin. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR's 14 November 1989 "Declaration on Recognizing the Illegal and Criminal Repressive Acts against Peoples Subjected to Forcible Resettlement and Ensuring their Rights" specifically mentioned the Koreans as a nationality subjected to "political forced resettlement."¹⁰⁷ Subsequent legislation by the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and RSFSR based upon this declaration attempted to make political restitution to the Koreans. The Russian government continued the process of rehabilitating the Koreans after the collapse of the Soviet Union. President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree (*ukaz*) on 1 April 1993, entitled "On Rehabilitating the Russian Koreans."¹⁰⁸ Those Koreans who returned to Russia from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan could take advantage of this new legislation.

In Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, where most Russian Koreans reside, however, the situation is worse. The newly independent states of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have displayed a barely concealed hostility towards non-natives. This hostility has not discriminated between voluntary Russian settlers and deported national minorities. The 1989 pogrom against Meskhetian Turks by Uzbeks in the Ferenga Valley was one of most violent displays of this hostility to foreigners. In Kazakhstan the newly independent government has actively sought to replace non-Kazakhs in government jobs with Kazakhs. It has also sought to make Kazakh rather than Russian the primary language of the country. The Russian-speaking Koreans as well as ethnic Russians have felt this pressure. The Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks have opted to leave Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in large numbers. Many of the Germans have opted to emigrate to Germany rather than remain in any part of the former Soviet Union. In contrast, while a number of Koreans from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

have emigrated to Russia, there has not been any movement for mass emigration to Korea.

The deportation of the Soviet Koreans marked a milestone in Soviet history. It was the first time that the Soviet regime exiled all of the members of a particular nationality based upon their ethnicity. The Stalin regime established a model for the exile of whole nations with the 1937 deportation of the Soviet Koreans. During World War II, the NKVD followed this precedent, and deported the Soviet Finns, Germans, Karachays, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, and Crimean Tatars. The Soviet Koreans served as a successful test case for the Stalinist policy of national deportations.

2

Finns

Even the official ally of the moment is always regarded with the darkest suspicion. War prisoners apart, the average citizen of Oceania never sets eyes on a citizen of Eurasia or Eastasia, and he is forbidden the knowledge of foreign languages. If he were allowed contact with foreigners he would discover that they are creatures similar to himself and that most of what he has been told about them is lies.

—George Orwell, *1984*, 1949

The exile of the Soviet Koreans proved the effectiveness of ethnic deportations as a security measure. The Stalin regime adopted deportation of nationalities with cultural ties to hostile states as part of its military strategy during World War II. In the six months following the Axis invasion of the USSR, the Stalin regime exiled Soviet citizens who had ethnic ties to the countries involved in fighting against the USSR.

Immediately after the German invasion of the USSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet recommended the deportation of the Leningrad Finns. Even though the Finnish military had fully mobilized by 22 June 1941, fighting between Finland and the USSR did not begin until the Soviet Air Force bombed Finnish territory three days later. After this provocation, the Finns successfully launched a full-scale incursion into Soviet-occupied Karelia. The Finnish army advanced rapidly towards the second most important city of the USSR, Leningrad, during the summer of 1941. In late August 1941, the Soviet government forcibly exiled the ethnic Finns in Leningrad Oblast to prevent them from assisting the Finnish military.

The Finnish population of the USSR consisted of several different geographic settlements. The largest group of Finns in the Soviet Union lived in the rural areas of the Leningrad Oblast. This territory on the south coast of the Gulf of Finland, between St. Petersburg and Estonia, is variously known as Ingria, Ingermanland, Inkeri, or Ingerimaa. The Ingrian Finns originally settled this territory when it was under Swedish rule from 1617 to 1721. The Ingrian Finns maintained their language, cultural traditions, and Lutheran religion both during the period of Swedish rule and under the Tsars. Between 1848 and 1897, the number of Ingrian Finns increased from 72,323 to 130,413.¹ Other groups of Soviet Finns included Finns living in the city of Leningrad, recent immigrants from Finland to Ingria, and Finns in Soviet Karelia. The 1926 Soviet census counted 134,700 Finns in the USSR.² A total of 114,831 “Leningrad Finns” lived in the Leningrad Oblast.³ In this chapter, I use the term Soviet Finns to refer to all Soviet citizens of Finnish ethnicity. It does not, however, include the ethnic Karelian population of the USSR.

The Soviet Finns in Leningrad Oblast, like the Soviet Koreans, also benefited greatly from the policy of *korenzatsiia*. In 1933, there were two Finnish national *raions*, Lembolov and Nicholas, in Leningrad Oblast.⁴ Finnish, not Russian, was the official language of these two *raions*. The roughly 130,000 Finns in Leningrad Oblast also possessed 284 Finnish elementary schools, a Finnish pedagogical institute in the city of Leningrad, and 434 Finnish *kollhozes*.⁵ The Soviet government also made Finnish-language radio broadcasts in the Leningrad Oblast.⁶ The primarily rural Finns in the Leningrad Oblast had more government-supported cultural institutions than many larger national minorities in the Soviet Union in the early 1930s.

In the mid 1930s, when the Stalin regime terminated *korenzatsiia* in favor of a more Russian-centered nationalities policy, the Finns, like other national minorities, lost many of their former privileges and became victims of an increasingly virulent Russian chauvinism as the 1930s progressed. The Stalin regime viewed national minorities with ethnic ties beyond the borders of the Soviet Union with particular suspicion. The NKVD believed that Soviet citizens of Finnish nationality were potential spies and diversionists. The Stalin regime undertook a series of repressive measures against the Soviet Finns beginning in 1935.

The border regions of the USSR contained many suspect national minorities. The NKVD cleansed these border regions of unreliable ethnic groups during the 1930s and 1940s. First, they dealt with the border between Finland and the USSR. On 25 March 1935, Genrikh Yagoda, the head of the NKVD, reported on the proposed removal of “kulaks and anti-Soviet elements” from Karelia and Leningrad Oblast.⁷ Yagoda, the only Jewish head of the NKVD, oversaw the development of the vast network of corrective labor camps, corrective labor colonies, and special

settlements under Gulag Chief Matvei Berman in the early and mid 1930s. Although this report makes no reference to nationality, many of these “anti-Soviet elements” were ethnic Finns. Yagoda’s report specifies that the NKVD would remove 3,547 families living within 22 km of the Finnish and Estonian borders of Karelia and Leningrad Oblast between 1 April and 25 April 1935.⁸ Close to 2,000 of these families (7,000 people) were ethnic Finns.⁹ Yagoda instructed the NKVD to exile 1,700 of these families to Tadzhikistan, 316 Karelian families to western Siberia, and the remaining 1,536 families to Kazakhstan.¹⁰ The report noted that the NKVD was not to deport former red partisans, family members of Red Army soldiers, tradesmen, and foreign passport holders.¹¹ The NKVD later repeated the deportation of ethnic minorities along the borders of Poland, Afghanistan, China, Iran, and Turkey.

In 1936, the Stalin regime began abolishing all of the national *raions* in the USSR. In 1937, the Soviet government eliminated the Finnish national *raions*.¹² The cultural institutions supported by these *raions* did not survive long without this administrative support. Between 1937 and 1938, the Soviet government shut down all of the Finnish-language papers, publishing houses, schools, radio broadcasts, and churches in the Leningrad Oblast.¹³ Most of these institutions were never restored.

The Stalin regime’s paranoia about foreign spies adversely affected the Soviet Finns. Soviet security organs viewed anybody with a foreign-sounding name as a potential spy or diversionist. On 31 January 1938, Nikolai Yezhoz issued a memorandum to the Central Committee of the Communist Party regarding a Politburo decision to extend an NKVD operation to neutralize spies and diversionists until 18 April 1938.¹⁴ This report specifically listed eleven suspect nationalities covered by this operation.¹⁵ These nationalities were Finns, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Germans, Greeks, Iranians, Chinese, Romanians, Macedonians, and Bulgarians.¹⁶ This operation did not distinguish between Soviet citizens and foreign passport holders; ethnicity was the determining factor in determining loyalty.¹⁷ During this operation, the NKVD arrested a large number of Soviet Finns. Between 1 January 1938 and 1 January 1939, the number of Soviet Finns incarcerated in corrective labor camps increased from 997 to 2,371.¹⁸ In 1939 a total of 1.9% of the Finnish population of the USSR were in corrective labor camps, compared to 0.77% of the total Soviet population.¹⁹ The disproportionate number of Soviet Finns sent to labor camps was the direct result of the Stalin regime’s campaign against national minorities with ethnic origins outside the USSR (see Table 2.1).

During World War II conditions worsened for the Soviet Finns. The Continuation War between Finland and the USSR marked ethnic Finns as enemies in the minds of the Soviet leadership. Soon after German soldiers crossed the Soviet border, the Stalin regime began preparations for the exile of the Leningrad Finns. On 22 June 1941, the Presidium of

Table 2.1¹
Soviet Finns in Corrective Labor Camps, 1938–1947

1938	997
1939	2,371
1940	2,750
1941	2,614
1942	3,547
1943	2,781
1944	2,220
1945	1,929
1946	1,758
1947	2,245

¹J. Arch. Getty et al., “Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-war Years: A First Approach on the Basis of Archival Evidence,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 98, no. 4, 1993, p. 1028; V. N. Zemskov, “Gulag (istoriko-sotsiologicheskii aspekt),” *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 6, 1991, table no. 5, p. 17, and table no. 11, p. 26.

the Supreme Soviet issued a decree (*ukaz*) “On the Military Situation” in Leningrad Oblast.²⁰ This decree recommended the evacuation of the ethnic Finnish population from Leningrad Oblast.²¹ On 26 August 1941, the Military Soviet of the Leningrad Front issued resolution no. 196ss ordering the removal of the Soviet Finns from Leningrad Oblast.²² On 30 August 1941, the NKVD issued *prikaz* 001175 “On measures for conducting the operation to resettle the Germans and Finns from the area of Leningrad to the Kazakh SSR.”²³ Between 31 August and 7 September 1941, the NKVD deported 89,000 Finns from Leningrad Oblast to Kazakhstan.²⁴ The military Soviet of the Leningrad Front then issued a second decision on the deportation of the Leningrad Finns.²⁵ On 9 March 1942, this body issued resolution No. 00713 on removing the remaining Finnish population of Leningrad Oblast to the Yakut ASSR, Krasnoyarsk Krai, and Irkutsk Oblast.²⁶ On 23 March 1942, the Soviet regime deported the remaining Leningrad Finns.²⁷ Originally the Soviet government categorized the resettled Finns as “administrative exiles” rather than special settlers.²⁸ On 29 December 1944, the NKVD issued *prikaz* no. 274, which reclassified all Soviet Finns exiled from Leningrad Oblast as special settlers.²⁹ In January 1946 there were 9,104 Finnish special settlers in the USSR.³⁰ These Finns suffered under all the legal restrictions of the special settlement regime. On 28 January 1946, the MVD removed the exiled and evacuated Finns from the special settler count.³¹ On 19 February 1947, the MVD issued *prikaz* no. 00159, allowing Soviet Finns to return to their former places of residence.³² Many of the Finns who re-

turned, however, were again deported from Leningrad Oblast under SM resolution no. 5211rs passed on 7 May 1947.³³ This last resolution excluded members of the military, recipients of awards, and members of their families.³⁴ The Leningrad Finns spent the war years exiled deep in the interior of the USSR.

Like the Soviet Koreans and Germans, the Stalin regime also mobilized Soviet Finns into work battalions under the provisions of GKO order no. 1123ss.³⁵ The Soviet regime considered its citizens of Finnish heritage as members of an enemy nationality. The Stalin regime did not disband these work colonies and release the mobilized Finns until the end of World War II.

After Stalin's death on 5 March 1953, repression of the Soviet Finns eased considerably. The post-Stalin government allowed many of the Finns deported to Kazakhstan and Central Asia to move to other areas of the Soviet Union, including Karelia. The Soviet government, however, never restored most of the Finnish-language institutions that existed before 1938. Lacking Finnish schools and cultural institutions, the Soviet Finns have undergone considerable assimilation into the Russian population in recent decades. The number of people in the former Soviet Union identifying their nationality as Finnish has declined dramatically since World War II (see Table 2.2). From 1939 to 1993, the number of ethnic Finns in the former Soviet republics went from 143,100 to 47,100.³⁶ The once-vibrant Finnish community in Leningrad Oblast never recovered from Stalinist repression.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR's "Declaration on Recognizing the Illegal and Criminal Acts against Peoples Subjected to Forcible Resettlement and Ensuring their Rights" did not mention Finns as one of the nationalities subjected to wholesale repression by the Stalin regime.³⁷ After the collapse of the Soviet Union, however, the Russian government under Boris Yeltsin did enact measures to rehabilitate Russia's Finnish population. On 29 June 1993, he issued a decree (*ukaz*) "On the Rehabilitation of the Russian Finns."³⁸ After decades of dispersal, discrimination, and assimilation, the Russian government finally officially rehabilitated its diminishing Finnish population.

Table 2.2
Number of Finns in Russia/USSR/Russia

Year	Number	% Change
1848	72,323 ¹	NA
1897	130,413 ²	+80.3%
1926	134,700 ³	+3.3%
1939	143,100 ⁴	+6.2%
1959	92,700 ⁵	-35.2%
1970	84,800 ⁶	-8.5%
1979	77,100 ⁷	-9.1%
1993	47,100 ⁸	-38.9%
Total Change	-25,223	-34.9%

¹Ian Matley, "The Dispersal of the Irgrian Finns," *Slavic Review*, vol. 38, March 1979, p. 4.

²Ibid.

³Gerhard Simon, *Nationalism and Policy toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991), table A.1, p. 376.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Tatiana Mastuygina and Lev Perepelkin, *An Ethnic History of Russia*, ed. Vitaly Naumkin and Irina Zviagelskaia (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 58.

3

Germans

Then there was the wave of *Germans*—Germans living on the Volga, colonists in the Ukraine and North Caucasus, and all Germans in general who lived anywhere in the Soviet Union. The determining factor here was *blood*, and even heroes of the Civil War and old members of the Party who were German were sent off into exile.

—Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *Gulag Archipelago*, 1974

The largest extraterritorial nationality in the USSR during World War II was the Germans. Like the Soviet Finns, the Soviet Germans shared the ethnicity and culture of a foreign power hostile to the USSR. After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, the Germans of the Volga, Ukraine, Caucasus, and other areas became potential spies and diversionists in the minds of Stalin's politburo. In order to prevent the Soviet Germans from assisting Nazi Germany's invasion of the USSR, the Stalin regime forcibly resettled them to Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Siberia, and the Urals. By January 1942, the NKVD had deported the vast majority of the Soviet Germans to the Asian areas of the USSR.

The Germans immigrated to the Russian Empire in large numbers under the reign of Catherine II. On 15 October 1762, she issued an invitation to foreigners to immigrate to the Russian Empire to improve agricultural production.¹ This invitation was followed by a vague manifesto on the conditions for immigrating to Russia on 4 December 1762.² On 22 July 1763, her government issued a second manifesto entitled "On Permitting All Foreigners Moving into Russia to Take up Residence in Several Gubernias of Their Choice and Granting Them Rights."³ This manifesto es-

established the legal rights and privileges of Germans and other foreigners immigrating into the Russian Empire.

The rights Catherine II granted to foreigners migrating to Russia included freedom of religion, temporary tax exemption, interest-free loans, internal self-government, and eternal immunity from military conscription.⁴ The manifesto granted religious freedom to all foreigners settling in colonies.⁵ They could choose to worship according to the precepts of any Christian sect within the established colonies of foreign settlers.⁶ This freedom of religious choice did not apply to foreigners settling in the cities of the Russian Empire.⁷ In the colonies, the foreign settlers could construct churches and bells, but not monasteries.⁸ Foreigners who settled in existing colonies received exemption from taxes for 30 years; those who settled in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Livland, Estland, Ingermanland, Karelia, or Finland received only five years exemption; and settlers in all other areas of the Russian Empire received 10 years of tax exemption.⁹ The Russian government also offered a one-time loan to all colonists for the purpose of constructing houses and barns and for purchasing instruments, supplies, and materials.¹⁰ These loans were interest free and had to be paid back in 10 years, by one-third every three years after the first.¹¹ The colonies had the right to their own internal government and judicial institutions, provided they abided by Russian civil law.¹² Most important for many of the colonists, they received permanent exemption from conscription.¹³ Colonists who volunteered for military service received an additional 30-ruble bonus each pay period.¹⁴ All Christian foreigners could immigrate to the Russian Empire and receive these rights and privileges, but the vast majority of those taking advantage of the manifesto came from the German-speaking states.

The conditions existing in the German states during the late 18th century greatly encouraged emigration. The privileges and rights of Catherine II's manifesto made the Russian Empire one of the favored destinations for German emigrants. A string of almost constant wars on German soil during the 18th century and the accompanying military conscription and high taxes convinced many Germans to leave for better conditions. In particular the Seven Years War from 1756 to 1763 motivated many Germans to emigrate.¹⁵ Those Germans who emigrated escaped war, conscription, high taxes, and other onerous conditions in the German states.

The first waves of German immigrants settled on the lower Volga. Later waves of German immigrants settled in Ukraine, on the Black Sea coast, in the Caucasus, and other areas of the Russian Empire between 1789 and 1863. The German colonists and their descendants enjoyed all the rights and privileges granted by Catherine II for over 100 years. The German immigrants were the only large group of free farmers in a society of serfs.

From the late 19th century forward, the Russian government increasingly violated these pledges. The first important restrictions on the German colonists occurred under Tsar Alexander II. In 1871, he revoked the right of the German settlements to self-government, and in 1874 he revoked their immunity from military conscription.¹⁶ Although the introduction of conscription for ethnic Germans caused many to emigrate, large German colonies remained in the Volga, Ukraine, the Black Sea region, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and other areas of the Russian Empire.

On the eve of World War I, the German population of the Russian Empire numbered 2,338,500.¹⁷ The war with Germany and Austria-Hungary turned the Russian government against its ethnic German population. The Tsarist regime planned to remove all ethnic Germans from the European areas of the Russian Empire. In 1915 and 1916, the Russian government deported close to 200,000 ethnic Germans from Volhynia, Poland, and Bessarabia.¹⁸ The February 1917 revolution saved the remainder of the Russian Germans from deportation. The early Soviet government treated the Germans considerably better than had Tsar Nicholas II.

Like the ethnic Koreans and Finns in the USSR, during the 1920s and early 1930s the Soviet Germans benefited greatly from *korenzatsiia*. On 19 October 1918 Lenin in his capacity as chairman of the SNK and Lydia Fotieva, the secretary of the SNK, signed an SNK RSFSR decree, "On Creating the Volga German Workers' Commune."¹⁹ This territory was the first autonomous national territory formed by the Bolsheviks. The Bolshevik government under Lenin granted the Volga Germans a special status among the non-Russians under their rule. On 20 February 1924, the SNK and TsIK (Central Executive Committee) upgraded the status of the Volga German Workers Commune to an ASSR (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic).²⁰ These two Soviet organs passed resolutions creating the WDASSR (Wolga Deutschen Autonome Sozialistische Sowjetrepublik) on this date. The Soviet government granted the WDASSR considerable autonomy in both administrative and cultural affairs. The WDASSR had its own SNK with commissariats for internal affairs, justice, health, labor, education, finance, agriculture, social security, and a workers and peasants inspectorate.²¹ By 1938, the WDASSR supported numerous German language institutions including 421 schools, four teacher training colleges, three medical schools, three agricultural schools, and a music academy.²² The WDASSR also had German-language radio broadcasts and a professional theater in Pokrovsk founded in 1933.²³ The WDASSR became a thriving center of German culture deep in the heart of Russia.

Outside the WDASSR there also existed a number of German national *raions*, particularly in Ukraine. In 1929, there were 11 German national autonomous *raions* throughout the Soviet Union in addition to the

WDASSR.²⁴ Eight of these districts were in Ukraine.²⁵ By 1929, there were also 550 German village Soviets outside the WDASSR.²⁶ The Crimean ASSR possessed 37 of these German village soviets.²⁷ Three of the collective farms run by Soviet Germans were showplaces of “Teutonic Communism” displayed to Western tourists.²⁸ These three farms were *Rote Fahne* (Red Flag) and *Thaelmann* (head of the German Communist Party) in Leningrad Oblast just south of Leningrad and *Gildendorf* (Guild Village) on the Black Sea Coast just east of Odessa.²⁹ In Ukraine by 1926, the Soviet government maintained 496 schools in which the language of instruction was German.³⁰ Another 115 schools in Ukraine had sections that conducted their instructions in German.³¹ There were also German-language teacher colleges in Prishib, Odessa, and Korititsa Ukraine.³² The Germans benefited from *korenzatsiia* more than any other extraterritorial nationality in the Soviet Union.

During the mid 1930s the Stalin regime abandoned *korenzatsiia* for an increasingly virulent Russian chauvinism. Extraterritorial nationalities such as the Koreans, Latvians, Poles, Finns, and Germans felt the first manifestations of this renewed chauvinism. The Stalin regime began to shut down German cultural institutions in Ukraine and other areas outside the WDASSR. Between 1934 and 1938, the Soviet government forcibly merged all German-language schools in Ukraine with Russian or Ukrainian schools.³³ In 1933 Ukraine had 451 German-language schools with 55,623 students; by 1939 it had none.³⁴ In 1935, the Soviet government shut down eight of the 14 German-language newspapers in Ukraine.³⁵ The German population of Ukraine progressively lost its cultural rights throughout the 1930s.

The election of Adolph Hitler to the position of Chancellor of Germany in 1933 directly influenced the Stalin regime’s attitude towards its own German population. In 1934, the Soviet NKVD compiled lists of all Soviet Germans in preparation for deportation in the event of a military conflict with Nazi Germany.³⁶ Various organizations and government bodies registered the necessary information from Soviet Germans and passed the information on to the NKVD.³⁷ The compilation of the names and residences of all ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union allowed the NKVD to quickly and efficiently deport the entire Soviet German population.

Partial deportations of the Soviet Germans began in the mid 1930s. On 28 April 1936 the SNK passed resolution no. 776–120ss “On Resettling from the Ukrainian SSR for Economic Construction in Karaganda Oblast Kazakh SSR 15,000 Polish and German Households.”³⁸ The Soviet government judged the Germans living near the border with Poland as politically unreliable. The NKVD resettled 45,000 Germans and Poles from Ukraine to labor settlements (special settlements) in Karaganda.³⁹ This contingent of exiles consisted of 35,820 Poles and 9,180 Germans.⁴⁰ The

Table 3.1¹
Soviet Germans in Corrective Labor Camps, 1938–1947

1938	998
1939	18,572
1940	18,822
1941	19,120
1942	19,258
1943	18,486
1944	19,773
1945	22,478
1946	18,155
1947	18,783

¹J. Arch. Getty et al., "Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-war Years: A First Approach on the Basis of Archival Evidence," *American Historical Review*, vol. 98, no. 4, 1993, table 4, p. 1028; V. N. Zemskov, "Gulag (istoriko-sotsiologicheskii aspekt)," *Sotsiologicheskii issledovaniia*, no. 6, 1991, table 5, p. 17.

Soviet Germans came under increasing cultural and physical repression as the 1930s progressed.

During the great purges the Stalin regime arrested Soviet Germans in large numbers. The revival of German military and political power under Hitler made ethnic Germans especially suspect in the eyes of Stalin. The Soviet leadership viewed the ethnic Germans of the USSR as potential spies for the German Reich. The 31 January 1938 circular to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from NKVD Chief Yezhov on the continuation of a campaign to suppress foreign spies and diversionists led to the mass arrest of Soviet Germans.⁴¹ Between 1 January 1938 and 1 January 1939 the number of Soviet Germans in ITLs (see Table 3.1) increased from 998 to 18,572.⁴² A total of 1.8% of the Soviet German population was incarcerated in ITLs in 1939, compared to only 0.77% of the total Soviet population.⁴³ The Stalin regime's paranoia over German spies during 1938 resulted in a huge increase in the incarceration of Soviet Germans in labor camps.

Even after the end of the Great Terror in 1939, the Stalin regime's persecution of Soviet Germans did not end. Indeed, it had yet to begin in earnest. On 26 March 1939, the Soviet government abolished the remaining seven German national *raions* in Ukraine.⁴⁴ On 13 July 1939, the Stalin regime shut down the German language paper in Moscow, *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* (German Central-Newspaper).⁴⁵ By the middle of 1939 no German cultural institutions existed in the USSR outside the WDASSR.

On 22 June 1941 Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union. The *Wehr-*

Table 3.2¹
Location of Soviet Germans, 17 January 1939

Territory	Number
Ukraine	392,458
Volga German ASSR	366,685
Crimean ASSR	51,299
Ordzhonkidze Kray	45,689
Krasnoyarsk Kray	34,287
Azerbaijan	23,133
Georgia	20,527
Belorus	8,448
Kirghizia	8,426
Kharabovsk Kray	5,696
Karbardino-Balkar ASSR	5,327
Daghestan ASSR	5,048
Kalmyk ASSR	4,150
Bashkir ASSR	3,299
North Ossetian ASSR	2,924
Chechen-Ingush ASSR	858
Armenia	433
Chuvash ASSR	102
Other Areas	448,443
Total	1,427,232

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: “Ikh nado deportirovat’ ”: dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 1, p. 36.

macht (the regular German armed forces) rapidly advanced eastward during the summer of 1941. The presence of a huge ethnic German population in the USSR greatly worried the Soviet leadership. The Stalin regime believed that the Soviet Germans represented a serious security threat to the USSR. The Soviet government believed that its German population would assist the German military during the war. They viewed the large concentrated German population in the WDASSR deep inside Russian territory with particular concern. In the mind of the Soviet leadership, the Volga Germans threatened the communication and logistic links of the Soviet rear. Stalin’s regime feared that the Soviet Germans would support Nazi Germany over the USSR in the unfolding war. This fear proved to be baseless, but Stalin’s paranoia regarding ethnic minorities dictated the fate of the Soviet Germans.

One of the first steps taken by the Soviet government following the German invasion was to neutralize Germans in the Soviet Union that had been born in Germany or Austria. On the same day as the German invasion of the USSR, the NKVD received instructions from the Soviet leadership to intern all German passport holders, arrest all persons of German nationality without Soviet citizenship on whom compromising material existed, and prevent foreigners resident on Soviet soil from moving.⁴⁶ The NKGB issued a directive to implement these goals immediately.⁴⁷ On 25 July 1941, the NKGB (People's Commissariat of State Security) expanded their efforts to "investigate former prisoners of war, found in camps in Germany, [and] former soldiers of the German and Austrian armies, that after the Russian-German war remained in the USSR."⁴⁸ The Stalin regime quickly dealt with citizens and former citizens of Germany on Soviet soil.

The Soviet regime also began the evacuation of Soviet Germans from western regions of the USSR soon after the invasion. In particular they desired to remove the German population from the Crimean peninsula as quickly as possible. On 15 August 1941, the NKVD forcibly began the removal the Soviet Germans from this territory.⁴⁹ The Germans received only three to four hours to pack before being relocated.⁵⁰ Each of them could bring up to 50 kg of possessions.⁵¹ On 31 August 1941, the NKVD reported that the hurried pace and poor planning of the evacuation had led to confusion, chaos, and mistakes during the operation.⁵² The frenzied work of the NKVD resulted in most evacuated city dwellers being loaded on to trains without being able to pack any clothes or food.⁵³ During the summer of 1941, the NKVD managed to relocate more than 50,000 Soviet Germans from the Crimea to Ordzhonikidze Kray and Rostov Oblast.⁵⁴ The NKVD later deported these Germans to special settlements along with the Germans living in these two territories.⁵⁵ Despite a lack of proper planning and execution, the NKVD successfully evacuated the vast majority of the Soviet Germans from the Crimean ASSR before the end of August.

After the Nazi invasion of the USSR, Beria and Molotov traveled to Engels in the WDASSR in order to formulate a policy toward the Volga Germans. Upon returning to Moscow both Beria and Molotov recommended the deportation of the entire German population of the WDASSR.⁵⁶ In response to these recommendations the SNK and Central Committee of the CPSU issued resolution no. 2060-935s on 12 August 1941.⁵⁷ This resolution ordered the deportation of the Volga Germans.⁵⁸ In accordance with this resolution, on 27 August 1941, Beria issued NKVD *prikaz* no. 09158 "On Measures for Conducting the Operation of Resettling the Germans from the Volga German Republic, Saratov, and Stalingrad Oblasts."⁵⁹ This decree assigned responsibility to specific individuals for the deportation of the Volga Germans; it also allocated

NKVD, Workers Militia, and Red Army personnel for the operation. The NKVD planned and ordered the deportation of the Volga Germans in a military fashion.⁶⁰

Beria assigned his most trusted underlings to carry out the deportation of the Volga Germans. He placed Deputy Chief of the NKVD Serov in charge of the entire operation, and General Major Appolonov in command of the Red Army soldiers used in the operation.⁶¹ Beria assigned specific individuals and requisite personnel for each region: the WDASSR, Saratov Oblast, and Stalingrad Oblast. He appointed Gulag chief Nasedkin, NKVD chief of the WDASSR Gubin, SPU (Secret Political Directorate) NKVD chief Il'in, and NKVD Chief of Transport Potavesh to oversee the deportations from the Volga German Republic.⁶² Beria assigned these officers 1,200 NKVD workers, 2,000 members of the Workers Militia, and 7,500 Red Army soldiers under brigade commander Krivenko.⁶³ Beria appointed deputy chief of the KRU (Counter-intelligence Directorate) NKVD Raikhman, chief of the Saratov UNKVD Viktorov, and deputy chief of the SPU Drozdtsovo to oversee the deportation of the Germans living in Saratov Oblast.⁶⁴ They received 250 NKVD workers, 1,000 members of the workers militia, and 2,300 Red Army soldiers under the command of colonel Voroveikov to perform this task.⁶⁵ Finally, Beria gave responsibility for deporting the Germans from Stalingrad Oblast to Galkin, chief of the main administration of the militia; Voronilin, chief of the Stalingrad Oblast UNKVD and Major Tkachenko.⁶⁶ He assigned 100 NKVD workers, 250 workers militia members, and 2,500 Red Army soldiers under Commander Sladkevich to undertake the deportations from Stalingrad Oblast.⁶⁷ Beria ordered the Germans deported from these three areas to Krasnoyarsk Kray, Altai Kray, Omsk Oblast, Novosibirsk Oblast, and Kazakhstan.⁶⁸ He scheduled the operation to begin on 3 September 1941 and be completed by 20 September.⁶⁹ The personnel assigned to this operation lived up to Beria's expectations. They carried out their orders almost flawlessly.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet endorsed the deportation of the Volga Germans the day after Beria issued his *prikaz*. On 28 August 1941, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued *ukaz* no. 21–160, entitled "On Resettling the Germans Living in the Region of the Volga."⁷⁰ This decree bore the signatures of President Kalinin and Secretary of the Presidium Gorkin.⁷¹ The Soviet government published this decree in Russian on 30 August 1941 in *Bolshevik*.⁷² This decree stated the justification for the deportation of the Volga Germans in typical Stalinist fashion.

According to reliable reports received from military authorities among the German population living in the region of the Volga exist thousands and tens of thousands of diversionists and spies which are now awaiting a signal from Ger-

many that they should conduct sabotage in the region settled by Volga Germans.⁷³

The Soviet authorities had no concrete evidence that tens of thousand of spies and diversionists existed among the Volga Germans. Ironically the Soviet regime used this lack of evidence to condemn and punish the entire Volga German population. The Soviet government claimed it had not unearthed large numbers of potential saboteurs in the Volga because the Volga Germans failed to report "enemies of the Soviet people and Soviet power" to the proper authorities.⁷⁴ The decree proclaimed that the entire Volga German population was guilty of harboring and hiding spies and diversionists.⁷⁵ The decree stated that it was necessary to deport the entire German population of the Volga region.⁷⁶ The Soviet government's stated rationale for this massive act of repression was not to prevent sabotage by the Volga Germans, but to protect the Volga Germans from further punitive measures should they commit any acts of espionage or diversion.⁷⁷ The decree stated that if any acts of diversion or bloodshed occurred in the Volga, the Soviet leadership "would be forced to take punitive measures against the whole German population of the Volga."⁷⁸ In order to avoid this potential bloodshed, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet ordered the deportation of the entire Volga German population to Novosibirsk Oblast, Omsk Oblast, Altai Kray, Kazakhstan, and other areas.⁷⁹ The decree finally obligated the Soviet government to provide the deported Germans with arable land and other assistance in their new areas of settlement.⁸⁰ The Stalin regime branded the entire German population of the WDASSR, Saratov Oblast, and Stalingrad Oblast as potential traitors and ordered them all deported.

The NKVD received specific instructions "On Conducting the Resettlement of the Germans Living in the Volga German Republic, Saratov, and Stalingrad Oblasts."⁸¹ The NKVD leadership ordered those conducting the deportation to exile all ethnic Germans in the WDASSR, Saratov Oblast, and Stalingrad Oblast, including members of the Communist Party and Komsomol.⁸² Only families in which the male head of the family was not ethnically German escaped deportation.⁸³ Since endogamy was the prevailing norm among the Volga Germans, there were few families with a German wife and non-German husband. In 1926, 8.44% of Soviet German women had non-German spouses; the highest rates of intermarriage occurred in major Soviet cities, while the rural areas of the Volga had the lowest rates of intermarriage.⁸⁴ Only 1,000 German women in Saratov Oblast were exempted from deportation by virtue of having non-German spouses.⁸⁵ The NKVD's instructions applied to virtually the entire German population of the Volga.

The NKVD's instructions for deporting the Volga Germans contained details on what the deportees were allowed to bring with them into exile

and what the Soviet government would supply them with during transit. The NKVD instructions allowed each deported family to bring up to one ton of personal possessions and an unlimited amount of money.⁸⁶ They could not, however, bring awkward or cumbersome items.⁸⁷ City dwellers could appoint a representative to sell their real estate within the next ten days and send them the money in exile.⁸⁸ The remainder of unmovable property owned by the Volga Germans such as agricultural implements, grain, fodder, and livestock had to be signed over to representatives of Soviet commissariats.⁸⁹ These commissariats were in turn to distribute this property to existing *kolkhozes* in the region.⁹⁰ The Soviet Germans were to receive a receipt for the value of this property, which was to be deducted from their obligatory agricultural deliveries for 1941 and subsequent years.⁹¹ The NKVD instructions also advised each family scheduled for deportation to bring at least one month's supply of food with them.⁹² The Stalin regime permanently confiscated most of the property of the Volga Germans without compensation.

Between 3 and 20 September, the NKVD, Workers Militia, and Red Army rounded up nearly all the ethnic Germans in the WDASSR, Saratov Oblast, and Stalingrad Oblast. They went to each German household in the region and transported the inhabitants by truck and automobile to the nearest train station. The Soviet forces then loaded the Volga Germans into the cattle cars of awaiting trains. The deportation of the Volga Germans more closely resembled the export of livestock than it did the transportation of human beings.

The NKVD received instructions that detailed the arrangements for the train echelons involved in the deportation of the Volga Germans. Their instructions required each echelon to have an echelon commander, an NKVD operative worker, 21 guards, a doctor, and two nurses.⁹³ In addition, each echelon was to have seven to nine wagons for baggage, one medical wagon, and one wagon to house the echelon guards.⁹⁴ The NKVD instructions required them to provide each deportee with hot food once a day and boiling water twice a day during transit.⁹⁵ Finally, the instructions ordered the militia to guard the rail crossings and capture any exiles attempting to escape deportation.⁹⁶ The German exiles traveled in unheated and unhygienic rail cars. The overcrowded and unsanitary conditions on the train echelons led to many cases of disease and even some deaths.

After the deportation of the Volga Germans, the Soviet government dissolved the WDASSR. On 7 September 1941, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued a *ukaz* entitled "On the Administrative Organization of the Territory of the Former Republic of the Germans of the Volga."⁹⁷ Like the deportation order, this decree also bore the signatures of Kalinin and Gorkin.⁹⁸ The operative clauses of this decree divided the WDASSR between Saratov and Stalingrad oblasts.⁹⁹ The decree assigned 15 of the

22 *raions* of the WDASSR to Saratov Oblast and the remaining 7 *raions* to Stalingrad Oblast.¹⁰⁰ The first national autonomous unit in the USSR permanently ceased to exist.

Between 28 August 1941 and 22 October 1941, the Soviet government issued eight resolutions ordering the resettlement of Soviet Germans from the western regions of the USSR to Kazakhstan and Siberia. On the same day that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued the decree deporting the Germans from the Volga, Molotov, Malenkov, Kosygin, and Zhandov signed an order instructing the NKVD to exile the 96,000 Soviet Germans and Finns in the Leningrad Oblast.¹⁰¹ They instructed the NKVD to exile 15,000 of these people to Kazakhstan, 24,000 to Krasnoyarsk Kray, 24,000 to Novosibirsk Oblast, 12,000 to Altai Kray, and 21,000 to Omsk Oblast.¹⁰² On 30 August 1941, Beria issued NKVD *prikaz* no. 001175, "On Measures for Conducting the Operation to Resettle the Germans and Finns from the Area of Leningrad to the Kazakh SSR."¹⁰³ This *prikaz* delineated the dates and instructions for the operation. Beria placed Deputy NKVD chief Merkulov and NKVD General Kubit in charge of the operation.¹⁰⁴ He instructed the NKVD to deport the 96,000 Germans and Finns from Leningrad Oblast to Kazakhstan by rail and 36,000 to Cherpovtza by water between 31 August and 7 September 1941.¹⁰⁵ Those sent to Cherpovtza were to be loaded on rail cars upon arriving at their destination and deported to Kazakhstan.¹⁰⁶ Each train echelon was to have one NKVD operative worker and a sufficient number of NKVD and Red Army soldiers to guard the convey of exiles.¹⁰⁷ The *prikaz* further instructed the NKVD chief of Kazakhstan, Babkin, to prepare for the arrival of these exiles in Karaganda, Kzyl-Orda, South Kazakhstan, and Zhambul oblasts.¹⁰⁸ The NKVD was unable to complete this operation because of the closure of the rail line from Leningrad.¹⁰⁹ A small German population remained in Leningrad throughout the entirety of World War II. The Stalin regime did not exile the last Soviet Germans living in the city of Leningrad until 16 March 1946.¹¹⁰ The NKVD did not encounter any such problems, however, in cleansing Moscow and other Russian cities of their German populations.

The GKO issued the next six deportation orders dealing with the Soviet Germans under the signature of Joseph Stalin. On 6 September 1941 the GKO issued resolution 636ss, "On Resettling the Germans from the City of Moscow and Moscow Oblast and Rostov Oblast."¹¹¹ This resolution ordered the NKVD to deport the 8,617 Soviet Germans in the Moscow region and the 21,400 in Rostov Oblast to Kazakhstan.¹¹² The GKO scheduled the deportation of the Germans in Moscow and Moscow Oblast for 10 September to 15 September 1941.¹¹³ Stalin set the date for deporting the Germans from Rostov Oblast for the following week, 15 September to 20 September 1941.¹¹⁴ Resolution 636 ss established the guidelines for future deportations of ethnic Germans from other areas of

the Soviet Union. Many of the subsequent deportation orders use identical language. The resolution allowed each exiled German to bring up to 200 kg of personal property.¹¹⁵ It also provided for the Rural Economic Bank to provide lines of credit to German exiles of up to 2,000 rubles to be paid back in five years at 3% interest for the purpose of constructing houses.¹¹⁶ Stalin delegated responsibility involved in the rail transport for the deportations to Lazar Kaganovich, People's Commissar of Transportation.¹¹⁷ Stalin entrusted this vital role in the deportations to Kaganovich in all future resolutions on exiling Soviet Germans as well. Kaganovich, a Jew from Ukraine, was a member of the Soviet politburo from 1930 to 1957 and played an important role in creating the 1932–1933 Ukrainian famine and administrating the 1937–1938 purges. Stalin delegated responsibility for providing food to the deportees on route to special settlements to Liubimov, People's Commissar of Trade.¹¹⁸ Finally, Miterev, People's Commissar of Health, received responsibility for providing medical care to the exiles during transit.¹¹⁹ Once the Germans arrived in Kazakhstan, Chairman of the Kazakh SNK Undasynov and Secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Skuortsov had responsibility for the local transportation of the exiles.¹²⁰ This resolution also authorized the transfer of four million rubles from the SNK to the NKVD and two million rubles to the Kazakh SNK to pay for the operation.¹²¹ GKO-636 ss became the standard model for removing the Soviet Germans from the European portion of the USSR.

Two days later on 8 September 1941, Beria issued NKVD *prikaz* 001237, entitled "On Conducting the Operation to Resettle the Germans from Moscow and Moscow Oblast."¹²² This *prikaz* allocated responsibility for the various tasks involved in the operation to individual Soviet officials.¹²³ Beria placed Senior Major of State Security Zhuravlev, the chief of the Moscow Oblast UNKVD, and Chief 2nd Rank UNKVD State Security 2nd rank Fedotov in charge of the operation.¹²⁴ This *prikaz* stipulated that these two men had the responsibility to ensure that the UNKVD arrested all "anti-Soviet elements" during the deportation.¹²⁵ The families of those arrested were to be deported along with the rest of the Soviet Germans in the Moscow region. Beria instructed General Major Appollonov of the Red Army to provide Zhuravlev with four commanders from his main staff to head each echelon.¹²⁶ These commanders each received 21 Red Army soldiers to guard their echelons.¹²⁷ Finally, Beria placed NKVD Chief of Transport Administration Sinegubov in charge of making sure the trains involved in the deportations arrived on time.¹²⁸ Beria effectively organized and ordered the removal of the German population from Moscow and its suburbs.

The next GKO resolution issued by Stalin on the deportation of Soviet Germans came on 21 September 1941.¹²⁹ GKO resolution 698 ss "On Resettling the Germans from Krasnodar, Ordzhonikidze krays, Tula Oblast,

Karbardino-Balkar and North Ossetia ASSRs" instructed the NKVD to exile the 138,032 Soviet Germans in the North Caucasus and 3,208 in Tula Oblast to Kazakhstan.¹³⁰ This resolution lists 34,287 Soviet Germans in Krasnodar Kray, 95,489 from Ordzhonikidze Kray, 5,327 in the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR, and 2,929 from the North Ossetian ASSR scheduled for deportation between 25 September and 10 October 1941.¹³¹ This particular operation cost considerably more than the deportation of the smaller German population from Moscow. GKO resolution 698 ss instructed the SNK to transfer 38,110,000 rubles to the NKVD and 15,000,000 rubles to the Kazakh SNK to cover the cost of this operation.¹³²

On 22 September 1941, Beria issued NKVD *prikaz* 001347 on "Measures for Conducting the Operation to Resettle the Germans from Krasnodar, Ordzhonikidze krays, Karbardian-Balkar and North Ossetia ASSRs."¹³³ This *prikaz* assigned overall responsibility for deporting the Germans in the North Caucasus to Deputy Chief 3rd Rank Major State Security Ilyshin and Department Chief of the SPCh Lt. Gul'st.¹³⁴ This *prikaz* assigned 250 NKVD agents, 1,000 Workers Militia members, and 2,300 Red Army soldiers to deport the Germans from Ordzhonikidze.¹³⁵ It also assigned 100 NKVD agents, 250 Workers Militia members, and 2,000 Red Army soldiers to the Karbino-Balkar ASSR; 25 NKVD agents, 200 Workers Militia members, and 100 Red Army soldiers to North Ossetia; and 50 Red Army soldiers to Tula Oblast.¹³⁶ This *prikaz* instructed the NKVD to arrest all anti-Soviet elements among the Germans prior to the deportations.¹³⁷ It further instructed the NKVD to arrest any Germans resisting resettlement and to use decisive means to liquidate any delays, anti-Soviet activities, or armed clashes.¹³⁸ The NKVD worked fast in the face of the rapidly advancing soldiers of the *Wehrmacht*.

Although a majority of the Soviet Germans in Ukraine escaped immediate deportation when the *Wehrmacht* occupied much of the republic, many of those living in Zaporozhye, Stalin, and Voroshilov oblasts did not. On 22 September 1941 Stalin issued GKO resolution 702 ss, "On Resettling the Germans from Zaporozhye, Stalin, and Voroshilov oblasts."¹³⁹ This resolution ordered the NKVD to deport the 63,000 Germans in Zaporozhye Oblast, the 41,000 in Stalin Oblast, and the 5,487 in Voroshilov Oblast to Kazakhstan.¹⁴⁰ The Stalin regime scheduled the deportation of ethnic Germans from these three oblasts for the dates 25 September to 10 October 1941.¹⁴¹ A large portion of the German minority in Ukraine joined their ethnic cousins from the Volga in Kazakhstan and Siberia during the fall of 1941.

The next day, Beria issued NKVD *prikaz* 001354, "On Measures for Conducting the Operation to Resettle the Germans from Zaporozhye, Stalin, and Voroshilov Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR."¹⁴² This *prikaz* instructed the NKVD to begin this operation on 25 September 1941 and complete the removal of the Germans from Zaporozhye by 2 October

1941.¹⁴³ Beria gave the NKVD until 10 October 1941 to deport the Germans from Stalin and Voroshilov oblasts.¹⁴⁴ This *prikaz* allocated 300 NKVD workers, 1,500 Workers Militia members, and 2,500 Red Army soldiers to exile the Germans from Zaporozhye.¹⁴⁵ It also granted 250 NKVD workers, 1,000 Workers Militia members, and 200 Red Army soldiers to deport the Germans from Stalin Oblast, and 50 NKVD workers, 200 Workers Militia members, and 300 Red Army soldiers to conduct the operation in Voroshilov Oblast.¹⁴⁶ The procedures for deporting the Germans from Ukraine were identical to those issued for the North Caucasus.

Stalin continued to sign GKO resolutions ordering the deportation of Soviet Germans from the western regions of the USSR throughout the fall of 1941. On 8 October 1941, Beria reported to Stalin that out of the 5,125 Germans in Voronezh Oblast, 45 were Communist Party candidates and members, 43 were *Komsomolists*, and 112 were anti-Soviet and suspicious elements.¹⁴⁷ The NKVD planned to arrest these 112 Germans and deport the remaining 5,013 to Novosibirsk Oblast.¹⁴⁸ On the same day Stalin issued GKO order 743ss, "On Resettling the Germans from Voronezh Oblast."¹⁴⁹ This resolution instructed the NKVD to deport the 5,125 ethnic Germans in Voronezh Oblast to Novosibirsk Oblast from 15 October to 22 October 1941.¹⁵⁰ It also transferred 350,000 rubles from the SNK to the Novosibirsk Oblast executive committee to pay for the cost of resettling these German exiles.¹⁵¹

On 8 October 1941, Stalin issued GKO resolution 744ss, "On Resettling the Germans from the Georgian, Azerbaijani, and Armenian SSRs."¹⁵² This resolution ordered the NKVD to deport the 23,580 Germans in Georgia, 22,741 in Azerbaijan, and 212 in Armenia to Kazakhstan.¹⁵³ Stalin instructed the NKVD in conjunction with the NKPS (People's Commissariat of Transport) and NKMF (People's Commissariat of Water Transport) to deport the Transcaucasian Germans between 15 and 30 October 1941 by rail and water.¹⁵⁴ This resolution also transferred 3 million rubles from the SNK to the Kazakh SNK to cover the cost of the operation.¹⁵⁵ Beria informed Stalin by telegram on 8 October 1941 that 48,375 ethnic Germans lived in the Transcaucasian republics.¹⁵⁶ Among the German population in Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan were 372 Communist Party members and 1,077 *komsomolists*.¹⁵⁷ Beria reported to Stalin that the NKVD had arrested 1,842 anti-Soviet elements among the Transcaucasian Germans.¹⁵⁸ Beria also stated that the NKVD was ready to deport the remaining 46,533 Germans in Transcaucasia to Kazakhstan in accordance with Stalin's orders.¹⁵⁹ The only Germans in the Caucasus whom Stalin had not ordered deported by 9 October 1941 were the small communities in Daghestan and the Chechen-Ingush ASSR.

The Germans in Daghestan and Chechen-Ingush ASSR did not remain unmolested for long. On 22 October 1941, Stalin issued GKO resolution

Table 3.3¹
Deportations of Soviet Germans, 3 September 1941–30 October 1941

Date	Territory	Number
03-09-1941 to 20-09-1941	Volga German ASSR	438,280
31-08-1941 to 17-09-1941	Leningrad Oblast	11,000
10-09-1941 to 15-09-1941	Moscow Oblast	9,640
15-09-1941 to 18-09-1941	Rostov Oblast	38,288
03-09-1941 to 12-09-1941	Stalingrad Oblast	26,614
03-09-1941 to 18-09-1941	Saratov Oblast	46,706
25-09-1941 to 02-10-1941	Zaporozhye Oblast	31,320
25-09-1941 to 10-10-1941	Voroshilov Oblast	36,880
25-09-1941 to 10-10-1941	Krasnodar Kray	40,636
25-09-1941 to 10-10-1941	Ordzhonikidze Kray	95,489
25-09-1941 to 10-10-1941	Karbardian-Balkar ASSR	3,573
25-09-1941 to 10-10-1941	North Ossetian ASSR	2,415
25-09-1941 to 10-10-1941	Tula Oblast	2,702
15-10-1941 to 22-10-1941	Voronezh Oblast	5,308
15-10-1941 to 30-10-1941	Azerbaijan	22,841
15-10-1941 to 30-10-1941	Georgia	23,580
15-10-1941 to 30-10-1941	Armenia	212
25-10-1941 to 30-10-1941	Daghestan ASSR	4,000
25-10-1941 to 30-10-1941	Chechen-Ingush ASSR	574
03-09-1941 to 30-10-1941	USSR	840,058

¹N. F. Bugai, *L. Beria—I. Stalinu: "Soglasno Vashemu ukazaniiu . . ."* (Moscow: "AIRO XX," 1995), table 2, pp. 44–45.

827 ss, "On Resettling the Germans from Daghestan and the Chechen-Ingush ASSR."¹⁶⁰ This resolution ordered the deportation of the 4,000 Germans from Daghestan and 574 from the Chechen-Ingush ASSR by rail and water to Kazakhstan between 25 October to 30 October 1941.¹⁶¹ Between 3 September and 30 October 1941, Stalin authorized the deportation of over 840,000 Soviet Germans to Kazakhstan and Siberia (see Table 3.3). More than 30,000 NKVD agents, members of the workers militia, and Red Army Soldier participated in these deportations (see Table 3.4).

The Stalin regime successfully resettled 799,459 Soviet Germans in 344 echelons to eastern regions of the USSR between 3 September 1941 and 1 January 1942.¹⁶² By 25 November 1941, over 300,000 had arrived in Kazakhstan (see Tables 3.5 and 3.6). In addition to the Germans exiled

Table 3.4
Soviet Personnel Involved in Deporting Germans

Territory	NKVD Workers	Workers Militia	Red Army
WDASSR ¹	1,200	2,000	7,500
Saratov ²	250	1,000	2,300
Stalingrad ³	100	250	2,500
Krasnodar ⁴	100	250	2,000
Ordzhonikidze ⁵	250	1,000	2,300
K-B ASSR ⁶	50	200	300
North Ossetia ⁷	25	100	100
Tula ⁸	-----	-----	50
Zaporozhye ⁹	300	1,500	2,500
Stalin ¹⁰	250	1,000	200
Voroshilov ¹¹	50	200	300
Total	2,575	7,500	20,050

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 6, pp. 39–40; document also reproduced in A. Andreevich and Ch. Georgievna, eds., *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev v dokumentakh 1763–1992* (Moscow: International Institute for Humanitarian Programs, 1993), pp. 160–161.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 21, pp. 55–57.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 22, pp. 57–58.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

from European Russia, the Caucasus, and Ukraine, the Soviet government resettled those Soviet Germans repatriated from areas of the Soviet Union that came under Nazi rule during World War II. Between 1941 and 1945, the Stalin regime confined 1,209,430 ethnic Germans to special settlements in Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Siberia, and other Asian areas of the USSR.¹⁶³ The Soviet government deported 846,340 of these people in accordance with specific deportation decrees.¹⁶⁴ By 1945, the special settlements had received another 203,796 repatriated Soviet Germans and 48,001 mobilized into the labor army.¹⁶⁵ Another 110,332 Germans confined to special settlements already lived in Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia, and the remaining 961 were non-Germans who accompanied the Germans into exile.¹⁶⁶ Kazakhstan received the most

Table 3.5¹
Arrival of German Exiles in Special Settlements, 18 September 1941

Territory	Number of Exiles	Number of Echelons
Altai Kray	11,893	5
Krasnoyarsk Kray	16,363	7
Omsk Oblast	23,454	9
Novosibirsk Oblast	2,280	1
Kazakhstan	25,056	11
Total	79,046	33

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 20, pp. 54–55.

exiled Germans. A total of 444,005 Soviet Germans arrived in Kazakhstan by 1945.¹⁶⁷ Almost all ethnic Germans born in the USSR ended up in special settlements in Soviet Asia.

The *Wehrmacht* saved a large number of Soviet Germans living in Ukraine from deportation in 1941. The German military discovered that the ethnic German population in Ukraine was smaller than it hoped because of the evacuations and deportations. In particular the number of adult German men left in Ukraine was smaller than expected. The Soviet authorities had attempted to evacuate all ethnic German men between ages 16 and 60 from Ukraine in order to deprive the invaders of potential soldiers.¹⁶⁸ In Zhitomir and Volhynia only a fifth of the German population consisted of men over 14.¹⁶⁹ Transnistria formed the only exception to this pattern. Here 128,949 Germans remained, of whom 34,248 were men over 14.¹⁷⁰ On 15 February 1942, the German occupation forces registered a total of 183,858 Soviet Germans in areas under their control.¹⁷¹ A disproportionate number of them were women and children. The German authorities counted 43,377 adult men, 67,273 adult women, and 73,208 children under 14.¹⁷² This first registration was incomplete. The German population remaining in Ukraine was considerably larger. The hurried pace of the deportations in Ukraine had resulted in the NKVD leaving most of the ethnic Germans in Ukraine.

Soviet documents record that prior to the end of World War II, the NKVD deported only around 35% of the ethnic German population from Ukraine. The NKVD conducted deportations from Voroshilov Oblast, Stalin Oblast, Zaporozhye Oblast, Odessa Oblast, and Dnipropetrovsk Oblast. The NKVD forcibly resettled only 138,983 Germans from Ukraine out of a 1939 population of 392,458 before the *Wehrmacht* overran the Soviet defenses of the republic.¹⁷³ The Germans who escaped deportation to the east in 1941 came under the jurisdiction of the Axis powers.

The Germans in Ukraine came under three separate jurisdictions. On

Table 3.6¹
Exile of Germans to Kazakhstan, 25 November 1941

Oblast	Planned Number	Actual Number
South Kazakhstan	48,000	23,832
Zhambul	41,000	20,994
North Kazakhstan	60,000	48,303
Alma-Ata	30,000	8,761
Aktiubinsk	15,000	5,554
Pavlodar	45,000	43,202
Kustan	60,000	30,010
Akmolinsk	60,000	56,753
East Kazakhstan	32,000	28,136
Karaganda	29,000	8,304
Semipalatinsk	50,000	38,170
Kzyl-Orda	15,000	3,608
Total	485,000	315,627

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Lavrentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 44, p. 75.

22 June 1943, a German census counted 313,305 Soviet Germans under the control of the Third Reich and its allies.¹⁷⁴ The largest number of them came under the jurisdiction of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine, ruled by Erich Koch (see Table 3.7). This territory contained 169,074 Soviet Germans.¹⁷⁵ Another 130,866 ethnic Germans lived in the Romanian-administered territory of Transniestr.¹⁷⁶ Finally, 13,365 Soviet Germans remained in the eastern areas of Ukraine under German military control.¹⁷⁷ The German Reich rescued over 300,000 Soviet Germans from deportation in 1941. These Germans occupied an important place in Nazi ideology.

The ethnic Germans living in Eastern Europe played a special role in Nazi occupation policy. One of the central goals of Nazi ideology was to colonize the territories of Poland and the Soviet Union with German settlers. The Germans living in the Slavic countries of Central and Eastern Europe (*Volksdeutsche*) had already started the process of colonizing the *Lebensraum* (living room) to the east.

The German military in Ukraine immediately began implementing policies aimed at furthering the *Volksdeutsche* in this role. On 15 August 1941, *Generaloberst* (Over General) Von Schubert issued an order placing all Soviet Germans in Ukraine under the protection of the *Wehrmacht*.¹⁷⁸ This protection included the imposition of the death penalty for any

Table 3.7¹
Number of *Volksdeutsche* in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, 22 June 1943

Territory	Number of Germans
Zhitomir	43,988
Kiev	15,706
Nikolaev	27,078
Dnipertorovsk	76,737
Melitopol	2,215
Crimea	3,350
Total	169,074

¹M. Buchsweiler, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine* (Tel Aviv, Israel: Bleicher Universitait, 1984), map 9, p. 403.

crimes committed against them.¹⁷⁹ The ethnic Germans of the Soviet Union received preferential treatment from the Nazi occupation forces. The German authorities in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine issued the local Germans special identity cards that entitled them to better wages, lower taxes, and better rations than other ethnic groups.¹⁸⁰ The Nazi occupation forces treated the Soviet Germans under its control as a protected and privileged group. They formed the only group in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine that the Nazis did not label *Untermenschen* (sub-humans).

Berlin also persuaded its Romanian ally to allow it to provide similar benefits to the Soviet Germans living in Transniestr.¹⁸¹ Ethnic Germans in this territory came under the direct jurisdiction of SS *Sonderkommando* (Special Command) *Brigadefuhrer* (Brigade leader) Horst Hoffmeyer on 20 September 1941.¹⁸² The German occupation forces employed the *Volksdeutsche* in Ukraine as translators and in various other occupations in both the civil and military administrations. Soviet Germans from both Ukraine and Transniestr served in *Selbschutze* (self-defense units) organized by the SS. These military detachments served to protect the local German population from partisan attacks, hunt down Communists, and round up Jews.¹⁸³ In 1943, a total of almost 20,000 Soviet Germans served in these units.¹⁸⁴ In Transniestr alone, the SS recruited around 8,000 ethnic Germans into self-defense units.¹⁸⁵ These units actively participated in the supression of Soviet partisan activity against the rear of the German military.

When the Soviet Red Army reoccupied Ukraine, many of the Soviet Germans who had escaped deportation in 1941 attempted to flee West. The NKVD deported the Soviet Germans who failed to successfully flee to Germany. This escape, however, was only temporary for most Soviet Germans. The Allies forcibly repatriated most of the Soviet Germans in

Germany to the USSR. The Soviet government sent these repatriated Germans to join their ethnic brethren in special settlements.

During the fall of 1945, the Allies forcibly repatriated the Soviet Germans who had avoided deportation to special settlements. The Yalta accords between the United States, the United Kingdom, and the USSR included provisions requiring the return of all Soviet citizens including the Soviet Germans to the USSR. American and British soldiers returned more than two million Soviet citizens in areas under their control to the USSR.¹⁸⁶ Many of those repatriated refused to return voluntarily to the Soviet Union. The United States and British military forcibly repatriated those who resisted being sent to the USSR. In a number of cases Soviet citizens who had fought with German units committed suicide rather than face punishment at the hands of Stalin. From the defeat of Nazi Germany to September 1945, the United States and the United Kingdom repatriated 2,270,000 Soviet citizens to the USSR.¹⁸⁷ Ethnic Germans comprised close to one out of every ten Soviet citizens repatriated by the Western Allies. Between September and December 1945, 203,706 repatriated Soviet Germans arrived in special settlements.¹⁸⁸ Children 16 and under comprised 69,782 of the repatriated Germans sent to special settlements.¹⁸⁹ The last contingent of the Soviet Germans finally joined the rest of their brethren in exile deep in the interior of the Soviet Union.

The NKVD deported the Soviet Germans to special settlements. The Soviet government created special settlements as areas of restrictive and punitive exile during the collectivization of agriculture in 1929–1931.¹⁹⁰ The Stalin regime collectivized agriculture by deporting a large number of peasants branded as kulaks.¹⁹¹ These exiled peasants came under the jurisdiction of the Gulag.¹⁹² The existing camp infrastructure of the Gulag could not cope with this huge influx of humanity. In order to confine these people, Gulag chief Matvei Berman created the special settlement regime.¹⁹³ Matvei Berman, a Siberian Jew and lifelong Chekist, directed the massive growth of the Gulag from 1932 to 1938. The invention of special settlements was only one of his many contributions to Stalin's massive system of repression. Between 1930 and 1931, the OGPU (Unified State Political Administration, the predecessor of the NKVD) exiled 1,803,392 peasants to special settlements.¹⁹⁴ From 1932 to 1940, Soviet security organs sent another 2,563,401 people to special settlements.¹⁹⁵ The Stalin regime exiled these settlers to areas with harsh climates, poor housing, and a scarcity of food. Between 1932 and 1940, a total of 389,521 exiles perished in special settlements from disease, malnutrition, and exposure.¹⁹⁶ The special settlements remained areas of excessively high mortality throughout the 1940s. These settlements consisted of groups of villages isolated from the outside world by the Soviet security organs. The exiles in these settlements could be mobilized for various forms of

labor. Special settlements successfully combined internal exile and forced labor.

The NKVD and its successor, the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) kept the exiles in special settlements under strict surveillance and control. They even enclosed many special settlements behind barbed wire.¹⁹⁷ The Soviet security organs also operated guardposts, checkpoints, and roadblocks in the areas of special settlements to limit the movement of exiles.¹⁹⁸ The NKVD required a designated representative for every 10 households to report to them every 10 days.¹⁹⁹ Further, the NKVD and MVD required each special settler to register with them individually each month.²⁰⁰ The Soviet regime also deprived the exiled Germans and other deported nationalities of schools and publications in their native languages. The Stalin dictatorship maintained strict surveillance and control over the special settlements. Under the special settlement regime, the deported Germans and others lived like prisoners without cells.

The Stalin regime imposed draconian legal restrictions on the special settlers. On 8 January 1945, the SNK (Council of People's Commissars) issued resolution 35 on "The Rights of Those Settled in Special Settlements."²⁰¹ This document required special settlers to study socially useful labor.²⁰² It instructed deputies in local soviets to work with the NKVD to organize special settlers for work in agriculture, industrial enterprises, construction, and *kolkhoz* organizations and institutions.²⁰³ It further required special settlers to abide by Soviet labor laws while working in these occupations.²⁰⁴ The resolution stipulated that any violations of labor discipline would be punished under existing labor law.²⁰⁵ It also required all special settlers to remain within the bounds of the special settlements and obtain permission from the NKVD to leave the bounds of the special settlements.²⁰⁶ The Soviet government considered unauthorized absences from the special settlements to be criminal acts and treated them as such.²⁰⁷ The head of each family exiled had to report all births, deaths, escapes, and acts of treason to the NKVD within three days of their occurrence.²⁰⁸ The resolution also explicitly required special settlers to obey all NKVD orders.²⁰⁹ Finally, this resolution empowered the NKVD to administer punishments of up to five days in jail and fines of 100 rubles for violations of the regime and social order of the special settlements.²¹⁰ The Germans and other nationalities exiled to special settlements lived under these legal restrictions without exception.

In 1948, the Soviet government further tightened discipline and security in the special settlements. First, they strengthened labor discipline in the settlements. On 24 November 1948, the Council of Ministers passed resolution N436-1726 ss.²¹¹ This resolution established an eight-year sentence in corrective labor camps for special settlers who refused to carry out their work assignments.²¹² The Stalin regime expected exiles

in special settlements to act as a source of cheap labor for the development of remote areas of the Soviet Union.

The Stalin regime also took strong action to prevent escapes from special settlements. On 26 November 1948, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued a decree aimed at reducing escapes from special settlements.²¹³ This decree made the exile of deported nationalities permanent.²¹⁴ It also made any attempt to escape from the special settlements without special permission from the MVD punishable by 20 years in a hard labor camp.²¹⁵ The MVD investigated all fugitives from special settlements.²¹⁶ These investigations had a time limit of 10 days.²¹⁷ Special councils of the MVD tried all special settlers charged with fleeing the special settlements or avoiding socially useful labor.²¹⁸ Further, it subjected free citizens caught assisting escapees from special settlements to five years imprisonment.²¹⁹ Finally, the MVD required all deported national minorities to sign a receipt acknowledging the terms of this decree.²²⁰ The Stalin regime desired to permanently confine the deported Germans and other exiled nationalities to special settlements.

Special settlers could not leave the bounds of their settlements without MVD authorization.²²¹ The MVD issued standardized authorization forms with specified dates and locations to special settlers who traveled beyond the bound of the settlements.²²² The MVD required that a traveler have an MVD agent sign this form both upon arriving and when leaving the specified destination.²²³ The Soviet security organs greatly restricted the movement of special settlers.

The NKVD deported many Soviet Germans to special settlements formerly inhabited by exiled kulaks. The number of exiled kulaks decreased significantly between 1 January 1932 and 1 January 1941. The number of exiled kulaks in special settlements decreased from 1,317,022 to 930,221 during this time.²²⁴ This decline in the population of the special settlements freed up some space to accommodate the deported Germans. Unlike the exiled kulaks, the Soviet Germans did not face a complete lack of shelter. The former inhabitants of the settlements had built a number of houses, barns, and other structures that became available to the German exiles. They also did not have to contend with the occupation of all of these structures by previous exiles, as the North Caucasians and other exiles did. Hence, the German special settlers encountered considerably better living conditions than either the kulaks or those deported from the Kalmyk steppe, the Caucasus, or the Crimean peninsula.

Even though the German exiles had better housing than other special settlers, it was still far from adequate. On 5 October 1941, authorities in Altai Kray reported that they could house 100,000 German special settlers.²²⁵ By 1942, however, the NKVD had resettled 110,000 Germans in Altai Kray.²²⁶ Most of the buildings set aside to house the deported Germans were in poor condition. Many lacked windows, and heating the

Table 3.8¹
German Deaths and Births in Special Settlements, 1945–1950

Year	Deaths	Births
1945	6,930	1,914
1946	8,519	4,236
1947	12,573	7,314
1948	12,309	17,679
1949	9,984	22,126
1950	10,340	32,494
Total	60,655	92,763 ²

¹N. F. Bugai, "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1992, doc. 30, pp. 138–140.

²Although this total is cited in the original document, the sum of the column is 85,763, a difference of 7,000.

structures during the winter months proved difficult.²²⁷ Nevertheless the Germans avoided the overcrowded and unsanitary housing conditions that led to epidemics of typhus, tuberculosis, and other infectious diseases among later waves of special settlers.

The Soviet Germans fared much better in special settlements than either the exiled kulaks or the nationalities deported from the Caucasus, the Kalmyk steppe, and the Crimean peninsula. The NKVD and MVD figures on German deaths in special settlements are much lower than the figures for other contingents deported to special settlements. Between 1941 and 1948, the NKVD and MVD recorded 3.5% of German exiles dying in special settlements. In stark contrast, between 1944 to 1948, they recorded 23.7% of the exiled North Caucasians dying in special settlements.²²⁸ The figures for German deaths may be understated, especially for the years 1941 to 1944. The NKVD records contain contradictory figures regarding the German exiles in special settlements. In addition, the above percentage does not include Germans who died in the labor army. More than 60,000 Germans perished in special settlements from 1945 to 1950, however, according to the NKVD and MVD records (see Table 3.8). Better access to housing in the special settlements, however, appears to have been crucial in keeping down the German mortality rate.

The Stalin regime took extra harsh measures against Soviet Germans in the Red Army. On 8 September 1941, the NKVD issued *Prikaz* 35105.²²⁹ This decree ordered the removal of all ethnic Germans from the Red Army and Soviet military academies.²³⁰ The Soviet government organized these demobilized soldiers into construction units and sent them to the interior of the USSR.²³¹ These construction units formed the core of the *trudarmii* (labor army). The labor army consisted of Soviet Germans

mobilized into work colonies and battalions under NKVD administration and discipline. Germans in the labor army worked in labor camps felling trees, mining coal, and other hazardous tasks. Between 1942 and 1945, the Soviet government demobilized 33,625 ethnic Germans from the Red Army, including 1,609 officers and 4,292 sergeants.²³² The NKVD sent a significant number of these demobilized soldiers into the labor army.²³³ A few months later the Soviet government greatly expanded the size of the labor army; they inducted over 120,000 ethnic Germans into work colonies and battalions. The labor army worked in Kotlas, Vorkuta, Kemerovo, Koreiske, and other remote areas.²³⁴ The Germans in the labor army often worked 14 hours a day.²³⁵ Workers in the labor army received only 600 grams of bread a day.²³⁶ Members of the labor army who failed to fulfill their labor norms had their daily rations reduced to 400 grams of bread a day. Germans in the labor army suffered high mortality rates as a result of exhaustion, malnutrition, and exposure. According to E. F. Erich, a survivor of the labor army, out of 15,000 Germans in the labor army at the Bogoslav camp in February 1942, nearly 12,000 died before the end of the year.²³⁷ The Stalin regime, however, sent more mobilized Germans to replace the dead. On 31 December 1942, there were 12,758 Germans from the labor army working at the Bogoslav camp.²³⁸ The NKVD treated the Germans in the labor army as sub-humans fit only for the hardest and most dangerous work.

The Stalin regime sought to use the labor of the deported Germans to develop the infrastructure and industry of remote areas of the USSR. The Soviet government mobilized many of the exiled Germans into work colonies and battalions for forced labor. On 10 January 1942, Stalin issued GKO order 1123 ss, "On the Orderly Use of Resettled Germans between the Ages of 17 and 50."²³⁹ This resolution ordered the mobilization of all German men capable of physical labor between the ages of 17 and 50 in Novosibirsk Oblast, Omsk Oblast, Krasnoyarsk Kray, Altai Kray, and Kazakhstan into work colonies and battalions for the duration of the war.²⁴⁰ These work colonies and battalions came under the jurisdiction of the NKVD, NKO (People's Commissariat of Defense), and NKPS (People's Commissariat of Transport) and joined the demobilized soldiers in the labor army.

GKO resolution 1123 ss assigned 45,000 mobilized Germans to the NKVD for lumber preparation, 35,000 to the NKVD for construction of the Bakul and Bogoslav factories, and 40,000 to the NKPS for rail construction.²⁴¹ These rail lines included those from Stalinsk to Abakan, Stalinsk to Barnul, Akmolinsk to Kartaly, Akmolinsk to Pavlodar, Sos'va to Alanlaevsk, Orsk to Kandagach, and Magnitogorsk to Sara.²⁴² Stalin ordered Shchadenko of the NKO along with the NKVD and NKPS to mobilize these Germans by 30 January 1942.²⁴³ The resolution assigned the task of bringing all mobilized Germans to collection points with winter

clothing, bedding and linen, kitchen utensils, and a 10-day supply of food to the NKO.²⁴⁴ It then required the NKPS and administrative military council of the NKO to move these mobilized Germans to their assigned places of work by 10 February 1942.²⁴⁵ After delivering the Germans to their work sites, the NKVD and NKPS organized them into work colonies and battalions under strict discipline.²⁴⁶ The NKVD enforced discipline among the mobilized Germans from the point of induction throughout World War II. Special boards of the NKVD reviewed all cases of discipline violations, refusal to work, failure to appear for mobilization, and desertion from the work colonies by the mobilized Germans.²⁴⁷ These boards could impose severe punishments, including the death penalty, against mobilized Germans found guilty of the above offenses.²⁴⁸ Food and other rations for the mobilized Germans were set by Gulag and paid for by the NKT (People's Commissariat of Trade).²⁴⁹ The massive induction of ethnic Germans into forced labor battalions by decree marked a new zenith in Soviet national repression.

These work battalions and colonies worked in construction, industry, forestry, and mining.²⁵⁰ Often they worked at ITLs (Corrective Labor Camps), even though the NKVD counted them as a separate contingent from the Gulag (Main Administration of Camps) prisoners.²⁵¹ The Germans mobilized into work colonies lived under conditions almost identical to Gulag prisoners, despite the fact that their only crime was to belong to the wrong ethnicity.

The Soviet government soon expanded the categories of Soviet Germans to be mobilized into work colonies. On 14 February 1942, Stalin issued GKO resolution 1281 ss, "On Mobilizing German Men from the Ages 17 to 50 Years, Currently Living in Oblasts, Krays, Autonomous and Union Republics."²⁵² This resolution ordered the mobilization of all Soviet German men aged 17 to 50 capable of physical labor into work colonies.²⁵³ Stalin ordered the NKO and NKVD to complete this mobilization by 25 March 1942.²⁵⁴ He further required the NKPS and administrative military councils of the NKO to deliver the newly mobilized Germans to their designated places of work by 30 March 1942.²⁵⁵ Stalin again expanded the mobilization of Soviet Germans in the fall. On 7 October 1942, he issued GKO resolution No. 2383 ss, entitled "On the Full Mobilization of Germans for the People's Economy of the USSR."²⁵⁶ This resolution extended the age range of German men to be mobilized into work colonies from 17–50 to 15–55.²⁵⁷ This resolution also ordered the mobilization of all German women between the ages of 16 and 45 into work colonies for the duration of the war.²⁵⁸ The resolution exempted only pregnant women and women with children under three years of age from labor mobilization.²⁵⁹ Stalin ordered the NKVD and NKO to immediately begin this new mobilization.²⁶⁰ The NKVD and NKO had one month to complete this task.²⁶¹ All mobilized Germans

Table 3.9¹
Location of the *Trudarmii*, 31 December 1942

Camp	Type of Work	No. of Mobilized Germans
Aktyubinsk	Industrial Construction	1,543
Bakal'stroi	Industrial Construction	28,134
Bogoslav	Industrial Construction	12,758
Ivdel'	Lumber	12,397
Kraslag	Lumber	5,313
Nizhne-Tagil'stroi	Industrial Construction	3,737
Saratov	Rail Construction	3,910
Sevzheldorozhnyi	Rail Construction	5,724
Severoural'sk	Lumber	4,262
Solikamburstroi	Industrial Construction	9,126
Tavdinlag	Industrial Construction	464
Umal'tinsk	Mining and Metallurgy	1,298
Usol'e	Lumber	6,004
Volga	Rail Construction	16,772
Vostural'sk	Lumber	5,252
Vyatka	Lumber	5,449
Total	NA	122,143

¹E. Bacon, *The Gulag at War* (London: Macmillan, 1994), table 6.1, p. 108.

had to bring their own winter clothing, linen, eating implements, and a 10-day supply of food to points of embarkment.²⁶² The NKPS and NKO moved the German men mobilized under this new order to the coal trusts Chelybugol' and Karagandaugol under the administration of the People's Commissariat of Coal.²⁶³ The Stalin regime moved the newly mobilized German women to enterprises run by the People's Commissariat of Oil.²⁶⁴ The Stalin regime used the forced labor of German work colonies to maintain the Soviet war economy. The loss of manpower due to conscription into the Red Army and the German occupation of the Western USSR greatly reduced the number of industrial workers available to the Soviet economy. To make up for these losses, the Stalin regime relied upon forced labor. Gulag prisoners and national minorities mobilized into work colonies enabled Soviet industry to survive the war-induced labor shortage.

The Soviet NKVD forced many of the mobilized Germans to work in ITLs. By 31 December 1942, a total of 122,143 mobilized Soviet Germans worked in 16 separate labor camps (see Table 3.9).²⁶⁵ The mobilized Ger-

mans worked in industrial construction, rail construction, timber felling, and mining. A total of 26,406 Germans worked in three camps devoted to rail construction; 55,762 worked in six camps devoted to industrial construction; 38,677 worked in six lumber camps; and 1,298 worked in a mining camp.²⁶⁶ The Germans mobilized in the labor army worked under the harsh conditions of the wartime Gulag. They performed heavy labor in some of the Gulag's worst camps.

The Soviet regime employed Germans mobilized in work colonies and battalions in many areas during the course of World War II. The coal industry in particular made widespread use of German labor. On 19 August 1943, Stalin issued GKO order GOKO no. 3960ss instructing Beria to provide 25,000 laborers from labor camps, labor colonies, and special settlements to the coal industry.²⁶⁷ These workers included 7,000 German men and women living in Kazakhstan, Altai Kray, Krasnoyarsk Kray, Omsk Oblast, Novosibirsk Oblast, and Kemerovo Oblast.²⁶⁸ Stalin ordered the NKVD to mobilize these 7,000 Germans in accordance with GKO orders GOKO no. 1123ss and GOKO no. 2383ss.²⁶⁹ Stalin ordered the NKVD to transfer these mobilized workers over to the People's Commissariat of Coal.²⁷⁰ He assigned the People's Commissariat of Coal responsibility for organizing, housing, and employing these mobilized laborers.²⁷¹ Kaganovich of the NKPS received instructions to provide the NKVD with trains equipped for the transportation of these mobilized workers to their assigned work sites during August and September 1943.²⁷² Finally, Stalin assigned Liubimov of the People's Commissariat of Trade responsibility for providing food to the mobilized workers during their transportation.²⁷³

The UNKVD in Molotov Oblast used large numbers of special settlers to develop the territory's economy. Between 18 October and 2 November 1944, the NKVD verified the existence of 82,024 special settlers working in the Molotov Oblast.²⁷⁴ Mobilized Germans formed a sizable portion of these laborers. The NKVD counted 12,359 mobilized Germans employed in Molotov Oblast during this verification campaign.²⁷⁵

In 1947, the Soviet government officially disbanded the units of the *trudarmii* formed from demobilized soldiers and others that worked in ITLs and construction camps and sent their members to special settlements.²⁷⁶ Mobilized Germans, however, continued to work in various economic commissariats of the USSR. On 3 September 1948, Shiain, chief of the MVD section for special settlements, reported that the coal industry in the Moscow Oblast employed 689 mobilized German families with 4,594 people.²⁷⁷ The same report also counted 1,487 mobilized German families with 9,772 members working in the coal industry in Tula Oblast.²⁷⁸ The mobilized Germans provided the Soviet economic commissariats with a readily available pool of skilled labor.

Although there are no figures on deaths in the labor army, the number

Table 3.10
Number of German Special Settlers

October 1945	687,300 ¹
October 1946	895,637 ²
1 April 1949	1,035,701 ³
1 January 1950	1,099,578 ⁴
1 January 1953	1,224,931 ⁵

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, komentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 17, p. 237.

²Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 25, pp. 244–245.

³Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 31, pp. 251–252.

⁴Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 34, pp. 253–254.

⁵V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, spetsposelentsy, ssyl'no poselentsy, ssyl'nye, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155.

of Soviet Germans missing from the population counts probably consists primarily of these deaths. In 1939 there were 1,427,222 Soviet Germans, and in 1953 there were 1,224,931 in special settlements.²⁷⁹ In addition to the 202,291 missing Germans shown in these figures must be added an additional 92,783 to account for births in the special settlements.²⁸⁰ Thus 295,074 people are missing from these figures. A total of 118,722 of these Germans can be accounted for by releases, escapes, and recorded deaths. The NKVD released 37,784 Germans from special settlements, 15,992 escaped, and 65,599 perished in special settlements.²⁸¹ This leaves 176,352 unaccounted for Soviet Germans. Most of these missing probably died in the labor army.

The NKVD did not deport the Soviet Germans already living in Siberia, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and Urals.²⁸² Instead the Soviet regime mobilized these "local Germans" into work battalions and colonies.²⁸³ The Soviet government transformed these areas of German settlement into zones of forced labor. From 1941 to 1942, the Stalin regime mobilized over 118,000 ethnic Germans already living in Soviet Asia into work battalions under military command.²⁸⁴ The NKVD and MVD counted these Germans as a separate contingent from the Germans mobilized into the labor army. Germans mobilized in the zones of forced labor are listed as "local" Germans. The Soviet government used the labor from these work battalions in a variety of industries in these zones. At the end of 1945, the Soviet government eliminated these zones of forced labor, and transferred the local Germans to special settlements (see Table 3.10). These undeported special settlers suffered from all the restrictions and burdens of the exiled Germans. The exiled Germans remained scattered throughout the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia until after Stalin's death. (See Tables 3.11 and 3.12.)

Table 3.11¹
Location of German Special Settlers, 1 January 1949

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	393,537
Uzbekistan	6,518
Kemerovo Oblast	49,467
Kirghizia	14,954
Krasnoyarsk Kray	56,184
Altai Kray	86,709
Novosibirsk Oblast	70,729
Molotov Oblast	39,909
Tomsk Oblast	21,085
Sverdlovsk Oblast	45,587
Omsk Oblast	38,182
Tiumen Oblast	24,228
Chelyabinsk Oblast	38,440
Irkutsk Oblast	4,257
Komi ASSR	11,042
Tadzhikistan	18,184
Dalstroï (Magadan)	1,479
Tula Oblast	13,202
Bashkir ASSR	11,548
Arkhangl'sk Oblast	11,375
Khabarovsk Kray	2,674
Chkalov Oblast	11,879
Mari ASSR	2,465
Yakut ASSR	2,380
Vologda Oblast	9,520
Kostroma Oblast	6,669
Udmurt ASSR	7,744
Kirov Oblast	6,311
Buriat-Mongol ASSR	2,341
Moscow Oblast	7,142
Amur Oblast	1,605
Kubishev Oblast	5,297
Chita Oblast	488
Gorky Oblast	1,651

Table 3.11 (continued)

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Sakhalin Oblast	627
Turkmenistan	2,521
Ivanov Oblast	1,982
Volga Tatar ASSR	1,284
Dnipropetrov Oblast	1,806
Ryazin Oblast	1,442
Ulyanov Oblast	668
Kurgan Oblast	389
Chuvash ASSR	200
Total	1,035,701

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsy," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 11, 1990, pp. 10–12.

The rehabilitation of the Soviet Germans was slow and piecemeal. The first releases from special settlements for the Soviet Germans occurred as a result of a resolution by the Council of Ministers on 5 July 1954.²⁸⁵ This resolution released all children under 16, including ethnic Germans, from special settlements.²⁸⁶ The Soviet government released a total of 875,795 children from special settlements as a result of this decree.²⁸⁷ The next Germans removed from the MVD special settler count were the Germans mobilized for forced labor. These Germans included both those categorized as "local" and "mobilized." On 9 May 1955, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed a resolution releasing 105,869 German special settlers in these two categories.²⁸⁸ On 13 December 1955, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued a decree entitled "On Lifting the Restrictions on the Rights of Germans and Members of Their Families, Found in Special Settlements."²⁸⁹ This short decree freed the remaining 695,216 German special settlers, including Soviet Germans repatriated from Germany, from MVD surveillance.²⁹⁰ The decree, however, specifically barred the Soviet Germans from receiving compensation for any property confiscated during the deportation or returning to the locations from which Stalin had exiled them.²⁹¹ Even after this decree, the Soviet government still viewed its German population as guilty of treason in 1941.

Only on 29 August 1964 did the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet negate the charges of treason against the Volga Germans.²⁹² They issued a decree entitled "On Inserting Changes to the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 28 August 1941 'On Resettling the Germans, Living in the Region of the Volga.'"²⁹³ Although this decree

Table 3.12¹
Location of German Special Settlers, 1 January 1953

Area	Exiled	Rep.	Local	Mob.	Other	Total
Kazakh	337,209	42,850	62,631	5,936	----	448,626
Uzbek	1,451	1,185	4,664	1,024	42	8,366
Krasnoyarsk	59,243	3,200	----	----	----	62,443
Kirghiz	528	36	14,845	230	113	15,752
Altai	80,933	13,841	1,189	1,653	----	97,616
Kemerovo	55,851	4,888	2,968	832	114	64,653
Novosibirsk	58,372	13,262	6,648	576	15	78,873
Irkutsk	1,919	4,418	195	1,411	----	7,943
Omsk	38,627	1,869	686	1,069	48	42,299
Molotov	28,380	17,831	1,648	4,454	----	52,313
Tomsk	19,707	5,830	159	310	----	26,006
Sverdlovsk	40,700	12,076	3,029	6,724	----	62,529
Tiumen	26,761	1,810	124	----	----	28,695
Chelybinsk	29,834	4,264	6,011	5,759	413	46,281
Tadzhik	8,323	18,023	137	1,681	----	28,164
Khabarovsk	525	116	719	2,217	----	3,577
Komi	1,776	10,131	81	153	----	12,141
Bashkir	8,039	773	3,206	1,132	3	13,153
Yakutia	2,609	977	61	333	----	3,980
Arkhangl'sk	1,800	10,976	----	118	----	12,894
Amur	248	39	852	1,102	----	2,241
Tula	10,389	57	17	1,516	16	11,995
Kurgan	321	51	40	54	----	466
Buriat	2,139	867	----	247	170	3,423
Orenburg	8,237	1,973	382	2,767	----	13,359
Udmurt	1,660	7,580	80	1,196	7	10,523
Kirov	1,324	5,735	104	56	----	7,219
Mari	85	2,592	7	85	2	2,771
Vologda	244	9,462	1	245	----	9,952
Kostroma	56	6,342	3	31	2	6,434
Moscow	5,041	98	----	1,187	----	6,326
Far North	1,505	882	----	343	----	2,730
Kubishev	4,610	57	----	482	----	5,149
Sakhlin	760	1	55	7	----	823

Table 3.12 (continued)

Area	Exiled	Rep.	Local	Mob.	Other	Total
Karelia	217	29	----	----	----	246
Gorky	226	1,174	----	89	----	1,489
Ivanov	15	1,779	----	14	----	1,808
Maritime	11	16	----	----	----	27
Turkmen	1,035	381	6	146	----	1,568
Tatar	1,116	68	59	263	----	1,506
Ryaizan	1,340	8	57	168	2	1,575
Murmansk	2	16	----	----	2	20
Ulyanov	602	26	46	368	----	1,042
Tuva	10	----	----	----	----	10
Dnipropetrov	460	----	----	----	----	460
Chuvash	245	7	12	40	14	318
Rostov	107	195	----	----	----	302
Vlad	89	2	----	----	----	91
ITLs	10,285	540	444	2,617	----	13,886
Total	855,764 ²	208,388 ³	111,324 ⁴	48,582 ⁵	963	1,224,931 ⁶

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, spetsposelentsy, ssl'no poselentsg, ssl'nye, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, pp. 154–160.

²Although this figure appears in the cited article, the sum of the column is 854,966, a difference of 798.

³Although this figure appears in the cited article, the sum of the column is 208,333, a difference of 55.

⁴Although this figure appears in the cited article, the sum of the column is 111,166, a difference of 158.

⁵Although this figure appears in the cited article, the sum of the column is 48,635, a difference of 53.

⁶Although this figure appears in the cited article, the sum of the column is 1,224,063, a difference of 868; the sum of the cited totals of the other columns is 1,225,021 a difference of 90.

rehabilitated the Soviet Germans it did not provide restitution for lost property or allow the Germans to return to the Volga or other areas they once inhabited.²⁹⁴ The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet only granted the Soviet Germans the right to choose their place of residence on 3 November 1972.²⁹⁵ Entitled "On Lifting the Restrictions on Choosing Places of Residence, Stipulated in the Past for Separate Categories of Citizens," this law had little practical effect on the deported Germans.²⁹⁶ Most of the houses and land formerly occupied by the Soviet Germans had since

Table 3.13
Percentage of Soviet Germans Speaking German as a Native Language

Year	Percentage
1926	94.9% ¹
1959	75.0% ²
1970	66.8% ³
1979	57.7% ⁴
1989	48.7% ⁵

¹Gerhard Simon, *Nationalism and Policy toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991), table A.8, p. 396.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Alfred Eisfeld, "Germans," in Paul Friedrich and Norma Diamond, eds., *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*, vol. VI, *Russia and Eurasia/China* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1994), p. 138.

been occupied by Slavic settlers. The Soviet regime never reestablished any ethnic German territories in the USSR.

German culture in the Soviet Union suffered greatly from the deportations. Spread among Russian and Turkic populations in Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia, many Germans became assimilated into Russian culture. This acculturation is most evident in the linguistic assimilation of the Soviet Germans (see Table 3.13). In 1926, when *korenzatsiia* was in full bloom, 94.9% of Soviet Germans spoke German as their native tongue.²⁹⁷ In 1959, after their release from special settlements, the number of Soviet Germans who retained German as their first language had been reduced to 75%.²⁹⁸ The continued dispersal of the formerly compact Volga and Black Sea German communities in diaspora throughout the eastern areas of the Soviet Union greatly assisted the forces of assimilation. By 1989, only 48.7% of Soviet Germans spoke German as their native language.²⁹⁹ The assimilation of Soviet Germans into Russian culture was hastened by the high rate of intermarriage between Germans and Slavs in the postwar period. By 1979, 47.5% of married Soviet Germans had non-German spouses, primarily Russians and Ukrainians.³⁰⁰ The change from a predominantly endogamous marriage pattern in the early 20th century to this high rate of intermarriage can be traced to the breakup of traditional German communities by the deportations and the subsequent urbanization and industrialization of the Soviet Germans. Most Germans from Russia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia today speak Russian rather than German as their native language.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union many ethnic Germans living in

Russia, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia have emigrated to Germany. In 1994 alone, a total of 213,214 ethnic Germans arrived in the Federal Republic of Germany from Russia (68,397), Kazakhstan (121,517), Kirghizia (10,847), and other regions of the former USSR (12,453).³⁰¹ During the first three months of 1995, another 44,665 *Aussiedler*³⁰² (ethnic Germans from abroad) from the former Soviet Union immigrated to Germany.³⁰³ The influx of a large number of Russified Germans from the former USSR has further burdened the already strained social welfare system of Germany. In 1994 alone, the German government paid 4 billion deutsche marks (\$2.9 billion) for various programs to assist the newly arrived *Aussiedler*.³⁰⁴ Recently, the German government has come under increasing political pressure to stem the flow of immigrants. As part of a policy to persuade potential immigrants to remain in their current countries of residence the German government provides funding for various programs to assist ethnic Germans in the former USSR. These programs include German-language education, German-language media, and support for German-owned businesses. These programs, however, have done little to reduce the desire of many ethnic Germans in Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Russia to emigrate to Germany.

4

Kalmyks

In the snowy expanses of Siberia
Large trees grow
And exiled Kalmyks
Suffer from the cold here

—A. Balakaev, “O zhizni v sibiri” [On Life in Siberia]

The further the German military advanced into the USSR, the more vulnerable its supply lines became. The German military on the Eastern Front depended upon supply lines that stretched thousands of miles across the steppes of Ukraine and Russia. The Soviets conducted a guerrilla war in the rear of the German military. Soviet partisans took advantage of this situation and frequently attacked the overextended supply lines in the rear of the German army. The Germans did not have sufficient manpower both to continue to advance into the USSR and to guard its supply lines from Soviet partisans. In order to protect the rear of the German military with its vulnerable supply routes, the Germans recruited members of local Soviet population into self-defense units, *Selbschutz* (Schuma). Most of these German-organized units consisted of former soldiers of the Red Army recruited from POW camps. On the Kalmyk Steppe, the Germans recruited a cavalry unit, the Kalmyk Cavalry Corps, to help guard the Wehrmacht's supply lines and suppress partisan activities. In retaliation for the acts of the Kalmyk Cavalry Corps, the Stalin regime deported the entire Kalmyk population to special settlements in Siberia.

The Kalmyks are a Mongol Bhuddist people living on the lower Volga.

In the early 17th century they immigrated to the shores of the Caspian Sea from western Mongolia. They inhabit the area immediately southwest of the Volga River on the western shore of the Caspian Sea. Traditionally nomadic, they resisted the forced settlement that accompanied the collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1931. The Kalmyks like their ethnic cousins the Khalka Mongols, Buriats, and Tibetans practice a Lamaist form of Buddhism. The Dali Lama is a holy figure in Kalmykia as well as Tibet. The Kalmyk population of the Russian Empire reached 190,600 by 1887.¹ During the next 72 years, war, famine, and deportation reduced the Kalmyk population to 106,100.² The greatest of these demographic disasters occurred during World War II.

The Kalmyks, like other Soviet national minorities, benefited from the policy of *korenzatsiia*. On 4 November 1920, the Soviet government created the Kalmyk Autonomous Oblast.³ The Soviet leadership upgraded this territorial unit to an ASSR on 20 October 1935.⁴ Education greatly improved for the Kalmyks during the period of *korenzatsiia*. In 1917, the Kalmyk steppe possessed only 31 schools with 674 Kalmyk students.⁵ By 1940, the educational infrastructure of the Kalmyk ASSR had grown to 302 schools with 44,000 Kalmyk students.⁶ The Kalmyk ASSR also possessed a number of institutions of higher education by this time. The republic possessed a veterinarian college, an agricultural college, and three pedagogical institutes.⁷ According to the 1939 Soviet census the Kalmyk ASSR possessed 220,689 inhabitants.⁸ Only 107,250, or 48.6%, of these residents, however, were ethnic Kalmyks.⁹ The total Kalmyk population of the USSR numbered 134,400 in 1939.¹⁰ In addition to the Kalmyk ASSR, close to 4,000 Kalmyks lived in Stalingrad Oblast.¹¹ During World War II the fate of these people changed radically.

While the Soviet regime made great strides in improving education among the Kalmyks, they also caused great damage to the Kalmyk's traditional way of life. The forced elimination of their nomadic lifestyle, and the persecution of Buddhist monks and priests by Soviet authorities alienated large segments of the Kalmyk population. Many Kalmyk traditionalists fought against the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War. After the imposition of Soviet rule over the Kalmyk steppe, many of these anti-Communists emigrated to Europe, particularly Germany. Soviet actions towards the Kalmyks created a sizable pool of Kalmyks, both in the Soviet Union and abroad, eager to take up arms against Moscow.

Despite its location south of the Volga River in the eastern region of European Russia, the Germans occupied the western reaches of the Kalmyk ASSR during World War II. On 12 August 1942, the German military defeated the 51st Soviet army under colonel Zubkov and captured the Kalmyk capitol, Elista.¹² During World War II, the Germans occupied five of the 13 *uluses* (districts) of the Kalmyk ASSR in their entirety and part of three others.¹³ During the fall of 1942, General Von Schwerin's

16th motorized division was the only German unit guarding the occupied areas of the Kalmyk steppe.¹⁴ This division was stretched thinly across the expanse of the steppe. The German military desperately needed additional forces to garrison this territory. For assistance in occupying west Kalmykia, the Germans recruited several thousand Kalmyks into military units.

The chief Kalmyk military unit under German command was the Kalmyk Cavalry Corps. In September 1942, German intelligence and the pro-German Kalmyk National Committee created the Kalmyk Cavalry Corps.¹⁵ The Kalmyk National Committee was formed by Kalmyk émigrés in Berlin. The activities of these émigrés centered around the Kalmyk Banner Organization, led by Balinov.¹⁶ The Kalmyk Cavalry Corps owed its existence in large part to the efforts of Dr. Doll (Othmar [Rudolph] Werva), a German academic and *Abwehr* officer.¹⁷ Dr. Doll was a Sudeten German who had served with Simon Petliura in Ukraine during that nation's struggle for independence against the Bolsheviks.¹⁸ Dr. Doll was the only German military officer able to speak the Kalmyk language. He received assistance from Professor Baron Von Richtohofen and Oberleutenant Halterman in organizing the Kalmyks into military units.¹⁹ Dr. Doll formed the Kalmyk Cavalry Corps as an irregular military force designed to suppress Soviet partisan activity.

Alone among the German-sponsored "Eastern Legions," the Kalmyk Cavalry Corps relied upon genuine volunteers rather than recruits from POW camps.²⁰ Other "Eastern Legions" were formed from Georgians, Armenians, Daghestanis, Volga Tatars, and Central Asians. By July 1944, the Kalmyk Cavalry Corps had 3,458 horsemen.²¹ This number included 147 officers and 374 noncommissioned officers.²² The Kalmyk Cavalry Corps performed an important role in garrisoning the western Kalmyk steppe for the German military. Their speed and mobility allowed them to effectively counter partisan activity in the Kalmyk steppe.

The German occupiers destroyed much of the agriculture and industry in the Kalmyk ASSR. The German armed forces also executed close to 20,000 people from the Kalmyk ASSR.²³ Among those executed were civilians, Soviet POWs, and captured partisans.²⁴ These executions frequently occurred during punitive expeditions by German forces against the local population. The Slavic population of the Kalmyk ASSR and neighboring territories suffered disproportionately from these raids. The Kalmyk Cavalry Corps actively participated in a number of these punitive expeditions in Kalmykia and the surrounding areas.²⁵ The Stalin regime held the entire Kalmyk population responsible for the excesses of the Kalmyk Cavalry Corps. Upon recapturing the western Kalmyk steppe, the Soviet government deported virtually the entire Kalmyk nation to Siberia.

The activities of the Kalmyk Cavalry Corps did not represent the ma-

jority of the Kalmyk people. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Kalmyks collected 7,830,000 rubles to construct a tank battalion named “Soviet Kalmyk” as a gift to the Red Army.²⁶ Thousands more Kalmyks fought on behalf of the Soviet Union against the Nazis than collaborated with the Germans. In 1940, the Red Army had 5,000 Kalmyk soldiers.²⁷ Soon after the beginning of the war with Germany, more than 2,000 people in the Kalmyk ASSR joined the Red Army.²⁸ In the first seven months of the war, more than 20,000 Kalmyk soldiers went to the front to fight against the Germans.²⁹ On 30 July 1941, the Soviet government organized a militia in the Kalmyk ASSR that reached 8,664 members.³⁰ During 1944 and 1945 the Stalin regime demobilized 4,105 Kalmyk soldiers fighting against Nazi Germany.³¹ Among these soldiers were 57 officers, 459 sergeants, and 3,559 rank-and-file members of the Red Army.³² Eight Kalmyks even received awards as Heroes of the Soviet Union for their valor in combat against the Germans.³³ In March 1949, the special settlements held 383 Kalmyk officers, 1,118 sergeants, and 4,633 rank-and-file soldiers who had served in the Red Army.³⁴ Another 1,301 Kalmyk special settlers had been Communist Party members, and 769 had been in the Komsomol.³⁵ The Stalin regime deported these soldiers and communists to special settlements along with the rest of the Kalmyk population despite their loyal service to the Soviet state.

The Stalin regime began planning the deportation of the Kalmyks in October 1943. On 28 October 1943 the SNK issued resolution no. 1118–346 ss, signed by Molotov, instructing the executive committees of Krasnoyarsk Kray, Omsk Oblast, and Novosibirsk Oblast to prepare for an influx of Kalmyk exiles.³⁶ On 26 December 1943, Serov, Deputy Chief of the NKVD, arrived in Elitsia to oversee the deportation of the Kalmyks, code-named operation “*Ulusy*.”³⁷ The next day the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet ordered the deportation of all Kalmyks from the Kalmyk ASSR.³⁸ On 27 December 1943, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued a decree (*ukaz*) entitled “On Liquidating the Kalmyk ASSR and Founding the Astrakhan Oblast as a Component of the RSFSR” under the signatures of Kalinin and Gorkin.³⁹ This decree listed a long series of crimes allegedly committed by the Kalmyks during World War II.

Taking into consideration that in the period of occupation by German-Fascist invaders of the Kalmyk ASSR many Kalmyks betrayed the motherland, joined organized German military detachments to fight against the Red Army, handed over to the Germans honest Soviet citizens, siezed and handed over to the Germans kolhoz livestock evacuated from Rostov Oblast and Ukraine, and after the expulsion of the occupation by the Red Army organized bands and actively opposed organs of Soviet power so as to restore their destroyed German masters, commit bandit raids on kolhozes and terrorize the surrounding population. . . .⁴⁰

The Stalin regime branded the Kalmyks as a criminal nation deserving severe punishment. In the minds of the Soviet leaders, the Kalmyks had sided with Nazi Germany in a war of annihilation against the Soviet Union. Moscow decreed that such crimes demanded the exile of the entire Kalmyk population.

As punishment for these acts of the Kalmyk Cavalry Corps, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet resolved that "1. All Kalmyks living in the territory of the Kalmyk ASSR are to be resettled to other regions of the USSR, and the Kalmyk ASSR liquidated."⁴¹ The decree continued to promise that the SNK "will provide the Kalmyks in their new locations of settlement with land and render them necessary state assistance for economic construction."⁴² This decree also joined most of the territory of the Kalmyk ASSR with that of neighboring territories to form the Astrakhan Oblast.⁴³ The remainder of the Kalmyk ASSR's territory was joined with either the Stalingrad Oblast or the Rostov Oblast.⁴⁴ On 28 December 1943, the SNK issued resolution no. 1432-425 ss in accordance with the previous day's decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.⁴⁵ This resolution called for the exile of 95,000 Kalmyks: 25,000 to Altai Kray, 25,000 to Krasnoyarsk Kray, 25,000 to Omsk Oblast, and 20,000 to Novosibirsk Oblast.⁴⁶ It further called for the resettled Kalmyks to be employed in the rural economy, animal husbandry, and fishing.⁴⁷ The NKVD quickly acted upon these resolutions to exile the Kalmyks to special settlements.

Between 28 and 29 December 1943 the NKVD and NKGB (People's Commissariat of State Security) deported the titular nationality of the Kalmyk ASSR.⁴⁸ The UNKVD (Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs) chief of Ivanov Oblast, General Major of State Security Markeev, oversaw the entire operation, and Major of State Security Zolotov commanded the personnel involved in the deportation.⁴⁹ Prior to the deportation, the NKVD arrested 750 Kalmyks for banditry and for assisting the German occupation in order to prevent any resistance to the operation.⁵⁰ The NKVD gave the condemned Kalmyks only one to two hours to gather their possessions before loading them onto trains.⁵¹ Many of the deportees did not have time to collect their clothes, shoes, or household items.⁵² A total of 2,975 NKVD and NKGB officers with 1,225 automobiles and 1,226 members of the 3rd motorized regiment of the internal troops of the NKVD loaded 93,139 Kalmyks on 46 train echelons bound for Siberia in less than two days.⁵³ The Stalin regime uprooted almost the entire Kalmyk nation and relocated it thousands of miles away in record time.

The Soviet security forces encountered no significant incidents of resistance during the deportation.⁵⁴ During the operation, however, the NKVD section for struggling against banditism did detain 432 former "bandits," "deserters," and "anti-Soviet elements among the Kal-

Table 4.1¹
Location of Exiled Kalmyks, 23 February 1944

Territory	Planned	Actual
Altai Kray	25,000	22,212
Krasnoyarsk Kray	25,000	24,998
Omsk Oblast	25,000	27,069
Novosibirsk Oblast	20,000	16,436
Kazakhstan	-----	2,268
Total	95,000	92,983

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: “Ikh nado deportirovat’”: dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzha narodov, 1992), doc. 1, pp. 84–85, and doc. 4, p. 86.

myks.⁵⁵ The NKVD detained 90 of these people in Astrakhan prison and the remaining 342 in Elista prison.⁵⁶ The NKVD handed 17 of these prisoners over to other organizations, freed 84 of them, and relocated 84 of them to new areas of settlement.⁵⁷ Between 1945 and 1947, the NKVD section for the struggle against banditism detained another 141 fugitive Kalmyks.⁵⁸ Very few Kalmyks escaped exile to Siberia.

In addition to the Kalmyks living in the Kalmyk ASSR, the Stalin regime deported the Kalmyks living in Rostov and Stalingrad oblasts. On 11 March 1944, the SNK passed resolution no. 5475 rs ordering the re-settlement of the Kalmyks in Rostov Oblast to Omsk Oblast.⁵⁹ Beria issued NKVD *prikaz* (decree) no. 00276 to implement this resolution on 14 March 1944.⁶⁰ This decree charged the UNKGB (Administration of the People’s Commissariat of State Security) of Rostov Oblast with loading the local Kalmyk population onto train echelons bound for Omsk Oblast.⁶¹ The NKVD and NKGB exiled a total of 2,684 Kalmyks from Rostov Oblast to Omsk Oblast in 1944.⁶² From 2 to 4 June 1944, the Stalin regime exiled another 1,178 Kalmyks from Stalingrad Oblast to Sverdlovsk Oblast.⁶³ Finally, between 1944 and 1948, 1,300 more Kalmyks entered special settlements.⁶⁴ These Kalmyks included demobilized soldiers (843), released Soviet prisoners (104), POWs and others repatriated from German occupied areas (157), returned fugitives (10), and others.⁶⁵ The Stalin regime even deported the eight Kalmyks living in Moscow to special settlements.⁶⁶ The Soviet security forces successfully exiled almost every Kalmyk living on Soviet territory to Siberia.

The Soviet regime deported the Kalmyks to special settlements in Omsk Oblast, Novosibirsk Oblast, Altai Kray, Krasnoyarsk Kray, and Kazakhstan (see Table 4.1). According to a 23 February 1944 report by Colonel Maltsev, chief of the NKVD section for special settlements, 92,983 Kalmyks had arrived in special settlements by 10 February 1944.⁶⁷ The NKVD sent 27,069 of these exiles to Omsk Oblast, 16,436 to Novo-

sibirsk Oblast, 22,212 to Altai Kray, 24,998 to Krasnoyarsk Kray, and 2,268 to Kazakhstan.⁶⁸ This number was later revised to 91,919 arrivals.⁶⁹ This figure, however, included 979 double-counted Kalmyks.⁷⁰ On 1 October 1948, this accounting error was corrected, and the number of Kalmyks that arrived in special settlements was adjusted to 90,940.⁷¹ The Kalmyks suffered under the same legal restrictions in special settlements as the Soviet Germans and other deported nationalities.

The Stalin regime organized many of the Kalmyks demobilized from the Red Army into work battalions. Former Kalmyk soldiers worked in the Shirov camp in Molotov Oblast, in the Polovink camp in Perm Oblast, and in other labor camps.⁷² During the summer of 1944 a total of 7,000 Kalmyk soldiers removed from the front worked in the Molotov construction battalion.⁷³ The conditions of these work battalions differed little from those experienced by Gulag prisoners. A large number of Kalmyks died of cold, hunger, and exhaustion in these work battalions.

The Soviet government assigned the deported Kalmyks to *kolhozes*, *sovhozes*, construction sites, industrial enterprises, and fishing. Initially many of the exiled Kalmyks assigned to *kolhozes* did not have work.⁷⁴ This situation was especially true for women.⁷⁵ Kalmyk special settlers on *kolhozes* who did not work did not receive food or other goods from the *kolhozes*.⁷⁶ This resulted in massive poverty and death among the Kalmyk exiles.⁷⁷ On 30 January 1946, only 36,000 of the 80,360 exiled Kalmyks were capable of working.⁷⁸ A total of 35,360 of these settlers worked in *kolhozes*, *sovhozes*, industry, and construction.⁷⁹ In March 1946, 14,116 exiled Kalmyk families (38,890 people) depended on industrial enterprises and construction.⁸⁰ Another 10,512 families (31,637 people) lived on *kolhozes*, and 4,337 families (11,170 people) lived on *sovhozes*.⁸¹ In 1953, 23,090 Kalmyks (57.1% of those capable of working) worked in agriculture.⁸² Other Kalmyk special settlers worked in industry, logging, and other occupations.

The Kalmyks suffered great material deprivation in exile. The crowded and unhygienic conditions of the rail cars used in the operation greatly facilitated the spread of typhus and other infectious diseases. En route to Novosibirsk, 193 Kalmyks perished and 224 had to be hospitalized upon arrival.⁸³ Out of those hospitalized, 39 died of acute typhus.⁸⁴ Similar conditions existed among the Kalmyks deported to Omsk Oblast, Altai Kray, and Krasnoyarsk Kray. Around 1,200 Kalmyks perished en route to special settlements.⁸⁵ These fatalities were only the beginning of the demographic disaster that afflicted the Kalmyks during the 1940s.

Deaths continued to be high among the Kalmyk special settlers in Siberia throughout the 1940s and early 1950s (see Table 4.2). In Altai Kray alone, 1,510 Kalmyks died during 1944.⁸⁶ Between 1944 and 1948 the NKVD recorded 16,594 Kalmyk deaths in special settlements (18% of the population).⁸⁷ In 1949 and 1950, another 4,160 Kalmyks perished in ex-

Table 4.2¹
Deaths and Births of Kalmyk Special Settlers, 1945–1950

Year	Deaths	Births
1945	3,735	351
1946	2,187	628
1947	2,358	757
1948	2,766	1,135
1949	1,903	2,058
1950	2,257	2,914
Total	15,206	7,843

¹N. F. Bugai, "40–50 gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1992, doc. 30, pp. 138–140.

ile.⁸⁸ Over 20,754 Kalmyks (22.58% of their total population) died as a direct result of the conditions in special settlements.⁸⁹

The primary causes of the high mortality rate among Kalmyk special settlers were disease, malnutrition, exposure, and exhaustion resulting from the harsh conditions of exile. The Kalmyk special settlers suffered from poor hygienic and sanitary conditions, a lack of proper clothing for the cold Siberian winter, and insufficient food. The NKVD housed the Kalmyks in barns and huts.⁹⁰ These conditions fostered the spread of infectious diseases such as typhus, dysentery, and tuberculosis. In Altai Kray, 48% of deaths among the Kalmyk special settlers resulted from tuberculosis.⁹¹ Official Soviet communications clearly note the material deprivation of the Kalmyk special settlers. In November 1944, Beria informed Anastas Mikoyan that the Kalmyk special settlers lived in desperate material and sanitary conditions.⁹² Beria even commented that the "majority of them do not own linen, clothes, and shoes."⁹³

In order to improve their living standards, the Kalmyks required state assistance for the months of November and December 1944.⁹⁴ This assistance took the form of 36 tons of kitchen soap, 18 tons of tea leaves, 90 tons of salt, 50 tons of washed wool, and 60 tons of cotton cloth.⁹⁵ The SNK ordered the people's commissariats of food, textiles, and livestock to provide the executive committees of Altai Kray, Novosibirsk Oblast, Omsk Oblast, Tomsk Oblast, Tiumen Oblast, Sverdlovsk Oblast, in Russia and Kzyl-Orda Oblast in Kazakhstan with these supplies.⁹⁶ For the months of November and December 1944, each Kalmyk special settler was supposed to receive 200 grams of soap, 100 grams of tea, and half a kilogram of salt.⁹⁷ The Kalmyk exiles also received substantial food assistance from the Soviet government. Between 1944 and 1946 the Kalmyks received 6,277 tons of grain, flour, and goats; 2,040 tons of po-

tatoes; 22 tons of sugar; 200 tons of salt; and 18 tons of tea leaves.⁹⁸ Despite this assistance 5,548 Kalmyks perished in 1944 and another 3,735 died in 1945.⁹⁹ The Kalmyk population suffered a large net loss from 1945 to 1949 (see Table 4.3). Many Kalmyks could not adjust to the harsh Siberian climate and rigors of life in the special settlements. They remained dispersed among the most desolate regions of Siberia until after Stalin's death (see Tables 4.4 and 4.5).

The Kalmyks suffered under the restrictions and deprivations of the special settlements in their disparate areas of exile until after Stalin's death. As in the case of other special settlers, the Soviet government freed Kalmyk children 16 and under on 5 July 1954.¹⁰⁰ The Soviet regime did not free the remaining 48,783 Kalmyks in special settlement until 17 March 1956.¹⁰¹ On 17 March 1956 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued a decree (*ukaz*) entitled "On Removing the Restrictions on the Rights of Kalmyks and Members of Their Families Found in Special Settlements."¹⁰² This resolution released the Kalmyks from the special settlements and the administrative supervision of the MVD.¹⁰³ It did not, however, allow the Kalmyks to return to their homeland or receive compensation for property confiscated during the deportation.¹⁰⁴ The Supreme Soviet did not allow the Kalmyks to return to their homeland until 11 February 1957. On this date the Supreme Soviet recreated the Kalmyk Autonomous Oblast.¹⁰⁵ On 29 July 1958, the Supreme Soviet upgraded the Kalmyk Autonomous Oblast to the Kalmyk ASSR.¹⁰⁶ After nearly fifteen years, the Soviet government finally ended its legal discrimination against the Kalmyks.

Table 4.3
Number of Kalmyk Exiles

October 1945	80,300 ¹
October 1946	81,672 ²
1 April 1949	77,279 ³
1 January 1950	77,673 ⁴
1 January 1953	81,475 ⁵

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 17, p. 237.

²Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 25, pp. 244–245.

³Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 33, pp. 251–252.

⁴Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 34, pp. 253–254.

⁵V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, septsposelentsyy, ssyl'noposelentsyy, ssylnye, i ryslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155.

Table 4.4¹
Location of Kalmyk Exiles, 1 January 1949

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	2,042
Uzbekistan	714
Krasnoyarsk Kray	16,407
Altai Kray	17,993
Novosibirsk Oblast	17,026
Tomsk Oblast	1,020
Sverdlovsk Oblast	507
Tiumen Oblast	9,596
Sakhalin Oblast	2,059
Kirghizia	143
Kemerovo Oblast	40
Omsk Oblast	9,732
Total	77,279

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsy," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 11, 1990, pp. 10–12.

Table 4.5¹
Location of Kalmyk Exiles, 1 January 1953

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	2,472
Uzbekistan	808
Krasnoyarsk Kray	16,269
Kirghizia	313
Altai Kray	18,581
Kemerovo	227
Novosibirsk Oblast	17,719
Irkutsk Oblast	66
Omsk Oblast	9,838
Molotov Oblast	117
Tomsk Oblast	1,124
Sverdovsk Oblast	482
Tiumen Oblast	10,364
Chelybinsk Oblast	12
Tadzhikistan	227
Khabarovsk Kray	4
Komi ASSR	5
Bashkir ASSR	5
Yakut ASSR	9
Amur Oblast	3
Tula Oblast	1
Buriat-Mongolia ASSR	2
Orenburg Oblast	3
Far North Kray	35
Kubishev Oblast	2
Sakhalin Oblast	2,271
Gorky Oblast	3
Karelian ASSR	1
Turkmenistan	7
Murmansk Oblast	1
ITLs and MVD Special Construction	502
Total	81,475²

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, spetspolelentsy, ssyl'noposelentsy, ssylne, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, pp. 154–160.

²Although this number appears in the cited article, the sum of the column is 81,473, a difference of 2.

5

Karachays

Rebels! What would be the next definition I was to hear? There had been enemies, criminals, workers—and these were rebels.

—Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 1902

The German advance toward the Caucasus encouraged the local Muslim populations to revolt against Soviet rule. The North Caucasian nationalities took the opportunity presented by World War II to attempt to assert their independence from Moscow. Many of the North Caucasians welcomed the *Wehrmacht's* entry into the Caucasus. The German military's dissolution of the *kolkhozes* and restoration of mosques proved very popular among the local population. About 110,000 North Caucasians, primarily Daghestanis from POW camps, joined German-organized military units. The large-scale insurgency against Soviet rule in the North Caucasus during World War II convinced the Stalin regime that the local population was inherently disloyal. The Soviet government deported the Karachays, Chechens, Ingush, and Balkars in order to end this insurgent activity. They justified this mass repression by pointing to the limited collaboration between these people and the German military. The Karachays became the first people deported in their entirety as a punishment for alleged treason.

The Karachays are a Turkic people closely related to the Balkars. Anthropologists believe that the ethnogenesis of the Karachays stems from a mixture of Huns, Bulgars, Khazars, and Kipchaks. The Karachays still speak a language belonging to the Kipchak Turkic branch of the Ural-Altai language group. They converted to Islam under the influence of

the Karbardians. Despite their formal conversion to Islam, the Karachays continued to practice many pre-Islamic customs prohibited by Muslim law. Among these customs are worshipping pagan deities and eating pork. Most Karachays are employed in raising livestock, particularly beef cattle.

During World War II, the Stalin regime systematically deported the entire Karachay nation from their ancestral homeland in the North Caucasus to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. The Stalin regime accused this nation of collaborating with the Nazi occupation of the USSR. Although only a small minority of this nationality actively assisted the German military, the Stalin regime punished all ethnic Karachays with exile to the interior of the USSR. The Soviet regime deported women, children, Red Army soldiers, and loyal communists along with German collaborators to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. Stalin and his henchmen exiled the Karachays solely on the basis of their ethnicity. A large number of Karachays perished as a direct result of these deportations and the poor conditions in exile.

In the 1920s, the Soviet government granted the Karachays territorial autonomy within the RSFSR. This autonomy went through a series of administrative changes throughout the 1920s. On 19 November 1921, the Soviet government formed the Karachay National Okrug as part of the Mountainous ASSR.¹ Moscow formed a unified Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast on 22 January 1922.² It split the territory into the Karachay Autonomous Oblast and Cherkess National Okrug on 25 April 1926.³ The Cherkess also received the status of an Autonomous Oblast in 1928.⁴ Like other national minorities, the Karachays received a culturally autonomous territory during *korenzatsiia*.

The Karachay Autonomous Oblast had a mixed Russian, Karachay, and Cherkess population. According to the 1939 Soviet census, a total of 75,736 Karachays lived in the USSR.⁵ About 70,900 of these Karachays lived in the Karachay Autonomous Oblast.⁶ They formed 28.8% of the oblast's population. Russians numbering 119,800 comprised 48.3% of the oblast's population.⁷ Most of the remainder of the oblast's population were Cherkess and other nationalities.

The *Wehrmacht* made a concerted drive into the Caucasus during August 1942. The Germans desired to capture the oil fields of Maikop, Grozny, and Baku. Of these three goals, the German military captured only Maikop. The North Caucasus, unlike most areas of the Soviet Union occupied by the Germans, remained under military rule rather than coming under Nazi civil administration. The German occupation forces in the Caucasus allowed the dissolution of the *kolhozes* and *sovhozes*. In contrast Erich Koch refused to allow the decollectivization of agriculture in the *Reichscommissariat Ukraine*. The dismantlement of the *kolhozes* and *so-*

vozhos in the North Caucasus met with popular approval from the indigenous nationalities.

The Germans received administrative assistance in the Karachay A. O. from a combination of local nationalists opposed to Soviet rule and returning émigrés. These elements comprised the KNK (Karachay National Committee). Local Karachay nationalists began an insurgency against Soviet rule several months before German soldiers reached the oblast. During January and February 1942 armed guerrilla bands formed in Uchkulanov *raion*.⁸ These units later joined the émigrés returning from exile in the KNK. After January 1943, some members of the KNK followed the retreating Germans westward, while others resumed fighting a guerrilla war against the Soviet Union.⁹ The activities of the KNK angered the Stalinist leadership. Their actions were one of the primary factors in the Soviet government's decision to deport the Karachays.

Like most areas of the Soviet Union occupied by the Germans, the Karachay A. O. experienced partisan activity and punitive reprisals. Close to 1,200 anti-German partisans operated in the oblast during its occupation.¹⁰ In the western regions of the oblast, these partisans killed 1,799 German soldiers and officers and destroyed 11 tanks and armored cars, 22 automobiles, 17 bridges, and almost 30 km of telegraph and telephone lines.¹¹ In retaliation for these losses the German military killed 9,000 civilians in reprisals.¹² The Caucasus saw some of the bloodiest guerrilla and counterinsurgency actions of the entire war.

Despite the Stalinist claims of epidemic treason among the Karachays, many of them actively supported the Soviet regime in its struggle against Nazi Germany. Between 1941 and 1943, Karachays and Cherkess raised more than 52 million rubles for the defense of the USSR.¹³ These funds included one million rubles for a military aircraft named "Kolkhoznik Karachaia."¹⁴ During World War II, the Soviet Red Army conscripted 25,000 Karachays and Cherkess to fight against the Germans.¹⁵ This number represented a very large percentage of the adult male population of these two nationalities. A total of 19,000 of these soldiers participated in battles against the Nazis.¹⁶ In March 1949, among the Karachays in special settlements there were 238 officers, 495 sergeants, and 3,543 rank-and-file soldiers from the Red Army.¹⁷ There were also 393 Karachay Communist Party members and 420 *Komsomolists* among the exiles.¹⁸ The NKVD deported these loyal supporters of the Soviet state along with actual German collaborators. Ethnicity rather than actions determined the fate of the Karachays.

The Stalin regime ordered the deportation of the Karachays in order to punish them for allegedly collaborating with the German occupation of the USSR. The Soviet regime linked the rise of banditry and insurgency in the Karachay Autonomous Oblast and other areas of the North

Caucasus with the activities of the *Abwehr* (German military intelligence). In particular the Soviet government noted the participation of the Karachay National Committee in suppressing Soviet partisans.¹⁹ The Stalin regime claimed that the Karachays collaborated with the Germans during their occupation of the Caucasus and formed bandit groups to fight a rearguard action on behalf of Berlin following the *Wehrmacht's* retreat. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR approved of the liquidation of their national territory and the wholesale deportation of the Karachays.

In the fall of 1943, the Red Army expelled the Germans from the territory of the Karachay Autonomous Oblast. The Soviet regime uncovered only 300 collaborators out of 37,249 adult Karachays.²⁰ The Soviet forces in the territory also immediately encountered guerrilla activity. These Soviet forces liquidated 65 insurgent groups with 1,416 members after the defeat of the German military in the Caucasus.²¹ The Soviet government confiscated 1,200 submachine guns and rifles, 15 machine guns, and 7 mortars from these groups.²² This activity formed the basis of the Soviet charges against the Karachays.

On 12 October 1943, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued decree (*ukaz*) no. 115–136, entitled “On the Liquidation of the Karachay Autonomous Oblast and the Administrative Organization of the Territory.”²³ The decree accused the Karachays of committing a number of serious crimes against the Soviet state and people in alliance with Nazi Germany.

In connection with this subject, in the period of occupation by the German-Fascist invaders of the territory of the Karachay Autonomous Oblast many Karachays allowed themselves to become traitors, joined German detachments to fight against Soviet power, handed over to the Germans honest Soviet citizens, accompanied and showed the way to the German military, advancing through the mountain passes to the Transcaucasus, and after the expulsion of the occupiers opposing measures conducted by Soviet power, hiding from organs of power bandits and deserted German agents, rendering them active assistance. . . .²⁴

The Soviet government inflicted a severe punishment upon the Karachays for these alleged crimes. The first operative clause of the deportation decree begins, “1. All Karachays living on the territory of the Oblast are to be resettled to other regions of the USSR, and the Karachay Autonomous Oblast is to be liquidated.”²⁵ It also pledged that the SNK would provide the Karachays with land and other assistance in their places of exile.²⁶ The second operative clause of the decree deals with the reorganization of the territory inhabited by the Karachays. Most of the Karachay A. O. came under the jurisdiction of the Stavropol Kray.²⁷ The decree ordered the partition of the remainder of the territory of the Karachay A. O. between Krasnodar Kray and Georgia.²⁸ It assigned part

of the Pregadnen *raion* to the Molotov *raion* of Krasnodar Kray.²⁹ Georgia in turn received the Uchkokanskii *raion* and part of the Mikoyan *raion*.³⁰ These territories became part of the Klukhori *raion* of Georgia.³¹ On 14 October 1943, the SNK issued resolution no. 1118–342 ss, ordering the deportation of the Karachays to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia.³² The next month, the NKVD implemented these decrees in less than 24 hours.

The Stalin regime carried out the deportation of the Karachays in a military fashion similar to the earlier deportation of the Soviet Germans. NKVD and NKGB operatives and NKVD soldiers rounded up almost all of the men, women, and children of the condemned nation and took them to train stations. Armed detachments of the NKVD went to each house and informed the residents that they were to be deported for committing treason and collaborating with the Germans.³³ These soldiers gave the Karachay families only an hour to pack 100 kilograms of possessions before taking them by truck to collection points and then to train stations.³⁴ The NKVD then shipped the Karachays by rail to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. On the morning of 6 November 1943, the NKVD began the deportation of the Karachays.³⁵ Before the end of the day, the NKVD had completed this operation.

The NKVD exiled 68,938 Karachays from the Karachay Autonomous Oblast and 329 from Stavropol Kray (formerly Ordzhonikidze Kray).³⁶ The NKVD exiled a total of 69,267 Karachays.³⁷ They sent 35,491 to Kazakhstan, 26,432 to Kirghizia, and the remainder to Tadzhikistan, Irkutsk Oblast, and the Far East.³⁸ The NKVD deported virtually the entire Karachay nation. Only a handful of Karachays escaped deportation. Those few who escaped deportation were forced to lead an outlaw life hiding in the mountains. The Soviet government even offered a 10,000-ruble bounty for turning fugitive Karachays over to the proper authorities.³⁹ Karachay soldiers fighting against the Germans remained in the ranks of the Red Army for another five months. On 3 March 1944, the GKO issued resolution no. 0741, which suddenly removed all Karachays from the Red Army and sent them to special settlements.⁴⁰ The Soviet government did not supply these exiled soldiers with any food or clothes.⁴¹ The vast bulk of the Karachay population regardless of age, gender, or profession, ended up in special settlements in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia.

The area of the former Karachay Autonomous Oblast annexed to Georgia lost a large portion of its population because of the deportation of the Karachays. Despite the presence of 5,672 Russians in this territory, the loss of the Karachays still left a labor shortage in the region.⁴² In order to replace this lost manpower, the Soviet government settled 2,115 Georgians in the area.⁴³ The territory from the Karachay A. O. was only the first of several territorial rewards the Stalin regime granted to Georgia at the expense of the deported North Caucasians.

6

Chechens and Ingush

When Force is necessary, there it must be applied boldly, decisively, and completely.

—Leon Trotsky, *What Next?*, 1932

The largest North Caucasian nationalities involved in insurgent activity during World War II were the Chechens and Ingush. The Chechens had violently resisted Russian and Soviet rule since the late 18th century. During World War II, the Stalin regime sought to end this resistance permanently by deporting the Chechens and Ingush to special settlements in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia.

The Chechens and Ingush are two related nationalities living in the area of the North Caucasus south of the Terek River. They speak languages belonging to the Nakh branch of the Ibero-Caucasian language group. The Chechens and Ingush practice a form of Sunni Islam of the Hanafi school greatly influenced by Sufi brotherhoods (*Tariqas*). The Qadiriya brotherhood in particular has guided religious practices in Chechnya since the mid 19th century. The Chechens are the largest of the numerous Muslim nationalities living in the mountains of the North Caucasus.

The North Caucasus occupies an important position in the Russian national imagination. The indigenous Muslim population of the North Caucasus violently resisted Tsarist colonial subjugation. During much of the 19th century, Russia fought a frontier war against North Caucasian guerrillas from Daghestan and Chechnya. The leadership of these guerrillas rested in the *murid* or Sufi movement. These Muslim disciples gal-

vanized the Avar (the largest Daghestani group) and Chechen populations to resist the Russian encroachment into the North Caucasus.

The Russian Empire began to colonize the Caucasus in the late 18th century. Cossack military colonies settling the Caucasus encroached on the traditional lands of the native population in an increasingly provocative manner during the second half of the 1700s. In 1763, Tsar Peter III built the fortress of Mozdok in Chechnya.¹ Catherine II sent Prince Potemkin to the Caucasus to subdue the indigenous mountaineers militarily in July 1779.² Organized resistance to Russia's incursion in the Caucasus began in 1785, when Shaykh Mansur, a Chechen religious leader, urged armed resistance to Russia.³ It was only in the 1820s, however, after the establishment of sufism in the Caucasus that a large-scale guerrilla war erupted among the North Caucasians against Russia.

Sufism arrived in the Caucasus in 1824 with the conversion of Mulla Muhammad Yaraqı.⁴ In 1827, one of Yaraqı's disciples named Kazi Mulla declared a *ghazavat* (Turkish for Muslim Holy War; the Arabic term *jihad* is more familiar to most Americans) against Russia.⁵ The resistance to Russia led by Kazi Mulla enjoyed particularly strong support among the Chechens. In 1832, Russian soldiers killed Kazi Mulla.⁶ His immediate successor, Hamzat Bek, continued the struggle against Russian imperialism but accomplished little before he was killed by a fellow Muslim in a mosque in September 1834.⁷ In 1834, Imam Shamil, a former disciple of Khazi Mulla, took over the leadership of the North Caucasian guerrillas fighting against Russia.⁸ Between 1834 and 1859, Shamil and his followers fought to prevent Russia from consolidating its power in the Caucasus.

Shamil was one of the greatest military minds of the 19th century. He waged an effective guerrilla war against the Russian occupation of the Caucasus for 25 years. Tens of thousands of Russian soldiers died fighting against Shamil's insurgency.⁹ On 25 August 1859, the Russian army finally took Shamil into custody.¹⁰ After the loss of Shamil, the North Caucasians soon found themselves unable to resist Russia's military onslaught. On 21 May 1864, Grand Duke Mikhail informed Tsar Alexander II that the Russian army had completely defeated the North Caucasian guerrillas.¹¹

A large number of Russians fought and died in the campaign to subdue the Caucasus. The long war in the Caucasus created a strong national prejudice among Russians against the Chechens and other North Caucasian nationalities. During the 1830s, Russian popular literature portrayed the Chechens and other North Caucasians as ruthless savages who could be dealt with only by military force. The Russians have historically perceived the indigenous people of the North Caucasus as criminal brigands and bandits incapable of self-rule. This prejudice is still

very strong today. The Chechens have often served as scapegoats for the problems of Russia.

We observe, for example, that economic misery and unsettled political conditions induce Russians to react negatively, if not violently, against people with Caucasian features, who dominate the Russian open, semi-legal, and illegal (but always very expensive) markets, especially in the capitals.¹²

During World War II, the economic and political disruption that followed the German invasion of the USSR made the Chechens vulnerable to the violent reactions of the Russian people.

Russian rule in the Caucasus has always been tenuous. Soviet attempts to establish communist rule in Chechnya met with only superficial success. On 30 November 1922, the Soviet government created the Chechen Autonomous Oblast.¹³ It created the Ingush Autonomous Oblast on 7 July 1924.¹⁴ On 15 January 1934, the Soviet government merged the territory of the Chechens and Ingush to create the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Oblast.¹⁵ The Soviet government upgraded the status of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Oblast to the Chechen-Ingush ASSR on 5 December 1936.¹⁶ Traditional clans and Sufi brotherhoods, however, continued to exercise greater influence than the Communist Party in many areas of Chechnya throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Armed opposition to Soviet rule manifested itself periodically during the 1930s. The Chechens resisted the forced collectivization of agriculture from 1929 to 1931. Between 1931 and 1933, Chechens engaged in 69 terrorist acts against representatives of Soviet power.¹⁷ In 1932, more than 3,000 armed insurgents were active in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR.¹⁸ Later, the Chechens resisted the Stalinist terror of the Great Purges during 1937–1938. Between February and December 1938, Chechen insurgents killed 49 Communist Party activists and stole 617,000 rubles worth of property in the course of 98 armed raids.¹⁹ The largest outbreak of anti-Soviet insurgent activity in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, however, occurred during World War II. Chechen and Ingush guerrillas routinely attacked the Russian Communists representing Soviet power in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. More than a quarter of the territory's population was Russian at this time (see Table 6.1). The emergence of large-scale armed opposition to Soviet rule in the midst of a war with Germany panicked the Soviet leadership.

The German military occupied the Mozdok and Malgobek areas of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR during World War II. The *Wehrmacht* entered the territory of the republic on 8 August 1942.²⁰ On 25 August 1942 the Germans captured Mozdok.²¹ Difficult terrain and Soviet resistance prevented the Germans from seizing the entirety of the Chechen-Ingush

Table 6.1¹
Population of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, 1941

Nationality	Number	Percentage
Chechens	387,800	52.8%
Ingush	75,000	12.0%
Russians	205,800	27.8%
Other Nationalities	57,000	7.4%
Total	731,700 ²	100%

¹N. F. Bugai, *L. Beria—I. Stalinu: "Soglasno vashemu ukazaniuu . . ."* (Moscow: "AIRO XX," 1995), p. 90.

²Although this number appears in the cited book, the sum of the column is 725,600, a difference of 6,100.

ASSR. The Germans never advanced beyond Mozdok and Malgobek to capture Grozny.

The Stalin regime expressed great concern over the growth of anti-Soviet insurgents and bandits in the Caucasus during World War II. Many of these insurgents were deserters from the Red Army. From July 1941 to April 1942, more than 1,500 Chechen and Ingush soldiers deserted the Red Army and military labor battalions.²² Among those who deserted were 850 from the national cavalry division.²³ Banditry became a common occurrence in the USSR during the chaos of World War II. Out of 1,666,891 deserters from the Red Army and people failing to report for military service when drafted between 1941 and 1944, 62,751 were from the North Caucasus.²⁴ The NKVD recorded liquidating 7,161 bandit and insurgent groups throughout the USSR with 54,103 members between 1941 and 1943.²⁵ A disproportionate number of these insurgents operated in the North Caucasus. The NKVD eliminated 963 such groups with 17,563 members in the North Caucasus by the end of 1943.²⁶ During the first six months of 1944, the NKVD liquidated another 145 North Caucasian insurgent groups with 3,144 members.²⁷ The activity of armed bands destabilized Soviet power in the North Caucasus.

The Chechens and Ingush comprised many of the guerrillas guilty of assassinations and raids on Soviet military, political, and economic targets in the North Caucasus. Between June 1941 and January 1945, the NKVD Section for the Struggle against Banditism recorded liquidating 232 "terrorist groups" with 1,263 members in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR.²⁸ They apprehended another 1,815 "individual bandits" and arrested 1,714 "bandit assistants."²⁹ The NKVD also confiscated a large amount of ordnance from these insurgents. Among the munitions confiscated from them were 108 machine guns, 19 mortars, 339 submachine guns, and 11,366 rifles.³⁰ This guerrilla activity directly threatened Soviet

communication and supply lines. The insurgency in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR hampered the Soviet military effort against the German occupation of the Caucasus.

The insurgency in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR during World War II began months before German soldiers entered the Caucasus. In 1940 and 1941, the NKVD recorded the existence of 20 "terrorist groups" with 84 members that carried out a series of assassinations against Soviet officials in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR.³¹ This group was responsible for more than a dozen assassinations in less than two years.³² Beria claimed that most of these terrorists were fugitive criminals and deserters from the Red Army.³³ Many Chechens and Ingush still refused to accept the legitimacy of Soviet rule more than 20 years after the Bolshevik Revolution. They still viewed the Soviet government as a Russian colonial regime imposed upon them by military force.

The Soviet government linked this armed opposition to Nazi activists in the Caucasus. In August 1942, the NKVD chief of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, Albogachiev, reported to Beria on the growth of anti-Soviet and insurgent activities among the Chechens and Ingush.³⁴ Albogachiev claimed that the Chechen-Mountain National Socialist Party had prepared an uprising aimed at overthrowing Soviet power in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR.³⁵ The insurgency, however, owed its existence more to indigenous opposition to Soviet rule and opportunism than to support for German war aims. Most of the insurgent groups were small, poorly organized, and operated independent of the Germans. Resistance to Russian rule rather than German military intelligence inspired the growth of guerrilla activity in the North Caucasus. The Stalin regime deported the Chechens and Ingush to permanently end this resistance.

On 3 January 1943, the Red Army expelled the German military from Malgobek and Mozdok, the only two areas of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR to come under German occupation.³⁶ In December 1943, the NKVD formulated a plan of operation for the deportation of the Chechens and Ingush.³⁷ Stalin authorized the NKVD's plan on 31 January 1944 with GKO resolution no. 5073.³⁸ In the next month and a half, the NKVD prepared to deport the Chechens and Ingush. The suppression of insurgent groups in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR was the most important of these preparations.

On 17 February 1944, Beria informed Stalin by telegram that the NKVD had completed the necessary preparations to deport 459,486 Chechens and Ingush.³⁹ This number included not only the titular population of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR but also Chechens and Ingush living in Daghestan and the city of Vladikavkaz in North Ossetia.⁴⁰ In 1944, close to 24,000 Chechens were living in Daghestan.⁴¹ The operation was scheduled to take eight days.⁴² During the first three days of the operation, the NKVD was supposed to exile the population of the lowlands,

Table 6.2¹
Progress on the Deportation of the Chechens and Ingush, 23–29 February 1944

Date	Assembly Points	Trains
23 February 1944	94,741	20,023
24 February 1944	333,739	176,950
25 February 1944	NA	352,647
29 February 1944	NA	478,479

¹Documents reproduced in N. F. Bugai, "Deportatsiia," *Kommunist*, no. 3, 1991, pp. 103–104.

the hill districts, and several mountainous *raions*.⁴³ This phase of the operation was to encompass 300,000 people.⁴⁴ During the next four days of the operation, the NKVD was to deport the remaining 150,000 Chechens and Ingush living in mountainous *raions*.⁴⁵

On 20 February 1944, Beria and his chief assistants Kobulov, Serov, and Mamulov arrived in Grozny, the capitol of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR to supervise the deportations.⁴⁶ The following day, Beria issued instructions to the NKVD on the proper procedures to follow during the deportations with *prikaz* no. 00193.⁴⁷ The NKVD's careful planning and preparation allowed them to quickly and thoroughly deport almost the entire Chechen and Ingush population to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia.

The NKVD operation took the Chechens and Ingush by surprise (see Table 6.2). On the morning of 23 February 1944, the NKVD began to remove the Chechen and Ingush people from the Caucasus.⁴⁸ A total of 19,000 operation workers of the NKVD, NKGB, and Smersh (a contraction of *smert shpion*, Russian for death to spies), and 100,000 officers and soldiers of the internal troops of the NKVD participated in this operation.⁴⁹ They surrounded the condemned people's villages and informed the inhabitants that they were being deported for betraying the Soviet Union to the Germans.⁵⁰ The NKVD forced the Chechens and Ingush into Studebaker trucks provided by the U.S. Lend-Lease program at gunpoint and drove them to assembly points and then to train stations.⁵¹ Once at the train station, the NKVD packed the deportees into freight cars. They forced as many people as physically possible into each train wagon. The NKVD worked fast. By 11:00 A.M. that day, they had driven 94,741 people (20% of those scheduled to be deported) to assembly points and loaded 20,023 onto trains.⁵² The warlike Chechens offered surprisingly little resistance to the NKVD. Beria reported only six cases of resistance among the Chechens during the first day of the deportations.⁵³ The next day, Beria reported to Stalin on the progress of the operation. During the evening of 23 February 1944, it snowed in all *raions* of the

Chechen-Ingush ASSR.⁵⁴ Despite this obstacle, by 24 February 1944 the NKVD had taken 333,739 Chechens and Ingush to assembly points and loaded 176,950 people onto rail echelons.⁵⁵ On 27 February 1944, Beria reported to Stalin that by the previous evening the NKVD had loaded 342,647 Chechens and Ingush on to trains.⁵⁶ Between 23 February and 29 February 1944, the NKVD loaded 387,229 Chechens and 91,250 Ingush on to 180 train echelons bound for Kazakhstan and Kirghizia.⁵⁷ The deportation of the last 6,000 Chechens was delayed by several more days by heavy snows.⁵⁸ In a mere six days, the Stalin regime forcibly removed almost 500,000 people from their ancestral homeland.

The NKVD's preparatory work in liquidating all active insurgent groups in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR made the actual deportations much easier. The preparations for the deportations included the arrest of 2,016 anti-Soviet elements and the confiscation of 20,072 weapons including 4,868 rifles and 479 machine guns and submachine guns.⁵⁹ During the course of the actual deportations, the NKVD arrested only 842 Chechens and Ingush.⁶⁰ They exiled the remainder of the population to special settlements in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet endorsed the deportation of the Chechens and Ingush after its successful completion. On 7 March 1944, they issued decree (*ukaz*) no. 116/102, entitled "On the Liquidation of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR and the Administrative Organization of This Territory."⁶¹ This decree presented the Soviet government's justification for the deportation of the Chechens and Ingush.

In connection with this subject, in the period of the Fatherland war, especially in the time of the operations of the German-Fascist military in the Caucasus, many Chechens and Ingush betrayed the motherland, gave over the country to Fascist occupation, joined the ranks of diversionists and intelligence agents, infiltrated Germans into the rear of the Red Army, created on orders from the Germans armed bands to fight against Soviet power and in the course of this prolonged time, did not occupy themselves with honest labor, carrying out bandit raids on kolhozes in neighboring oblasts, robbing and killing Soviet people.

...⁶²

This decree's first operative clause ordered the deportation of the Chechens and Ingush from the territory of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, even though their exile had been completed more than a week earlier. It reads, "1. All Chechens and Ingush living in the territory of the Chechen Ingush ASSR, and also those in adjoining regions, are to be resettled to other regions of the USSR, and the Chechen-Ingush ASSR liquidated."⁶³ All the major Soviet government organs approved the exile of the Chechens and Ingush.

This decree also reorganized the territory of the former Chechen-

Ingush ASSR. The decree assigned parts of this territory to the Daghستان ASSR, the North Ossetian ASSR, and Georgia.⁶⁴ It also renamed the remainder of the territory of the former Chechen-Ingush ASSR as the Grozny Okrug of the Stavropol Kray of the RSFSR.⁶⁵ The loss of territory to neighboring administrative units later caused great friction between the Ingush and Ossetians.

Despite the thorough job done by the NKVD, over two thousand Chechens and Ingush escaped deportation. After the deportation of the bulk of the Chechens and Ingush, the MVD continued to apprehend fugitives from exile in Grozny Oblast. On 17 December 1948, General Major V. S. Proshin and Colonel Jurist Korunchikov reported that the Soviet security organs had detained 2,213 Chechens and Ingush since the completion of the deportations.⁶⁶ The Soviet security organs investigated 348 of these fugitives for banditry and 28 for fleeing the confines of special settlements.⁶⁷ They detained the remaining 1,843 fugitives and moved them under convoy to special settlements.⁶⁸ Most of these new special settlers, 1,818, originally avoided exile by hiding in the mountains; the remaining 25 managed to return to Chechnya from special settlements.⁶⁹ Some Chechens continued to live an outlaw existence in the Northern Caucasus until 1951.⁷⁰ The Soviet government continued mop-up operations in the North Caucasus through the end of 1948.

The deportation of most of the rural population of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR caused a serious economic crisis in the territory. The Soviet government had to act fast to replace the labor lost by the removal of Chechen and Ingush workers from the region's *kolhozes*. On 9 March 1944, the SNK issued a decree resettling 6,800 families from Stavropol Kray to villages formerly occupied by Chechens and Ingush.⁷¹ This decree also resettled 5,892 households from the city of Grozny to *kolhozes* in the region.⁷² By 15 May 1944, the Soviet government had settled 12,692 families on 65 *kolhozes* in the villages formerly occupied by Chechens and Ingush.⁷³ Settlers from other areas of the Soviet Union also immigrated to Grozny Oblast. By October 1944, 5,000 households from the Mordovian ASSR, Tombov, Penzen, Ryiazan, Ulanov, Saratov, Gorky, Yaroslav, and other oblasts had settled the rural areas of the Grozny Oblast.⁷⁴ This substantial influx of Russians and others prevented the rural economy of the area from collapsing. These new immigrants also occupied the lands and homes of the deported Chechens and Ingush. The Stalin regime hoped that this expropriation and colonization of the traditional lands of the Chechens and Ingush would effectively prevent the exiles from ever returning to the Caucasus.

7

Balkars

Having thus completed one glorious enterprise, another equally glorious in my eyes, and a much more important one in regard to direct advantages, awaits you; the pacification forever of the mountaineer peoples or the extermination of the unsubmissive.

—Tsar Nicholas I to I. F. Paskevich, 1829

The last North Caucasian nationality deported by the Stalin regime was the Balkars. The Stalin regime accused the Balkars of treason along with the Karachays, Chechens, and Ingush. The NKVD followed the same procedures to deport the Balkars that it had used to exile the Karachays, Chechens, and Ingush.

The Balkars are closely related to the Karachays. They both speak a related Kipchak Turkic language. Like most Muslims exposed to Ottoman influence they adhere to the Hanafi school of Sunni Islam. The Balkars are the descendants of Kipchak Turks who settled in the Caucasus and intermarried with the indigenous Adgyheani and Alan peoples. Animal husbandry continues to be the chief economic occupation of the Balkars.

The Soviet authorities joined the Balkars into an autonomous territory with the Karbards rather than the more closely related Karachays. On 1 September 1921, the Soviet government created the Karbardino-Balkar Autonomous Oblast.¹ They upgraded this territory to an ASSR on 5 December 1936.² Balkars formed only a small minority of this territory's population. Both the Russians and the Karbards significantly outnumbered the Balkars (see Table 7.1). In 1939, Balkars composed only 11.2%

Table 7.1¹
Ethnic Composition of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR, 1939

Nationality	Number	Percentage
Russian	150,000	43.0%
Karbards	127,000	36.3%
Balkars	39,000	11.1%
Other	33,700	9.6%
Total	349,700	100.0%

¹A. Nekrich, *The Punished Peoples* (New York: Norton, 1979), p. 61.

of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR.³ Despite their clear minority status, the Balkars enjoyed all the benefits extended to the titular nationalities of autonomous soviet socialist republics.

During World War II, the Germans occupied the area inhabited by the Balkars for five months. German military forces crossed the border of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR on 7 August 1942.⁴ The Germans advanced through the mountainous terrain of the territory rapidly at first. By 12 August 1941, they occupied five *raions* of the republic.⁵ The capital of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR, Nalchik, held out considerably longer. German forces did not take the capital city until 29 October 1941.⁶ The German occupation encountered partisan resistance to its rule over the territory of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR from the very beginning. To counter Soviet partisan activities, the Germans engaged in merciless reprisals against POWs and civilians. During their occupation of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR, German forces killed 2,053 POWs and 2,188 civilians in the republic.⁷ Despite these counterinsurgency activities by the German military, the partisans were instrumental in assisting the Soviet Red Army in recapturing Nalchik on 4 January 1943.⁸ The expulsion of German military forces from the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR by the Red Army, however, did not bring about the immediate restoration of Soviet power to the territory. Banditry, insurgency, and chaos plagued the republic following the German defeat in the Caucasus. The strongest opponents of soviet rule in the K-B ASSR were the Balkars with less than 13% of the population (see Table 7.2).

The Balkars were the last North Caucasian nationality deported by the NKVD. Beria sent a telegram to Stalin on 24 February 1944 claiming that the Balkars committed sabotage against the Red Army on behalf of Germany.⁹ The telegram further accused the Balkars of attempting to form a unified Karachay-Balkar state led by the émigrés Shokmonov and Kemtov under German protection.¹⁰ The Stalin regime deemed the deportation of the entire Balkar nation an appropriate punishment for these alleged acts of treason. Beria also detailed the preparations for the de-

Table 7.2¹
Population of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR, 21 June 1944

Nationality	Number	Percentage
Russians	120,650	37.8%
Karbards	150,301	47.1%
Balkars	40,000	12.5%
Mountain Jews	4,720	1.5%
Ossetians	2,508	0.8%
Georgians	835	0.3%
Other Nationalities	2,285	0.7%
Total	318,951 ²	100% ³

¹N. F. Bugai, *L. Beria—I. Stalinu: "Soglasno vashemu, ukazaniiu . . ."* (Moscow: "AIRO XX," 1995), p. 119.

²Although this number appears in the original source, the individual numbers add up to 321,299, a difference of 2,348.

³Because of the error in the previous column, the sum of the percentages is 100.7%.

portation of the Balkars completed by the NKVD. During 1942 to 1943, the NKVD arrested 1,227 anti-Soviet elements and "bandits" among the Balkars, including 186 members of the Communist Party and *komsomol*.¹¹ Beria considered the small Balkar nationality to be insufficiently loyal to the Soviet state. The established Stalinist practice for dealing with such ethnic groups was exile to special settlements in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The NKVD began preparing to deport the Balkars two days after Beria informed Stalin of the allegedly treasonous acts of the Balkars.

On 26 February 1944, Beria issued NKVD *prikaz* no. 00186 ss entitled "On Measures to Resettle from the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR the Balkar Population."¹² This decree detailed the preparations and organization necessary for the exile of the Balkars. It assigned responsibility for the deportation of the Balkars to General Major Piyashev.¹³ Beria directed the head of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR NKVD, Bziav and the head of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR NKGB Filatov, and General Major Sladkevich to assist Piyashev in preparing and conducting this operation.¹⁴ The decree mandated the organization of five operative sectors for rounding up the Balkar population and transporting them to collection points.¹⁵ Beria assigned a large number of NKVD and NKGB personnel to deport the Balkars, more than one member of the Soviet security organs for every two Balkars. This personnel consisted of 17,000 NKVD troops from the Moscow Rifle Division, various military academies, and a section of a battalion of industrial soldiers; and 4,000 NKVD-NKGB operation workers.¹⁶ These representatives of Soviet power rapidly removed the last North Caucasian nationality slated for deportation.

Table 7.3¹
Location of Balkar Exiles, 6:00 A.M., 17 March 1944

Territory	Number of Exiles
Frunze Oblast Kirghizia	5,446
Issy-Kul' Oblast Kirghizia	2,702
Semipalatinsk Oblast Kazakh	2,742
Alma-Ata Oblast Kazakhstan	5,541
South Kazakhstan Oblast	5,278
Omsk Oblast RSFSR	5,521
Pavlodar Oblast Kirghizia	2,614
Zhalal-Abad Oblast Kirghiz	2,650
Akmolinsk Oblast Kazakhstan	5,219
Total	37,713

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 29, pp. 113–114.

On 29 February 1944, Beria sent another telegram to Stalin regarding the Balkars.¹⁷ Beria informed Stalin that the preparations for the deportation of the Balkars would be completed by 10 March 1944.¹⁸ Beria originally scheduled the operation for 15 March 1944.¹⁹ The NKVD, however, managed to complete the task a week ahead of schedule. On March 8 and 9, the NKVD deported 37,713 Balkars on 14 train echelons to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia.²⁰ The NKVD followed the same procedures to deport the Balkars that they used to deport the Karachays, Chechens, and Ingush.

During the course of this operation, the NKVD arrested 478 anti-Soviet elements and confiscated 288 weapons.²¹ Like the earlier deportations of the Karachays, Chechens, and Ingush, the NKVD encountered no serious resistance.²² The Stalin regime's agents loaded almost the entire Balkar nation onto trains under armed convoy and shipped them to special settlements in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia (see Tables 7.3–7.6).

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR approved the deportation of the Balkars on 8 April 1944, a month after the operation.²³ On this date, the Presidium issued a *ukaz* entitled "On Resettling the Balkars, Living in the Karbardian ASSR, and Renaming the Karbardian-Balkar ASSR the Karbard ASSR."²⁴ The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued this decree under the signatures of Kalinin and Gorkin.²⁵ This decree presented an exhaustive list of accusations against the Balkars.

In connection with this subject, in the period of occupation by German-Fascist invaders of the territory of the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR many Balkars betrayed

Table 7.4¹
Location of Balkar Exiles, 23 March 1944

Territory	Number of Exiles
Alma-Ata Oblast Kazakhstan	5,541
Frunze Oblast Kirghizia	5,416
Issk-Kul' Oblast Kirghizia	2,702
South Kazakhstan Oblast	5,278
Omsk Oblast RSFSR	5,521
Semipaltinsk Oblast Kazakh	2,742
Zhalal-Abad Oblast Kirghizia	2,650
Pavlodar Oblast Kazakhstan	2,614
Akmolinsk Oblast Kazakhstan	5,124
Total Kazakhstan	21,299
Total Kirghizia	10,768
Total	37,618 ²

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat' ": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 32, p. 116.

²Although this figure appears in the original document, the total of the column is 37,588, a difference of 30.

the motherland, joined German organized armed detachments and ordered subversive work against sections of the Red Army, rendered the Fascist occupation assistance in the capacity of guides to the Caucasian mountain passes, and after the expulsion from the Caucasus of [our] military opponents joined German organized bands to fight against Soviet power. . . .²⁶

The criminal actions of the Balkar nation demanded an appropriate punishment in the minds of the Soviet leadership. The appropriate punishment for mass treason and terrorism had to be sufficiently severe. The first operative clause of the decree reads, "1. All Balkars living in the territory of the KBASSR, are to be resettled to other regions of the USSR."²⁷ The clause continues to promise, "The Council of Peoples' Commissariats will give the Balkars in their new areas of settlement land and render them necessary state assistance for economic construction."²⁸ The Balkars ended up confined to special settlements in the remote wilderness of Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. During their exile they lived in wretched material conditions.

The decree continued to rename and restructure the Kabardian-Balkar ASSR into the Karbardian ASSR. The second operative clause of the decree assigned the land formerly occupied by the exiled Balkars to be settled by farmers from *kolhozes* short of land in the Karbardian ASSR.²⁹

Table 7.5¹

Location of Balkar Exiles in Kazakhstan, 1 September 1944

Oblast	Number of Exiles	Number of Families
Alma-Ata	3,348	859
Zhambul	6,124	1,593
Pavlodar	2,543	702
South Kazakhstan	2,610	727
Taldy-Kurgan	1,878	443
Total	16,508 ²	4,324

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat' ": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 36, p. 119.

²Although this number appears in the original document, the sum of the column is 16,503, a difference of five.

Table 7.6¹

Location of Balkar Exiles in Kazakhstan, 1 October 1944

Territory	Number of Exiles	Number of Families
Alma-Ata	3,303	913
Akmolinsk	3,171	797
Zhambul	6,046	1,680
Pavlodar	1,784	495
South Kazakhstan	2,290	748
Taldy-Kurgan	1,917	508
Total	18,511	5,141

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat' ": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 38, p. 120.

The third operative clause officially changed the name of the Kabardian-Balkar ASSR to the Karbardian ASSR, and the final operative clause transferred the mountainous southwest section of Balkaria to Georgia.³⁰ Stalin and Beria again rewarded their Georgian homeland with territory taken from exiled Caucasian nationalities.

8

The North Caucasians in Exile

The first years in the new locations were the most difficult for the residents of the special settlements. Hunger and disease swept down upon them, carrying thousands and thousands to their graves.

—Robert Conquest, *The Nation Killers*, 1970

The journey to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia and its aftermath entailed great suffering for the peoples of the North Caucasus. The exiled North Caucasians traveled by rail for several weeks before reaching their new places of settlement (see Table 8.1). At 6:00 A.M. 17 March 1944, Volkov and Arkad'ev reported that 171 echelons with 468,583 special settlers from the North Caucasus had arrived at their destinations.¹ Another nine echelons had yet to arrive at their designated destinations.² The next day, the Chief of the 3rd administration of the NKGB, Mil'shtein, reported to the NKVD that the resettlement of the Chechens, Ingush, and Balkars involved 194 echelons with 12,525 train wagons and 521,247 exiles.³ The Stalin regime devoted a significant portion of its rail resources to deport the North Caucasians.

The Stalin regime exiled the condemned North Caucasians to special settlements in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. During February and March 1944, the NKVD counted 602,193 North Caucasians settled in these two republics.⁴ Kazakhstan received 477,809 settlers and Kirghizia 124,384.⁵ These numbers included 32,981 double-counted North Caucasians; the actual number of arrivals was 569,212.⁶ The NKVD did not correct this counting error until 1 October 1948.⁷ The newly arrived special settlers suffered under all the restrictions of the special settlement regime. These

Table 8.1¹**Arrival of North Caucasians in Special Settlements, 17 March 1944**

Location	Number
Zhambul-Abad Oblast Kirghizia	24,281
Oshsk Oblast Kirghizia	29,908
Frunze Oblast Kirghizia	34,410
Zhambul Oblast Kazakhstan	16,665
Alma-Ata Oblast Kazakhstan	29,089
East Kazakhstan Oblast	34,542
Kzyl-Orda Oblast Kazakhstan	26,514
Kustan Oblast Kazakhstan	45,665
Aktiubinsk Oblast Kazakhstan	20,309
Semipalatinsk Oblast Kazakh	31,236
Pavlodar Oblast Kazakhstan	41,230
Akmolinsk Oblast Kazakhstan	60,330
Karaganda Oblast Kazakhstan	37,938
Total	468,583²

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat' ": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 30, p. 114.

²Although this figure appears in the original document, the sum of the column is 432,117, a difference of 36,466.

settlers lived under the jurisdiction of 424 NKVD special commands.⁸ In July 1944, Soviet police organs arrested 2,196 specially settled North Caucasians for violating the special settlement regime.⁹ Special councils of the NKVD reviewed all of these cases.¹⁰ The Soviet government assigned almost all of the North Caucasian exiles to agricultural work. They placed 428,948 of these exiles on *kolhozes* and 64,703 on *sovhozes*.¹¹ The mountain-dwelling North Caucasians did not adapt well to these new conditions and restrictions. The Stalin regime deliberately made their conditions in exile oppressive and punitive.

The first North Caucasians sent to special settlements were the Karachays. They arrived in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia absolutely destitute. Insufficient food, medicine, and hygienic conditions led to many deaths in exile.¹² The existing infrastructure in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia could not easily absorb the incoming exiles. Chernyshov issued the first report on the newly arrived Karachay special settlers to Beria in December 1943.¹³ He informed Beria that a significant number of Karachays had been employed in *kolhozes* and *sovhozes*, harvesting cotton and beets and cleaning irrigation systems.¹⁴ Food shortages, however, persisted among the exiled Karachays.

The NKVD sent the majority of the Karachay exiles to South Kazakhstan and Zhambul oblasts in Kazakhstan. On 1 February 1944, 45,500 Karachays (12,342 families) lived in special settlements under 24 special commands in Kazakhstan.¹⁵ South Kazakhstan possessed 13 of these commands with 25,216 exiles (6,643 families), and Zhambul possessed 11 special commands with 20,285 exiles (5,699 families).¹⁶ A large number of Karachay exiles remained unemployed in Zhambul Oblast, despite being capable of physical labor.¹⁷ The Karachays suffered greatly under these conditions of exile.

The deported Karachays, Chechens, Ingush, and Balkars lived under all the legal restrictions imposed upon special settlers. They lost many of the rights they formerly enjoyed as Soviet citizens. Moscow revoked the language rights previously enjoyed by the exiled peoples. The Stalin regime deprived the children of the North Caucasian exiles of the right to education in their native language. The Soviet government undertook this forced assimilation despite the fact that the Soviet constitution guaranteed each nationality the right to education in its native language. On 20 June 1944, the SNK passed resolution no. 13287rs on the education of Chechen, Ingush, Karachay, Balkar, and Crimean Tatar special settlers.¹⁸ This resolution required that children of these deported nationalities receive their primary education in Russian in the areas of their exile.¹⁹ It then dictated that the language of instruction for special settlers receiving middle and higher education in Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Uzbekistan be the primary language of the institution they attended.²⁰ Students had the right to transfer to places with functioning educational institutions, but they did not have the right ever to return to the area from which Stalin exiled them.²¹ Special settler students wishing to move from one republic to another for purposes of education needed the approval of the NKVD.²² Despite the loss of native language schools in exile, very few North Caucasians became linguistically assimilated into either Russian or the local Turkic languages. Between 1926 and 1959, the number of Chechens and Ingush who spoke a native language other than their titular language only increased from 0.3% to 1.3%.²³ The North Caucasians proved remarkably resilient to assimilation.

The exiled North Caucasians suffered great material deprivations in the special settlements. They received insufficient food and medicine and lived in unhygienic conditions.²⁴ Lack of proper housing especially plagued the settlers. On 20 November 1945, only 3,051 North Caucasian families (11,570 people) out of 10,485 families (37,870 people) had their own homes in Zhambul Oblast Kazakhstan.²⁵ As late as July 1946, in Akmolinsk Oblast Kazakhstan only 28 houses out of 1,000 houses planned for North Caucasian exiles had been completed.²⁶ In Tady-Kurgansk Oblast Kazakhstan only 23 out of 1,400 planned houses had been built.²⁷ Housing conditions for the North Caucasians also remained

Table 8.2¹
Deaths and Births of North Caucasian Special Settlers, 1945–1950

Year	Deaths	Births
1945	44,652	2,230
1946	15,634	4,971
1947	10,849	7,204
1948	15,182	10,348
1949	10,252	13,831
1950	8,834	14,973
Total	104,903 ²	53,557

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1992, doc. 30, pp. 138–140.

²Although this figure appears in the original document, the sum of the column is 105,403, a difference of 500.

deplorable in Kirghizia. By September 1946, only 4,973 exiled North Caucasian families out of 31,000 in Kirghizia had permanent housing.²⁸ Many of the special settlers in Kirghizia still lived in tents as late as fall of 1946.²⁹ The lack of proper housing led to outbreaks of typhus and other contagious diseases among the exiles. In the first years of exile, typhus claimed tens of thousands of lives among the North Caucasians.

The fatalities from disease, exposure, and malnutrition greatly reduced the exiled North Caucasian population (see Table 8.2). In 1944, alone, 58,387 Chechens, Ingush, Karachays, and Balkars perished in special settlements.³⁰ Between 1944 and 1948, a total of 144,704 (25.42% of the population) died from the harsh conditions of exile.³¹ During 1949 and 1950, another 19,086 North Caucasian exiles died, for a total of 163,790 (28.77%) North Caucasian deaths due to the deportations.³² This number does not include those who perished during transit to special settlements. Around 8,300 North Caucasians perished during the transportation to the special settlements.³³ The deliberate exile of the North Caucasians to desolate areas of Kazakhstan and Kirghizia without sufficient shelter or food led to the loss of more than a fourth of their population.

The Soviet NKVD and MVD did not keep separate figures for the number of deaths for each of the deported North Caucasian nationalities. Instead, it lumped the figures for deaths of the Karachays, Chechens, Ingush, and Balkars together. A rough approximation of the comparative number of fatalities among each nationality, however, can be made from the official population figures for special settlers.

The first North Caucasian nationality to suffer deaths in exile were the Karachays. Between 6 November 1943 and 26 November 1948 the Kar-

Table 8.3
Net Changes in the Karachay Population

Date	Exiles	Net Loss/Gain	Loss/Gain %
6 November 1943	69,267 ¹	-----	-----
October 1945	60,100 ²	-9,167	-13.2%
October 1946	60,139 ³	+39	+0.006%
26 November 1948	56,869 ⁴	-3,270	-5.4%
1 April 1949	57,491 ⁵	+622	+1.09%
1 January 1950	59,340 ⁶	+1,849	+3.2%
1 January 1953	63,327 ⁷	+3,987	+6.7%
Net Change	-----	-5,940	-8.57%

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., "Pogruzheny v eshelony i otpravleny k mestam poselenii," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1991, doc. 4, p. 145.

²N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 17, p. 237.

³Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 25, pp. 244–245.

⁴N. F. Bugai, "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1992, doc. 21, p. 133.

⁵Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 33, pp. 251–252.

⁶Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 34, pp. 253–254.

⁷V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliucheny, spetsposelentsy, ssyl'noposelentsy, ssylne, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155.

achay population declined by a total of 12,398 people, 17.9% of the population (see Table 8.3). Most of this loss occurred between November 1943 and October 1945. The number of Karachay deaths in exile during this time exceeded the net loss figure by the number of Karachays born in the special settlements. Official figures for births, like the figures for deaths, are also unavailable for individual North Caucasian nationalities. Extrapolation based upon population and demographic data yields approximately 19,000 Karachay deaths from the time of their deportation to 1948.³⁴ Only in 1949 did the Karachay population cease to decline. The Karachay population, however, did not reach the numbers it enjoyed prior to the deportations until several years after Stalin's death.

Among the exiled North Caucasians, the Chechens and Ingush lost the most people to disease, hunger, and exposure both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of their population. The mountain-dwelling Chechens and Ingush perished in large numbers in the deserts of Kazakhstan. Between 29 February 1944 and 26 November 1948, the number of Chechens and Ingush decreased by 114,259 people, 23.87% of those deported. Extrapolation on the number of deaths incurred among the Chechens and Ingush exiles during transit and confinement in special settlements yields a figure of 123,000 deaths by 1949.³⁵ This figure adds the number

Table 8.4
Net Changes in the Chechen and Ingush Population

Date	Number	Net Loss/Gain	% Loss/Gain
29 February 1944	478,479 ¹	-----	-----
October 1945	405,900 ²	-72,579	-15.17%
October 1946	400,478 ³	-5,422	-1.33%
26 November 1948	364,220 ⁴	-36,258	-9.05%
1 April 1949	365,173 ⁵	+953	+0.26%
1 January 1950	372,189 ⁶	+7,016	+1.92%
1 January 1953	400,235 ⁷	+28,046	+7.53%
Net Change	-----	-78,244	-16.35%

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ik nado deportirovat' ": dokumenty, fakty, komentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 13, pp. 105–106.

²Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 17, p. 237.

³Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 25, pp. 244–245.

⁴Bugai, "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1992, doc. 21, p. 133.

⁵Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 33, pp. 251–252.

⁶Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 34, pp. 253–254.

⁷V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, spetsposelentsy, ssl'no-poselentsy, ssl'nye, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155.

of births in special settlements to the net losses to find an approximate number of fatalities. Out of these 123,000 deaths, Chechens comprised 100,000 and Ingush 23,000.³⁶ More than one in four Chechens and Ingush died as a direct result of Stalin's deportations (see Table 8.4).

Like the other North Caucasian nationalities, the Balkars suffered from typhus epidemics and other infectious diseases resulting from the conditions of exile. The Balkars suffered a somewhat lower mortality rate in exile than the Karachay, Chechens, and Ingush (see Table 8.5). From 17 March 1944 to 26 November 1948, the Balkars experienced a net loss of 6,015 people, 15.95% of their population. Adjusting for the number of births in special settlements, the total number of Balkar deaths between 1944 and 1949 is 11,000.³⁷ Almost a third (3,500) of these fatalities occurred during the transportation of the Balkars to special settlements.³⁸ Most of the Balkar deaths occurred between 17 March 1944 and October 1945.

The vast majority of the deported North Caucasian exiles remained in special settlements in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia (see Tables 8.6–8.12). In 1949, these two republics contained 99.7% of the Karachay, Chechen, Ingush, and Balkar special settlers. The bulk of these exiles lived in Kazakhstan. Out of 454,537 North Caucasian exiles in 1949, 353,123 (77.7%)

Table 8.5
Net Changes in the Balkar Population

Date	Population	Loss/Gain	Loss/Gain %
17 March 1944	37,713 ¹	-----	-----
October 1945	33,100 ²	-4,613	-12.23%
October 1946	32,817 ³	-283	-0.85%
26 November 1948	31,648 ⁴	-1,169	-3.56%
1 April 1949	31,873 ⁵	+225	+0.71%
1 January 1950	32,645 ⁶	+772	+2.42%
1 January 1953	33,215 ⁷	+570	+1.74%
Net Change	-----	-4,498	-11.92%

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiia Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 29, pp. 113–114.

²Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 17, p. 237.

³Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 25, pp. 244–245.

⁴Bugai "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1992, doc. 21, p. 133.

⁵Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 33, pp. 251–252.

⁶Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 34, pp. 253–254.

⁷V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliucheniye, spetsposelentsy, ssyl'no-poselentsy, ssylne, i vgslyane," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155.

resided in Kazakhstan. Most of the remaining exiles, 99,918 (22%) lived in Kirghizia. Despite a slight dispersal of some of these deportees to other areas, 99.4% of the North Caucasian special settlers still lived in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia by 1 January 1953. Kazakhstan still accounted for more than three-quarters of North Caucasian special settlers. This republic possessed 379,104 (76%) North Caucasian exiles out of a total population of 498,452 people. Another 116,775 (23.4%) North Caucasians resided in Kirghizia. Kazakhstan and Kirghizia became areas of mass exile for North Caucasians under Stalin.

The North Caucasians remained in special settlements even after Stalin's death on 5 March 1953. The Soviet government released the North Caucasians in stages. On 5 July 1954, the Council of Ministers released all children under 16 from the restrictions of the special settlement regime.³⁹ Adult North Caucasians continued to be confined to special settlements until 1956. The Soviet government released the Balkars ahead of the Chechens, Ingush, and Karachays. On 28 April 1956, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued a *ukaz* releasing the exiled Balkars from special settlements along with the Crimean Tatars, Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils.⁴⁰ This decree bore the title "On Lifting the Restrictions on Specially Settled Crimean Tatars, Balkars, Turks—Citizens

Table 8.6¹
Location of Karachay Exiles, 1 January 1949

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	33,088
Uzbekistan	429
Kirghizia	23,974
Total	57,491

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsy," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 11, 1990, pp. 10–12.

of the USSR, Kurds, Khemshids (Khemshils) and Members of their Families, Exiled in the Period of the Great Fatherland War."⁴¹ This decree, however, explicitly prohibited those released from the settlements from returning to their homeland or receiving compensation for property confiscated during the deportation.⁴² On 16 July 1956, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued a *ukaz* entitled, "On Lifting the Restrictions on Special Settlers that are Chechens, Ingush, Karachays, and Members of their Families."⁴³ This decree lifted the restrictions on exiled Karachays, Chechens, and Ingush; removed them from the special settler count; and freed them from the administrative surveillance of the MVD.⁴⁴ This resolution released 245,340 Karachays, Chechens, and Ingush from special settlements.⁴⁵ Like the Balkars, however, the released Karachays, Chechens, and Ingush could not return to their homeland or receive compensation for property confiscated during the deportations. The North Caucasians no longer lived under the restrictions of the special settlement regime, but they remained exiled to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. This situation, however, did not last for long.

Table 8.7¹
Location of Karachay Exiles, 1 January 1953

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	35,735
Uzbekistan	821
Kirghizia	26,669
Altai Kray	3
Kemerovo Oblast	18
Irkutsk Oblast	11
Omsk Oblast	1
Molotov Oblast	4
Chelybinsk Oblast	1
Tadzhikistan	16
Kharabovsk Kray	1
Yakut ASSR	2
Amur Oblast	2
Buriat-Mongolia ASSR	1
Far North Kray	19
Kubishev Oblast	1
Gorky Oblast	1
Maritime Kray	3
Volga Tatar ASSR	2
Murmansk Oblast	12
ITLs and MVD Construction	4
Total	63,327

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, spetsposelentsy, ssyl'nposelentsy, ssyline, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991. pp. 154–160.

Table 8.8¹
Location of Chechen and Ingush Exiles, 1 January 1949

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	302,526
Uzbekistan	64
Kirghizia	62,583
Total	365,173

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsy," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 11, 1990, pp. 10–12.

Table 8.9¹
Location of Chechen and Ingush Exiles, 1 January 1953

Territory	Chechens	Ingush
Kazakhstan	244,674	80,844
Uzbekistan	180	167
Krasnoyarsk Krai	19	3
Kirghizia	71,238	2,334
Altai Krai	7	2
Kemerovo Oblast	51	14
Novosibirsk Oblast	2	2
Irkutsk Oblast	152	75
Omsk Oblast	5	-
Molotov Oblast	9	2
Tomsk Oblast	3	-
Sverdlovsk Oblast	1	-
Tiumen Oblast	2	1
Chelyabinsk Oblast	4	1
Tadzhikistan	69	15
Khabarovsk Krai	82	15
Komi ASSR	2	-
Bashkir ASSR	2	-
Yakut ASSR	9	10
Archangel'sk Oblast	1	-
Amur Oblast	19	1
Tula Oblast	1	-
Kurgan Oblast	2	-
Orenburg Oblast	4	-
Kirov Oblast	3	-
Far North Krai	131	15
Sakhalin Oblast	1	-
Gorky Oblast	-	1
Ivanov Oblast	13	-
Maritime Krai	1	-
Volga Tatar ASSR	5	-
ITLs and Special Construction MVD	19	15
Total	316,717²	83,518³

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, spetsposelentsy, ssyl'nposelentsy, ssylne, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, pp. 154–160.

²Although this figure appears in the cited article, the sum of the column is 316,711, a difference of six.

³Although this figure appears in the cited article, the sum of the column is 83,517, a difference of one.

Table 8.10¹
Location of Balkar Exiles, 1 January 1949

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	17,512
Kirghizia	14,361
Total	31,873

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsy," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 11, 1990, pp. 10–12.

Table 8.11¹
Location of Balkar Exiles in Kazakhstan, 1 July 1950

Oblast	Number of Exiles	Number of Families
Alma-Ata	3,478	1,000
Akmolinsk	3,067	768
Zhambul	5,912	1,664
Pavlodar	1,750	488
South Kazakhstan	2,291	726
Taldy-Kurgan	1,872	506
Total	18,370	5,152

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 45, p. 124.

Table 8.12¹
Location of Balkar Exiles, 1 January 1953

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	16,819
Uzbekistan	410
Kirghizia	15,914
Krasnoyarsk Kray	6
Altai Kray	3
Kemerovo Oblast	11
Irkutsk Oblast	20
Chelyabinsk Oblast	2
Tadzhikistan	4
Molotov Oblast	2
Khabarovsk Kray	2
Yakut ASSR	1
Amur Oblast	1
Tula Oblast	1
Far North Kray	14
Karelian ASSR	1
ITLs and Special Construction MVD	3
Total	33,214

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, spetsposelentsy, ssyl'nposelentsy, ssylne, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155.

9

The Return of the North Caucasians

During the 1950s, the North Caucasus saw a mass reversal of the national deportations carried out by Stalin in 1943 and 1944. Despite the prohibition against returning to their homeland in the North Caucasus, many of the exiles ignored this restriction. In particular, a large number of Chechens and Ingush returned to their homeland in defiance of the Soviet government, beginning in 1954. Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's deportation of the North Caucasians in February 1956 accelerated this process. Their release from special settlements later that year also encouraged the return of North Caucasian exiles to their homelands.

Soon, so many Chechens and Ingush had returned home that the Soviet government agreed to restore the administrative territories of the exiled North Caucasians. On 9 January 1957, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issued a *ukaz* entitled "On Transforming the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast to the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast."¹ The same day they also issued a *ukaz* entitled "On Restoring the Chechen-Ingush ASSR as Part of the RSFSR."² This decree followed a similar decree issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR entitled "On Restoring the Chechen-Ingush ASSR and Abolishing the Grozny Oblast."³ The Soviet government also restored the territorial autonomy of the Balkars.⁴ In 1957, a total of 4,992 Balkar families with 19,256 people returned to the newly reorganized Karbardino-Balkar ASSR.⁵ The Soviet government completely rehabilitated the North Caucasian nationalities, unlike the Soviet Germans, during Khrushchev's reign.

After the restoration of the territorial autonomy of these nationalities, the Soviet government sought to facilitate their return from exile in an orderly fashion. The chaotic migration of tens of thousands of Chechens

and others back to their mountain homelands had resulted in economic and political upheaval in the Caucasus. The infrastructure had difficulty reabsorbing the native population. The most pressing problem of this uncontrolled migration, however, was ethnic violence between the returning Caucasians and the settlers who now occupied their houses and land. On 24 August 1958, a five-day race riot erupted in Grozny between Russians and Chechens and Ingush over the killing of a Russian sailor by an Ingush in a bar fight.⁶ An ethnic Ingush asked a Russian woman to dance, and a drunken Russian sailor assaulted the offending Ingush and received a fatal wound in the ensuing brawl. By spreading out the repatriation of the deported nationalities to the Caucasus over several years, the Soviet leadership sought to limit such incidents.

The first North Caucasian nationality to be returned to its homeland by the Soviet government was the Balkars. The return of the Balkars occurred without undue incident. Soon after the reestablishment of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR, the leadership of the republic began preparations for the return of the exiled Balkars. On 28 January 1958, I. Batchaev, the manager for the section on resettlement and organization of recruited work of the Council of Ministers of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR, submitted a preliminary schedule on the return of deported Balkars to his counterpart in the RSFSR, M. Polyakov.⁷ The leadership of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR intended to begin the repatriation of Balkars on 15 March 1958.⁸ The original schedule called for the return of 4,291 Balkar families with 16,659 people during the course of 1958.⁹ In contrast to their resettlement to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, the returning Balkars would be allowed to bring their possessions, livestock, and grain back to their homeland.¹⁰ The actual number of Balkars that returned in 1958 numbered 4,157 families with 15,203 members.¹¹ During the course of 1957 and 1958, the Balkars successfully returned to their old homes and lands.

The Balkars soon became reintegrated into the economy of the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR. The majority of the returning Balkars became involved in the agricultural economy of their homeland. By the end of 1958, a total of 17,319 Balkars, about half of the population, were settled on *kolhozes*.¹² Another 897 Balkars settled on *sovhozes*, while 722 worked in industry and 374 worked for state institutions.¹³ The Balkars on *kolhozes* resumed their traditional livelihood of raising short-horned cattle and sheep.

The Soviet government also gradually restored the cultural institutions that the Balkars had enjoyed prior to their deportation. Between 1958 and 1959, the Karbardino-Balkar ASSR opened 20 Balkar schools with 2,578 students and 4 kindergartens with 157 children.¹⁴ These were the first educational institutions with instruction in the Balkar language since

1944. The Balkars could now resume their interrupted cultural development.

It took considerably longer to resettle and reintegrate the Chechens and Ingush into the newly recreated Chechen-Ingush ASSR. Between 1957 and 1961, 384,000 Chechens and 84,000 Ingush returned to the Caucasus from Kazakhstan and Kirghizia.¹⁵ Most of these exiles returned to the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, but 28,000 Chechens settled in Daghestan and 8,000 Ingush settled in North Ossetia.¹⁶ The Chechens settling in Daghestan were those whom Stalin had deported from that republic and their descendants, while the Ingush migrating to North Ossetia had lived in that area before Stalin detached it from Ingushetia, following the deportation of its native population. By 1961, only 34,000 Chechens and 22,000 Ingush remained in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia.¹⁷ Despite the massive return to their homeland, Chechens and Ingush formed only 41% of the republic's population by 1959.¹⁸ Russians still formed the largest ethnic group in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, with 49% of the population.¹⁹ It was not until 1970 that the Soviet census showed Chechens and Ingush as a majority of the population of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR.²⁰ The 1960s saw the recovery of the Chechens and Ingush from the devastation of their exile.

10

Crimean Tatars

The Crimean Tatars were not taken into military service; they were excluded from peasants' work; they had to live in outlying districts. They had no passports. Why? From what arose such persecution of an entire people?

—Il'ia Liukseburg, "Novyi Vavilon na bergakh Syrdar'i" [New Babylon on the Banks of the Syrdar], *Posev*, September 1973

The German military's occupation of the Crimean peninsula relied in part upon local Tatar self-defense units (Selbschutze). These units engaged in antipartisan warfare against Soviet irregular units operating behind German lines. When the Soviet Red Army reoccupied the Crimean peninsula, the Stalin regime imposed a ruthless retribution against the Crimean Tatars for the actions of these self-defense units. The Stalin regime deported the entire Crimean Tatar population to special settlements in Uzbekistan as retaliation against the Tatar self-defense units.

The Crimean Tatars lived on the Crimean peninsula from the Middle Ages until May 1944. The Turkic groups that later fused to become the Crimean Tatars first settled the peninsula as soldiers of Batu Khan's Golden Horde in the 13th century. The Crimean Tatars are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school and speak a Kipchak Turkic language.

In 1428, the Crimean Khanate became a political entity independent of the Golden Horde.¹ Haci Giray became the first Khan of this new state.² In 1478, the Ottoman Empire invaded the Crimean Khanate, and between 1478 and 1772 the Crimean Khanate was a protectorate of the Porte. During this period the Crimean Khanate carried out frequent slave

raids against Russia and Poland. The slave trade formed the backbone of the Crimean Khanate's economy. The Crimean Tatars made lucrative profits from slave raids, both by selling captured slaves to the Ottoman Empire or other Muslim states and by ransoming them back to Russia or Poland.³ Only in the 18th century, under Tsar Peter I, did the Russian government cease to pay ransoms for the return of captured slaves.⁴ These slave raids greatly disrupted the development of agriculture in the Ukrainian steppe.⁵ Many Russians and Ukrainians have never forgiven the Crimean Tatars for their centuries of slave raids against Muscovy and Poland.

The image of the Crimean Tatar as a raider and slave trader has remained strong in the minds of many Slavs. The Crimean Tatars also fought with the Ottoman Empire against the Russian Empire in the Caucasus and Eastern Europe. This historical legacy made it easy for many Soviet citizens to believe the Stalinist charges against the Crimean Tatars that they collaborated with Nazi Germany to fight against the Red Army and enslave the Slavic population of the Crimean peninsula.

In addition to the Crimean Tatar's slave raids into the Ukrainian steppe, the very geographic position of the Khanate blocked Russian economic and military expansion. The Crimean Khanate controlled the southern shores of Ukraine and prevented Russia from creating a maritime presence in the Black Sea. The strategic importance of the Crimean peninsula to Russian commerce and naval projection convinced the Russian government that it needed to defeat the Crimean Khanate. In 1687 and again in 1689, Prince Vasilli Golitsyn led unsuccessful military campaigns against the Crimean Khanate.⁶ Despite these two defeats, just seven years later in 1696, Peter I defeated the Crimean Tatars and annexed the Black Sea port of Azov.⁷ This victory was short lived, however. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1710–1711, the Tatars recaptured Azov.⁸ It was another 75 years before the Russian Empire successfully occupied the Crimean Khanate.

In 1771, Russia invaded the Crimean peninsula.⁹ Between 1772 and 1783, the Crimean Khanate was a protectorate of the Russian Empire. In 1783, Empress Catherine II annexed the territory of the Crimean Khanate directly to the Russian Empire.¹⁰ The Russian Empire exercised direct authority over the Crimean peninsula and its inhabitants from 1783 until its demise in 1917.

Crimean Tatars participated in the Bolshevik Revolution and the building of the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s. On 18 October 1921, the SNK of the RSFSR created the Crimean ASSR.¹¹ Despite the fact that Crimean Tatars constituted only 25% of the population of the Crimean ASSR in 1923, the Soviet government granted this minority considerable cultural autonomy.¹² By 1938, Crimean Tatars formed only 19.36% of the peninsula's population with 218,179 people¹³ (see Table 10.1). Crimean Tatar,

Table 10.1¹
Ethnic Composition of the Crimean ASSR, 1938

Nationality	Number	Percentage
Russian	558,481	49.6%
Crimean Tatar	218,179	19.36%
Ukrainian	154,120	13.7%
German	65,452	4.6%
Greek	20,652	1.8%
Bulgarian	15,353	1.4%
Armenian	12,873	1.1%
Other	29,276	2.6%
Total	1,126,429 ²	100% ³

¹N. F. Bugai, L. Beria—I. Stalinu: “Soglasno vashemu ukazaniiu . . .” (Moscow: “AIRO XX,” 1995), p. 143.

²Although this number appears in the book cited, the sum of the column is 1,074,386, a difference of 52,043.

³Because of the error in the previous column, the sum of the individual percentages is 94.16%.

along with Russian, was an official state language of the Crimean ASSR.¹⁴ The Crimean Tatars had 144 functioning village soviets in the Crimean ASSR.¹⁵ The Crimean ASSR possessed four Crimean Tatar teachers’ schools, journals, museums, libraries, and theaters.¹⁶ In Simferpol, Tavrida University possessed an oriental institute that specialized in the language and literature of the Crimean Tatars.¹⁷ Crimean Tatar culture flourished during the era of *korenzatsiia*.

Soviet rule over the Crimea during the 1930s, however, became increasingly repressive towards the Tatar minority. The forced collectivization of agriculture in the Crimean peninsula took a heavy toll upon the Crimean Tatars. The OGPU deported thousands of Crimean Tatars accused of being kulaks to the Urals and far northern areas of the Soviet Union.¹⁸ The collectivization of agriculture in the Crimea devastated the orchards, vineyards, and livestock tended by the Crimean Tatars. It also led to famine in the Crimea during 1932 and 1933. The collectivization of agriculture and its aftermath turned many Crimean Tatars against the Stalin regime.

During the late 1930s, the Stalin regime terminated *korenzatsiia* in the Crimea in favor of a policy of repression towards the Crimean Tatars. The Soviet government began shutting down Crimean Tatar cultural institutions in 1935. Between 1935 and 1938, the Soviet authorities eliminated 14 of the 23 Crimean Tatar language publications in the peninsula.¹⁹ The Soviet government did not content itself with eliminat-

ing the expressions of Tatar culture in the Crimea. During the purges from 1937 to 1938, they executed a large portion of the Crimean Tatar intelligentsia. This persecution drove many Crimean Tatars to support any alternative to Soviet rule. The German and Romanian occupation of the Crimean peninsula offered the Crimean Tatars their only alternative to Stalin.

German and Romanian military units under the command of General Manstein advanced into the Crimean peninsula in September 1941. Between November 1941 and April 1944, the German military occupied almost all of the Crimean peninsula. Only Sevastopol held out longer. Sevastopol came under German occupation in July 1942. The Nazi occupation treated most of the Crimean population harshly. Among their crimes in the Crimea was the execution of 91,678 people from October 1941 to April 1942, including most of the peninsula's Jewish and Gypsy populations.²⁰ A large number of Crimean Tatars, however, welcomed the Germans as liberators.²¹ During this time Crimean Tatars fought both in German-organized military units and Soviet units. After the reoccupation of the Crimea by the Soviet Red Army, the Stalin regime accused all the Crimean Tatars of being Nazi collaborators and deported them to Uzbekistan. The exile of the Crimean Tatars to Central Asia was a national tragedy on a grand scale.

The Crimean Tatars became suspect in the eyes of Stalin as early as May 1942. On 29 May 1942, Stalin issued GKO resolution GOKO-1828, which ordered the deportation of Germans, Romanians, Greek passport holders, and Crimean Tatars from the cities and population centers of Krasnodar Kray and Rostov Oblast.²² This resolution allocated the NKVD two weeks to accomplish this task.²³ The Stalin regime cleared those areas of the Black Sea coast remaining under its control of Crimean Tatars and other suspect nationalities during 1942.

The German military sought to exploit the sympathy of segments of the Crimean Tatar population to secure their occupation of the peninsula. In January 1942, they began to recruit Crimean Tatar volunteers from POW camps to form self-defense battalions.²⁴ By 15 February 1942, the Germans had outfitted 1,632 Crimean Tatars into 14 companies and six battalions.²⁵ During the course of World War II, the German occupation forces in the Crimea organized close to 20,000 (10% of the Crimean Tatar population) Tatars into self-defense battalions.²⁶ The German military administration of the Crimea, under General Manstein, sought to rely upon the Crimean Tatar self-defense battalions to help garrison the peninsula. The German military used these Tatar self-defense battalions to combat partisan activities in the Crimea. Opposing the German occupation of the Crimea and the self-defense forces were not only Russians and Ukrainians but also many Crimean Tatars. Out of 3,783 Soviet partisans in the Crimea in early 1944, 630 were Crimean Tatars.²⁷ Other

Crimean Tatars provided assistance in the form of food and shelter to Soviet partisans at great personal risk. Another 20,000 Crimean Tatars fought in the Soviet Red Army against Nazi Germany; eight of these soldiers even received the order of the Hero of the Soviet Union.²⁸ As many Crimean Tatars actively fought against the Nazis as participated in German-sponsored military units.

The Soviet government began to prepare for the deportation of the Crimean Tatars soon after the Red Army recaptured the Crimea from the Germans. The Soviet military successfully recovered the Crimean peninsula on 11 May 1944.²⁹ As early as 22 April 1944, Kobulov and Serov informed Beria that 20,000 Crimean Tatars had deserted the Red Army.³⁰ The actual number of Crimean Tatar deserters was much smaller. Between 1941 and 1944, only 479 soldiers from the Crimean ASSR either deserted the Red Army or failed to report for military service after being conscripted.³¹ On 25 April 1944, Beria reported to the GKO that the "Tatar National Committee" under D. Abdureshidov recruited spies to work behind Soviet lines, mobilized volunteers for German-organized Tatar military units, and deported non-Tatars from the Crimea to Germany for forced labor.³² He also mentioned that the NKVD had arrested 178 "German-fascist collaborators" in the Crimea.³³ After several more weeks of investigative work in the Crimea by the NKVD, Beria issued another report to the GKO. On 10 May 1944, Beria informed Joseph Stalin that the NKVD had arrested 5,381 "anti-Soviet elements" in the Crimea as of 7 May 1944.³⁴ During the course of these arrests the NKVD confiscated 5,995 rifles, 337 machine guns, 31 mortars, and a large number of grenades and bullets.³⁵ This telegram also repeated the allegation that during 1944, over 20,000 Crimean Tatars deserted the Red Army in order to fight with the German occupation forces.³⁶ Beria's telegram endorsed the deportation of all Crimean Tatars to special settlements in Uzbekistan in order to punish these alleged acts of treason.³⁷ This telegram sealed the fate of the Crimean Tatars.

The next day, 11 May 1944, the GKO issued resolution N 5859 ss, signed by Joseph Stalin.³⁸ This resolution accused the Crimean Tatars of a litany of crimes against the Soviet state and people during World War II.

In the period of the Fatherland war many Crimean Tatars betrayed the Motherland, deserted from units of the Red Army defending the Crimea, and turned over the country to the enemy, joined German formed voluntary Tatar military units to fight against the Red Army in the period of occupation of the Crimea by German-Fascist troops, participated in German punitive detachments. Crimean Tatars were particularly noted for their brutal reprisals towards Soviet partisans, and also assisted the German occupiers in organizing the forcible sending to German slavery and mass destruction of Soviet people.

Crimean Tatars actively collaborated with the German occupying powers, participating in the so called “Tatar National Committees” organized by German intelligence and were extensively used by the Germans to infiltrate the rear of the Red Army with spies and diversionists. “Tatar National Committees,” in which the leading role was played by White Guard–Tatar émigrés, with the support of the Crimean Tatars directed their activity at the persecution and oppression of the non-Tatar population of the Crimea and conducted work in preparation for the forcible separation of the Crimea from the Soviet Union with the assistance of the German armed forces.³⁹

The Stalin regime regarded the Crimean Tatars as a treasonous nation deserving of severe collective punishment. According to Stalin and his henchmen, the Crimean Tatars actively supported Nazi Germany in its war against the Soviet people. One of the stated goals of this war was the mass extermination and enslavement of the Slavic population of the USSR. In the light of these accusations, the GKO resolved to deport the entire Crimean Tatar population to Central Asia.

1. All Tatars are to be exiled from the territory of the Crimea and settled permanently as special settlers in raions of the Uzbek SSR. The exile is assigned to the NKVD of the USSR. The NKVD USSR (Comrade Beria) is to complete the resettlement of the Crimean Tatars by 1 June 1944.⁴⁰

The highest organ of power in the Soviet state punished the entire Crimean Tatar nation for the acts of a few.

GKO resolution 5859ss established the procedures for dealing with the resettlement of the Crimean Tatars. It included provisions for the reallocation of immovable property belonging to the Crimean Tatars, the transport of the exiles to Uzbekistan, and the establishment of special settlements for the resettled Crimean Tatars. The GKO modeled these procedures on the earlier deportation of the Volga Germans. Beria and Kaganovich received primary responsibility for carrying out the deportation of the Crimean Tatars. Each family could bring 500 kg of personal property with them to the areas of resettlement.⁴¹ The Soviet government took over the buildings, furniture, land, livestock, agricultural produce, and other immovable property left by the Tatars in the Crimea.⁴² In exchange for this property, the Crimean Tatars were to receive receipts for future compensation.⁴³ The relevant Peoples Commissariats were to submit a plan to the SNK for redeeming these receipts by 1 July 1944.⁴⁴ Despite this stipulation, however, the Crimean Tatars did not receive compensation for their lost property.⁴⁵ The Crimean Tatars permanently lost their immovable property.

GKO resolution 5859ss assigned one doctor and two nurses to each train echelon of exiles.⁴⁶ It also provided for food and boiling water each day from the deportees during transit to Uzbekistan.⁴⁷ These provisions

proved inadequate for the well-being of the exiled Crimean Tatars. A report from UNKVD chief of Chkalov Oblast Smitenko confirmed the inadequacy of these provisions.⁴⁸ Between 23 May and 4 July 1944, 59 echelons with 3,252 wagons and 163,632 exiled Crimean Tatars passed through the Iletsk train station.⁴⁹ During this time the NKVD removed four sick and 14 dead Crimean Tatars from trains stopped at Iletsk.⁵⁰ Incidents of illness and death increased sharply after reaching the special settlements in Uzbekistan.

The NKVD arrested anti-Soviet elements in the Crimea and confiscated arms in preparation for the deportation up until 16 May 1944. Beria reported on 16 May 1944 that the NKVD had arrested 6,452 anti-Soviet elements, including 657 spies.⁵¹ In combing the Crimean forests, military and operative groups detained 7,739 people and confiscated 39 mortars, 449 machine guns, 532 submachine guns, 7,238 rifles, 3,657 shells, 10,296 grenades, and 280,000 bullets.⁵² Two days later, the NKVD started the deportation of the Crimean Tatars.

The NKVD began implementing GKO resolution 5859ss on 18 May 1944. Kobulov and Serov personally oversaw this operation.⁵³ By 8:00 A.M. on 18 May 1944, the NKVD had already taken 90,000 Crimean Tatars to train stations and placed 48,400 exiles on 25 echelons bound for Uzbekistan.⁵⁴ The next day, the NKVD completed moving 165,515 Crimean Tatars to train stations and placing 136,412 on eastbound trains.⁵⁵ Between 18 May and 20 May 1944, 23,000 officers and soldiers of the NKVD and 9,000 operatives of the NKVD-NKGB reported loading 180,014 Crimean Tatars on 67 train echelons bound for Uzbekistan and other eastern areas of the USSR (see Table 10.2).⁵⁶ On 4 July 1944, the NKVD revised the figure of deported Crimean Tatars to 183,155.⁵⁷ The NKVD sent 151,604 of these exiles to Uzbekistan and 31,551 to eastern areas of the Russian Federation.⁵⁸ The Red Army conscripted another 6,000 Crimean Tatars into construction battalions, and the Moscow Coal Trust mobilized another 5,000 Crimean Tatar workers.⁵⁹ The Soviet regime expelled a total of 194,155 Tatars from the Crimea. Within less than three days, the NKVD and Red Army forcibly removed almost the entire Crimean Tatar nation from their ancestral homeland.

The Stalin regime exiled most of the Crimean Tatars to special settlements in the deserts of Uzbekistan. Unhygienic conditions, lack of clean water, and overcrowding led to massive outbreaks of typhus among the Crimean Tatars. Between 21 May 1944 and 1 January 1946, 26,775 (14% of the total population) perished enroute to and in special settlements.⁶⁰ The MVD recorded the death of 44,887 Crimean Tatars, Greeks, Armenians, and Bulgarians in special settlements by 1948.⁶¹ The NKVD and MVD do not provide a division of this figure by the individual Crimean nationalities. Crimean Tatars, however, comprised most of these deaths according to corroborating evidence. Calculations based upon popula-

Table 10.2¹
Location of Crimean Tatar Exiles, 6 June 1944

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	2,426
Bashkir ASSR	284
Yakut ASSR	93
Gorky Oblast	2,376
Molotov Oblast	10,002
Sverdlovsk Oblast	3,591
Ivanov Oblast	548
Kostroma Oblast	6,338
Tashkent Oblast Uzbekistan	56,114
Samarkand Oblast Uzbekistan	31,829
Andizhan Oblast Uzbekistan	19,173
Ferenga Oblast Uzbekistan	16,173
Namangan Oblast Uzbekistan	13,801
Kashkadar'in Oblast Uzbekistan	9,984
Bukhara Oblast Uzbekistan	4,009
Total Uzbekistan	151,083
Total	176,746 ²

¹N. F. Bugai, *L. Beria—I. Stalinu: "Soglasno vashemu ukazaniuu . . ."* (Moscow: "AIRO XX," 1995), p. 155.

²Although this total appears in the cited source, the sum of the column is 176,741, a difference of five.

tion data place the number of Crimean Tatar deaths resulting from the deportation as 42,000 during the first five years of exile.⁶² More than a fifth (7,900) of these fatalities occurred during transit to the special settlements.⁶³ Many Crimean Tatar human-rights activists contend that the large number of deaths in transit and in special settlements constitutes genocide. The surviving Crimean Tatar population remained exiled in Uzbekistan and other eastern areas of the USSR until after Stalin's death (see Table 10.3).

The death of Stalin on 5 March 1953 brought about a liberalization of the Soviet regime. The restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tatars, however, was slow and piecemeal. On 5 July 1954, the SNK released all children 16 and under, including Crimean Tatars, from special settlements.⁶⁴ The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet released the remainder of the Crimean Tatars from special settlements on 20 April 1956.⁶⁵ The Soviet government, however, still considered the Crimean Tatars guilty of

Table 10.3¹
Location of Crimean Tatar Exiles, 1 January 1953

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	2,511
Uzbekistan	128,348
Krasnoyarsk Kray	119
Kirghizia	366
Altai Kray	34
Kemerovo Oblast	209
Novosibirsk Oblast	4
Irkutsk Oblast	70
Omsk Oblast	6
Molotov Oblast	8,438
Tomsk Oblast	6
Sverdlovsk Oblast	2,488
Tiumen Oblast	4
Chelybinsk Oblast	29
Tadzhikistan	6,711
Khabarovsk Kray	82
Komi ASSR	11
Bashkir ASSR	299
Yakut ASSR	123
Amur Oblast	1
Tula Oblast	2,846
Kurgan Oblast	2
Buriat-Mongolia ASSR	1
Orenburg Oblast	9
Kirov Oblast	8
Mari ASSR	7,652
Kostroma Oblast	2,243
Moscow Oblast	706
Far North Kray	175
Kubishev Oblast	663
Karelian ASSR	1
Ivanov Oblast	365
Maritime	1
Turkmenistan	5
Volga Tatar ASSR	24
Murmansk Oblast	2

Table 10.3 (continued)

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Chuvash ASSR	66
ITLs and MVD Construction	43
Total	165,259 ²

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, spetsposeletsy, ssyl'noposeletsy, ssylne, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155.

²Although this figure appears in the cited article, the sum of the column is 164,671, a difference of 588.

treason and did not allow them to return to the Crimea or offer them compensation for the property confiscated during the deportation.⁶⁶ Only on 5 September 1967 did the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet revoke the charges of treason against the Crimean Tatars.⁶⁷ Even after 1967, however, the Soviet government did not allow the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland.

Despite the formal restoration of their rights, the Crimean Tatars remained exiled. It was not until the advent of *glasnost* in the late 1980s that the Crimean Tatars managed to return to their homeland in any significant numbers. In the 1990s this migration to the Crimea became a flood. By 1994, the number of Crimean Tatars living in the Crimean peninsula surpassed the number living in the Crimean ASSR prior to the deportation. Despite the return of many Crimean Tatars to their homeland, many of them still face discrimination and harassment by the local authorities and Russian population.

Stalin's deportation of the Crimean Tatars is one of the most extreme examples of ethnic cleansing and collective punishment in modern history. Tens of thousands of innocent men, women, and children died in the deserts of Central Asia as a result of the deportation. Hundreds of thousands more were deprived of their homeland for decades.

11

Greeks

The Greek Kingdom is not the whole of Greece, but only a part, the smallest and poorest part. A native is not only someone who lives within this Kingdom, but also one who lives in Ionnina, in Thessaly, in Serres, in Adrianople, in Constantinople, in Trebizond, in Crete, in Samos and in any land associated with Greek history or the Greek race.

—Ioannis Kolettis to Greek constituent assembly, 1844

The last large extraterritorial nationality living on the Crimean peninsula and shores of the Black Sea after the deportation of the Crimean Tatars was the Soviet Greeks. Many of these Greeks had refused to accept Soviet citizenship and sought to maintain their Greek culture in the face of increasing Russian chauvanism. The cultural and ethnic ties between these communities and Greece made them a suspect alien population in the view of the Stalin regime. In order to secure the strategic areas around the Black Sea, the NKVD deported the Soviet Greeks to special settlements in Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia.

The Greeks were the first people to settle the shores of the Crimea and Black Sea coast of Georgia and southern Russia. Greek traders, merchants, farmers, and fishermen lived and prospered in the coastal cities of the Crimean peninsula and Black Sea from the 7th century B.C.E. until World War II. This small community survived under the Tatars, the Tsars, and early Bolsheviks. In the 18th century additional Greek colonists settled the Crimea at the invitation of Catherine II.¹ During the 19th century many Pontic Greeks left Asia Minor to settle the Crimea and

Black Sea coasts of Georgia and southern Russia. These Greeks and their descendants formed the majority of the Crimean Greek and Black Sea communities by World War I. They spoke an ancient Ionian dialect of Greek barely intelligible to modern Athenians after centuries of separation. From 1916 to 1924 almost 100,000 more Pontic Greeks fled persecution from the Turkish authorities to settle among their compatriots in Georgia, Russia, Ukraine, and the Crimea.² In 1938 there were 20,653 ethnic Greeks living in the Crimea (1.8% of the peninsula's population).³ Between 27 June and 4 July 1944, Joseph Stalin and Lavrenty Beria forcibly dispersed the Crimean Greeks across the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. In less than a week, the Stalin regime permanently destroyed the centuries-old Crimean Greek community. The Greeks exiled from the Crimea lost their rights as Soviet citizens, their ancestral homeland, and much of their culture as a direct result of the deportation.

In addition to the Crimean Greeks, Stalin deported the large population of ethnic Greeks living on the Black Sea littoral of Georgia and South Russia. In 1779, 30,000 Greek immigrants founded the city of Mariupol under the reign of Catherine II.⁴ After the Russians captured the city of Odessa, the majority of the population was Greek. The 1926 Soviet census counted 213,800 Greeks in the USSR.⁵ Despite being born in the Soviet Union, many of these Greeks had Greek passports as late as 1949. After the collapse of the Tsarist Russian Empire, the Greek government issued these documents to as many ethnic Greeks as they could.⁶ The Black Sea Greeks suffered the same fate as their brethren from the Crimea.

The Soviet Greeks, like other ethnic minorities, benefited from the policy of *korenzatsiia*. In the Crimea, Black Sea littoral, and Ukraine the Soviet government supported Greek-language schools, newspapers, journals, and theaters.⁷ The Crimean ASSR had five Greek village Soviets.⁸ Among the Greek-language newspapers published in the Soviet Union were *Spartacus* in Novorossiysk, *Kommunist* in Batum, and *Kakkinas kapnas* (Red Tobacco Grower) in Sukhumi.⁹ In Georgia alone, the number of Greek-language schools increased from 22 in 1924 to 140 in 1938.¹⁰ In contrast only one Greek-language school existed in Ukraine in 1928.¹¹ By 1935 this number, had grown to 21.¹² In 1932, three Greek national *raions* existed in the Stalin Oblast of Ukraine.¹³ The Soviet government also established a Greek national *raion* in Krasnodar Kray.¹⁴ This territory was inhabited by Greeks who had emigrated to Russia during the 1870s and 1880s and their descendants.¹⁵ These Greeks made their living as tobacco farmers, and the official newspaper of the *raion* was the Russian language *Za sotsialisticheskoe tabakovodstvo* (For Socialist Tobacco Farming).¹⁶ As the 1930s progressed, the Stalin dictatorship continued to display an increasingly virulent Russian chauvinism. This chauvinism manifested itself in the closure of Greek institutions. In 1937, the Soviet government elimi-

nated the Greek national *raion* in Krasnodar.¹⁷ In 1938, the Stalin regime closed down the Greek-language *Kommunist* and began closing Greek schools.¹⁸ These discriminatory actions prompted many Soviet Greeks to emigrate to Greece.¹⁹ By 1939 the Soviet census showed 286,400 Greeks in the USSR.²⁰ These Greeks lived under increasing government discrimination and persecution. The deportations of the Crimean and Black Sea Greeks during World War II represented the height of this persecution.

The first deportation of Black Sea Greeks occurred in 1942. On 29 May 1942, Stalin issued GKO order GOKO 1828ss, which ordered the exile of socially dangerous elements, Germans, Romanians, Crimean Tatars, and Greek passport holders from the cities and population centers of Krasnodar Kray and Rostov Oblast.²¹ The resolution allocated the NKVD two weeks to accomplish this task.²² The NKVD deported 1,402 Greeks from these areas during this operation.²³ The NKVD deported a large number of Greeks from Rostov Oblast, Krasnodar Kray, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan at this time. This was only the first of several waves of Greek exiles.

Soon after the deportation of the Crimean Tatars, the Soviet security organs began preparing to exile the Crimean Greeks, Armenians, and Bulgarians. These nationalities all had cultural ties beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. The Stalin regime's paranoia regarding foreign spies and diversionists contributed greatly to the decision to deport these nationalities. In the case of the Greeks, Soviet resentment over the Greek army's intervention in Odessa and Sevastopol in 1919 intensified this paranoia.²⁴ On 29 May 1944, Beria informed Stalin that a large number of anti-Soviet elements remained in the Crimea.²⁵ According to Beria, among these anti-Soviet elements were 14,300 Greeks, 12,075 Bulgarians, and 9,919 Armenians.²⁶ Beria's specific accusations against the Crimean Greeks were relatively mild compared to those made against the Crimean Armenians and Bulgarians. He accused the Crimean Armenians of engaging in espionage and diversionary activities against the Red Army, and the Crimean Bulgarians of handing over captured Red Army soldiers and partisans to the German military.²⁷ In contrast, Beria claimed that the "German authorities received assistance from the Greeks in trade, transportation of goods, etc."²⁸ This accusation, however, carried the same penalty for the Crimean Greeks as did the more serious charges against the Crimean Armenians and Bulgarians. Partisan leaders in the Crimea reported that the Greek population displayed passivity in face of the German occupation of the peninsula.²⁹ They did not, however, report widespread collaboration between the German military and the Crimean Greeks. Despite these reports, Beria recommended to Stalin that the NKVD deport all Greeks, Armenians, and Bulgarians from the Crimea.³⁰ Stalin endorsed Beria's recommendation.

Stalin personally issued the order to deport the Crimean Greeks, Ar-

menians, and Bulgarians. In his capacity as the chairman of the GKO (State Defense Committee), Stalin issued resolution no. 5984 ss on 2 June 1944.³¹ This resolution ordered the deportation of the estimated 39,000 Greeks, Armenians, and Bulgarians from the Crimea to Guryev Oblast in Kazakhstan (7,000) and to Sverdlovsk Oblast (10,000), Molotov Oblast (10,000), Kemerovo Oblast (6,000), and the Bashkir ASSR (6,000) in Russia.³² On 24 June 1944, the GKO passed resolution 61000 ss ordering the deportation of people in the Crimea with Greek, Turkish, or Iranian passports to Uzbekistan.³³ This resolution applied to 3,531 people with Greek passports.³⁴

On 27 and 28 June 1944, the NKVD rounded up all the Crimean Greeks and loaded them on overcrowded and unhygienic trains bound for the east.³⁵ On 4 July 1944, the NKVD reported sending 15,040 Crimean Greeks (this number does not include those with foreign passports) to exile in the areas specified in GKO resolution 5984 ss, Uzbekistan, and the Mari ASSR.³⁶ The Crimean Greeks lost their homes, their livestock, and most of their moveable property during the deportation.³⁷ The NKVD spread the Crimean Greeks across Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia.

At the same time the NKVD exiled 8,300 Greeks without Soviet citizenship from Rostov and Krasnodar to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union.³⁸ The Stalin regime sent 3,565 of these Greeks to Krasnoyarsk Kray.³⁹ During this operation, the NKVD confiscated 687 rifles, 53 sub-machine guns, and 60 revolvers.⁴⁰ The NKVD also deported 16,375 ethnic Greeks from Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia during this time.⁴¹ The Soviet regime exiled much of the Greek Diaspora around the Black Sea to the interior of the USSR.

Exiles to special settlements played an important role in the Soviet economy. The Stalin regime concentrated the Crimean Greeks into the oil and paper industries.⁴² In Guryev Oblast Kazakhstan, they worked for the People's Commissariat of Oil.⁴³ In Molotov and Sverdlovsk oblasts they worked for the People's Commissariat of Paper.⁴⁴ Neither of these industries were traditional occupations for the Crimean Greeks.

Many Soviet Greeks serving in the Red Army received even harsher treatment than the civilians deported to special settlements. Like the Soviet Germans, the Soviet regime mobilized Greek soldiers in the Red Army into labor battalions. The conditions of these mobilized workers, however, did not significantly differ from the conditions of Gulag prisoners. At the end of World War II the Soviet regime disbanded these work battalions and sent their members to join their ethnic compatriots in exile.

In addition to these work colonies and battalions, 2,610 Soviet Greeks were working in ITLs as Gulag prisoners on 1 January 1942 (see Table 11.1).⁴⁵ On 1 January 1946 the ITLs held 1,240 ethnic Greek prisoners.⁴⁶ By 1 January 1951 there were 1,558 Soviet Greeks in ITLs and 768 in ITKs

Table 11.1¹
Soviet Greeks in Corrective Labor Camps, 1942–1947

1942	2,610
1943	1,859
1944	1,344
1945	1,382
1946	1,240
1947	1,247

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Gulag (istoriko-sotsiologicheskii aspekt)," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 6, 1991, table 11, p. 26.

(corrective labor colonies).⁴⁷ The Soviet Greeks in forced labor institutions suffered substantial deprivations. They worked long hours at heavy labor under unsafe conditions and received meager rations.

In the summer of 1949, the Stalin regime took new repressive measures against the Soviet Greeks. The Soviet government decided to deport many of the Greeks still living in Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Black Sea coast of Russia to Kazakhstan.⁴⁸ On 29 May 1949, the Soviet Council of Ministers passed resolution SM SSR no. 2214–856 ss authorizing the MVD to undertake this action.⁴⁹ This resolution ordered the deportation of the Greeks, Turks, and Armenians from the Transcaucasian republics and the Black Sea coast.⁵⁰ Initially this resolution specified that this new contingent of Greek exiles would not be considered special settlers, but voluntary settlers.⁵¹ On 2 June 1949, however, the MVD issued order no. 00525, which classified all deported Greeks as special settlers.⁵² On 14 and 15 June 1949, the Soviet security organs removed much of the Greek population from Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Black Sea Coast.⁵³ During these two days the MVD exiled a total of 57,680 Greeks, Armenians, and Turks from these areas.⁵⁴ Greeks comprised the overwhelming majority of these exiles. Out of 56,142 special settlers counted in this contingent in 1953, 37,352 were Greeks.⁵⁵ The MVD deported 6,121 Greeks from Abkhazia alone during this sweep.⁵⁶ The SNK issued resolution no. 727–269ss on 21 February 1950.⁵⁷ This resolution ordered the exile of Greek passport holders and former Greek citizens from Transcaucasia and the Black Sea coast.⁵⁸ On 10 August 1950, the Council of Ministers issued order no. 14133rs, exiling the last remaining Greek passport holders, stateless Greeks, and former Greek citizens possessing Soviet citizenship from the Transcaucasian republics and Black Sea coast.⁵⁹ Between 1942 and 1950 the Soviet regime deported a total of 21,199 people with Greek passports to special settlements in the interior of the USSR.⁶⁰ The Soviet government issued six separate decrees regarding the deportation of Greeks (see Table 11.2). The number

Table 11.2
Deportation Orders Pertaining to Greeks

Order	Date	From	Citizenship
GKO 1828ss ¹	29 May 1942	Rostov and Krasnodar	Greek
GKO 5984ss ²	2 June 1944	Crimea	Soviet
GKO 6100ss ³	24 June 1944	Crimea	Greek
SM 2214-856ss ⁴	29 May 1949	Transcaucasia and Black Sea	Soviet
SM 727-269ss ⁵	21 February 1950	Transcaucasia and Black Sea	Greek
SM 14133rs ⁶	10 August 1950	Transcaucasia and Black Sea	Greek

¹Document reproduced in A. Andreevich and Ch. Georgievna, eds., *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemsiv v dokumentakh 1763–1992* (Moscow: International Institute for Humanitarian Programs, 1993), p. 171.

²N. F. Bugai, *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: “Ikh nado deportirovat’”*: dokumenty, fakty, komentarii” (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 18, pp. 142–143.

³Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 23, pp. 222–223.

⁴Ibid.

⁵N. F. Bugai, *L. Beria—I. Stalinu: “Soglasno vashemu ukazaniiu . . .”* (Moscow: “AIRO XX,” 1995), p. 299.

⁶Ibid.

of Greeks remaining in the Black Sea region of the USSR after the 1949 and 1950 deportations was considerably smaller than it had been in the years prior to World War II.

After the Greek Civil War, many of the defeated communists emigrated to the USSR. On 27 September 1949, the Council of Ministers passed resolution no. 4067–1674 ss on “Political Emigrants from Greece.”⁶¹ This resolution instructed the MVD to settle and find employment for these refugees. Between 10 and 30 September 1949, 11,157 Greeks including 3,241 women and 21 children arrived in the Georgian port of Poti from Albania.⁶² Upon arriving in the USSR, the MVD transported these Greeks first to Krasnodar Kray and then to Uzbekistan.⁶³ The MVD housed these immigrants in 14 settlements near Tashkent that had formerly been camps for POWs or Soviet prisoners.⁶⁴ These Greek immigrants worked in a variety of industrial enterprises and construction projects. Like the deported Soviet Greeks, the Stalin regime viewed the Greek immigrants as a labor source to industrialize undeveloped areas of the USSR.

The Crimean and Black Sea Greeks lived under the restrictions of the special settlement regime until after Stalin’s death. On 1 January 1953 the MVD counted 14,760 Crimean Greeks as special settlers (see Table

11.3).⁶⁵ They found 14,486 of these exiles in special settlements, they had arrested 241, and they were searching for the remaining 33.⁶⁶ The largest concentration of these exiles was in Uzbekistan, with 4,097 Crimean Greek special settlers.⁶⁷ Other large populations of Crimean Greek exiles lived in Sverdlovsk Oblast (3,414), Molotov Oblast (2,268), Bashkir ASSR (1,967), and Kemerovo Oblast (1,334).⁶⁸ The MVD counted 37,352 Black Sea Greeks as special settlers on 1 January 1953.⁶⁹ They found 37,188 of these exiles in special settlements, they had arrested 163, and they were searching for only one.⁷⁰ The vast majority of the deported Black Sea Greeks (37,114, or 99.8%) resided in Kazakhstan.⁷¹ On 7 March 1956, there were still 10,231 Crimean Greeks in special settlements.⁷² Almost the entire Crimean and Black Sea Greek populations remained scattered across the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia for nine years.

Stalin's death allowed the Soviet government to greatly ease its repression of non-Russian nationalities. Between 1954 and 1957, the Soviet government dismantled the special settlement regime.⁷³ On 5 July 1954 the Council of Ministers released all children under 16 from special settlements.⁷⁴ Exiled Greeks aged 16 and over remained confined to special settlements. In August 1955, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union formed a special commission consisting of Rudenko, Kruglov, Serov, and Gorshenin to release certain categories of special settlers.⁷⁵ This commission released the Greeks with Soviet citizenship deported from the Transcaucasian republics and Black Sea coast under SM resolution no. 2214-856ss of 29 May 1949.⁷⁶ Not until 27 March 1956 did the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet issue a decree releasing the Crimean Greeks from special settlements.⁷⁷ After almost 11 years of repression, the Soviet regime finally restored these deported Greeks their rights as Soviet citizens. The Soviet state released those Greeks without Soviet citizenship from special settlements on 25 September 1956 with MVD *prikaz* no. 0402.⁷⁸ This decree, however, did not allow the deported Greeks without Soviet citizenship to return to the areas from which they were exiled or receive compensation for property confiscated during the deportations.⁷⁹ Non-citizen Greeks did not receive the right of freedom of residence until 1972. They received this right along with the Soviet Germans in a *ukaz* by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on 3 November 1972.⁸⁰ They remained dispersed across the USSR, far from their traditional settlements on the Black Sea.

The exile to special settlements had a detrimental effect upon Greek culture in the USSR. The loss of Greek-language schools and publications accelerated the assimilation of the deported Greeks into Russian culture. Spread amongst Turkic and Russian populations, many Greeks became linguistically Russified (see Table 11.4). Between 1926 and 1959, the number of Soviet Greeks who spoke Greek as a native language declined from 72.7% to 41.5%.⁸¹ By 1979 the number of Soviet Greeks who spoke

Table 11.3¹
Location of Exiled Greeks, 1 January 1953

Territory	Crimean 1944	Black Sea 1949	Total
Kazakhstan	1,240	37,114	38,354
Uzbekistan	4,097	-----	4,097
Kirghizia	16	-----	18
Krasnoyarsk	8	-----	8
Altai	-----	10	10
Kemerovo	1,334	-----	1,334
Novosibirsk	7	-----	7
Irkutsk	23	-----	23
Molotov	2,268	-----	2,268
Sverdlovsk	3,414	-----	3,414
Tomsk	7	217	224
Tiumen	5	-----	5
Chelybinsk	10	1	11
Tadzhikistan	153	-----	153
Khabarovsk	12	-----	12
Komi	4	-----	4
Bashkir ASSR	1,967	10	1,977
Yakutia	10	-----	10
Tula	5	-----	5
Udmurt ASSR	1	-----	1
Kirov	4	-----	4
Mari	128	-----	128
Kostroma	1	-----	1
Moscow	2	-----	2
Far North	5	-----	5
Kubishev	1	-----	1
Sakhalin	3	-----	3
Karelia	1	-----	1
Volga Tatar	32	-----	32
Chuvash ASSR	2	-----	2
Total	14,760	37,352	52,112

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, spetsposelentsy, ssyl'noposelentsy, ssylne, i vyslanye," *Is-toriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155; V. N. Zemskov, "Massovoe osvobzhdienie spetsposelentsev i ssyl'nynkh (1954–1960 gg.)," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 1, 1991, table 3, p. 14.

Table 11.4
Percentage of Soviet Greeks Speaking Greek as a Native Language

Year	Percentage
1926	72.7% ¹
1959	41.5% ²
1979	38.0% ³

¹Gerhard Simon, *Nationalism and Policy toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991), table A.8, p. 396.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

Table 11.5¹
Greek Population of the Former Soviet Union, 1990

Abkhazia, Georgia	14,633
Adzharia, Georgia	7,379
Other Areas of Georgia	78,292
Ukraine	98,578
Russia	91,654
Kazakhstan	46,714
Uzbekistan	10,479
Other Areas of CIS	10,636
Total	357,975

¹Svetlana Alieva, *Tak eto bylo: Natsional'nye repressii v SSSR, 1919–1952 gody* (Moscow: Russian International Cultural Fund, 1993), vol. III, p. 201.

Greek as their first language was a mere 38%.⁸² Assimilation and inter-marriage steadily eroded the expression of Greek culture in the Soviet Union.

Many of the deported Greeks managed to make their way back to their Black Sea homes after Stalin's death. These Greeks returned to their traditional areas of settlement in Georgia and other regions from which Stalin had deported them (see Table 11.5). The Soviet government, however, did not restore the Greek institutions existing in these areas prior to 1938. Only under Gorbachev did the expression of Greek culture in the Soviet Union receive official sanction. More than half of the Soviet Greek population lived in Georgia and Ukraine by 1990.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union many ethnic Greeks living in the countries of the former Soviet Union have opted to emigrate. As early as 1990, 22,500 Greeks left the Soviet Union.⁸³ A similar number of Greeks left the USSR in 1991.⁸⁴ Most of these emigrants have opted to

relocate to a land their ancestors left over 2,500 years ago, Greece. Military conflicts in the Caucasus have accelerated the exodus of Greeks from the former republics of the USSR. The civil war in Abkhazia from 1992 to 1995 convinced the majority of the Greek population to leave for Greece. Between 1992 and 1994, the Greek population of Abkhazia declined from nearly 15,000 to a mere 3,000 as a result of emigration.⁸⁵ These immigrants are the descendants of colonists who left Greece millennia ago to settle Asia Minor and other eastern areas of the Hellenic world.

12

Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils

But one night in November 1944 in our village arrived automobiles, and took all the people of Turkish nationality. Of course, nobody could believe that their motherland had been lost forever. It was incomprehensible, unexplainable.

—Yusuf Sarvarov, 1990

After World War II, the Soviet Union sought to expand into the Middle East. The Soviet government desired to acquire the Turkish provinces of Kars and Ardanan and establish a military base in the Dardanelles Straits. In preparation for a conflict with Turkey over this territory, the Stalin regime forcibly resettled the ethnic Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils (also known as Khemshins) living on the Turkish border. The Soviet regime deported almost all the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils from the Georgian border regions to special settlements in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The Stalin dictatorship forcibly resettled the Muslim minorities of Georgia from their ancestral homeland because they belonged to ethnic groups historically associated with Turkey.

Most of the Muslim minorities in Georgia were a legacy of Ottoman rule over the Caucasus. The Meskhetian Turks are the descendants of Georgians who converted to Islam and adopted the Turkish language during the 17th and 18th centuries. Despite the Georgian origins of the Meskhetian Turks, they are culturally almost indistinguishable from the majority population of Turkey. They share the same language, religion, and customs.¹

The Soviet Kurds from Georgia were part of the larger Kurdish nation

that straddles the borders of Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq. Despite persecution and pressure to assimilate, the Kurds have maintained their own language and culture. The nomadic Kurds frequently crossed the borders separating the Soviet Union from Turkey and Iran. Kurds first arrived in Transcaucasia as early as the 10th century. By the 19th century, Kurds had established themselves as a permanent population in the border districts of Georgia. Throughout history the various states with Kurdish populations have backed Kurdish insurgencies in neighboring states. The Soviets have backed Kurdish revolts in Iran; the Iranians have backed them in Iraq; and Syria has backed them in Turkey. The Soviet Union viewed a Turkish-backed Kurdish uprising in Georgia as a real possibility.

The Khemshils are ethnic Armenians who converted from Christianity to Islam. The majority of the Khemshil population lived on the Turkish side of the Turkish-Georgian border. About 20,000 Khemshils live on the Turkish side of the Georgian border today.² Those living on the Georgian side of the border ended up in special settlements.

The Stalin regime regarded the security of the border between Georgia and Turkey as endangered by the presence of unreliable ethnic minorities. Lavrentii Beria believed that the Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils along the border regions of Georgia represented a pool of potential Turkish intelligence agents. Beria explicitly accused these national minorities of recruiting spies and infiltrating bandit groups into the USSR on behalf of Turkish military intelligence.³ The Stalin regime perceived the Soviet Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils in Georgia as a destabilizing factor along the Turkish border.

Moscow feared that the Turkish government would support saboteurs among the Muslims on the Georgian side of the border as a counter to Soviet military and diplomatic pressure. On 20 May 1945, the USSR demanded that Turkey cede the provinces of Kars and Ardanan and allow them to establish a Soviet naval base in the Dardanelles Straits.⁴ Soviet pressure on Turkey continued until September 1946, when U.S. President Truman returned the body of the recently deceased Turkish ambassador to Washington, D.C., on the battleship *Missouri* sailing alongside the aircraft carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* and several destroyers.⁵ The Soviet leadership believed that Turkey could have relied upon the Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils to assist them in resisting Moscow's demands.

Beria advocated the removal of suspect nationalities from strategic areas of the USSR as a routine security measure. During his tenure as chief of the NKVD, the Soviet regime deported the Volga Germans, Kalmyks, Chechens, Crimean Tatars, and others as well as the Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils. On 24 July 1944 Beria recommended to Stalin that the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils living in the border regions of

Georgia be deported.⁶ This recommendation had become standard Soviet policy regarding suspect border minorities.

In response to Beria's recommendation Stalin issued GKO resolution no. 6279 ss, "On Resettling from the Border Belt of the Georgian SSR—Akhaltskh, Aspindzsk, Akhalkalaxsk, and Bogdanov Raions—the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshins."⁷ This resolution ordered the NKVD to deport the estimated 86,000 Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils living in these *raions* to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kirghizia.⁸ The ethnic breakdown of this contingent consisted of 46,516 Turks, 8,694 Kurds, 1,385 Khemshils, and 29,505 others originally labeled as Turks by the NKVD but claiming to be Azerbaijanis or other nationalities.⁹ Unlike resolutions dealing with the deportation of other nationalities, this decree provided little justification for the forced removal of the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils. The resolution did not accuse these national groups of treason, espionage, or sabotage. Instead, it merely stated that the deportation was necessary to improve the security of the borders of the Georgian SSR and the USSR.¹⁰ Stalin arbitrarily condemned these national minorities as security threats and authorized their exile.

The deportation order for the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils authorized the distribution of both money and fuel for the operation. Stalin allocated 30 million rubles and 750 tons of gasoline to the NKVD, 4 million rubles and 100 tons of gasoline to the Georgian SNK, 75 tons of gasoline to the Kazakh SNK, 70 tons of gasoline to the Uzbek SNK, and 35 tons of gasoline to the Kirghiz SNK.¹¹ GKO resolution 6279 ss also provided for the settlement of 7,000 ethnic Georgian households on the land of the deported Muslims to further strengthen the Soviet border against Turkey.¹² This resolution served as the legal basis for the permanent exile of the Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils from Georgia.

Acting upon Stalin's authorization, Beria began to prepare to deport the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils. On 20 September 1944, Beria issued NKVD order no. 001176, "On Resettling from the Border Raions of the Georgian SSR the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshins."¹³ This decree assigned responsibility for this operation to specified NKVD and NKGB officers. All the officers named were given a clear chain of command and specified responsibilities. Beria assigned overall control of the operation to Deputy Commissar of the NKVD of the USSR Kobulov, People's Commissar for State Security of the Georgian SSR Rapava, and People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the Georgian SSR Karandze.¹⁴ He also allocated a total of 20,000 NKVD internal troops, 4,000 NKVD-NKGB operative workers, and 900 Studebaker trucks to perform the actual deportation.¹⁵ Beria scheduled the deportations to begin on 15 November 1944 and end on 25 November 1944.¹⁶ The NKVD carried out these instructions rapidly and efficiently.

The NKVD executed the deportation of the Meskhetian Turks, Kurds,

and Khemshils in a military fashion. On the morning of 15 November 1944 NKVD soldiers surrounded the villages of the condemned people and began transporting them to rail stations in Studebakertrucks. The NKVD worked fast. Rapava reported to Beria on the first day of the operation that by 6:00 that evening they had already loaded 26,591 people onto trains bound for Kazakhstan and Central Asia without incident.¹⁷ By 4:00 P.M. on 17 November 1944, the NKVD had placed 81,324 Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils on trains headed for exile.¹⁸ The NKVD completed the removal of these national minorities from all the border regions of Georgia except the Adzhar ASSR on 18 November 1944.¹⁹ They deported the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils from the Adzhar ASSR on 25 and 26 November 1944.²⁰ The NKVD count on the total number of people exiled in this operation was revised three times. On 28 November 1944, Beria placed the number of exiles from Georgia at 91,095; in December he received a telegram informing him that the number was 92,307; and in October 1948 the MVD revised the figure to 94,955.²¹ In only eleven days, the NKVD completely purged the Georgian border with Turkey of Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils.

The NKVD deported all the Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils it could capture, regardless of sex, age, or political loyalty. They did not spare old men, children, Red Army soldiers, or Communist Party officials. The majority of the Muslims exiled from Georgia were women and children. The 92,307 deportees from Georgia (December 1944 count) consisted of 18,923 adult men, 27,388 adult women, and 45,985 children under the age of 16.²² Many of the adult men exiled to Kazakhstan and Central Asia had fought in the Soviet Red Army against Nazi Germany prior to their deportation. In March 1949 there were 4,075 Red Army veterans among these exiles, including 57 officers and 459 sergeants.²³ There were also 534 Communist Party officials and 607 Komsomol members deported from Georgia.²⁴ Despite their service to the Soviet state, the NKVD deported these soldiers and Communists along with their families to Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

The Stalin regime deported the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils to special settlements in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kirghizia (see Table 12.1). The NKVD shipped these people to Soviet Asia in unheated and unhygienic freight cars. Chakho Chitadze, a survivor of the deportations, recalls that the journey took two months, during which time the exiles received no hot food.²⁵ Exposure and disease killed 457 of the exiles en route to their destinations.²⁶ Based on the December 1944 count of 92,307 deported Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils, the NKVD originally sent 53,163 to Uzbekistan, 28,598 to Kazakhstan, and 10,546 to Kirghizia.²⁷ Upon arriving at their new destinations the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils came under the legal restrictions of the special settlement regime.

Initially the Soviet regime assigned most of the specially settled Turks,

Table 12.1¹
Location of Exiled Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils, 14 December 1944

Territory	Number
Kazakhstan	28,598
Kirghizia	10,546
Tashkent Oblast, Uzbekistan	13,131
Samarkand Oblast, Uzbekistan	14,964
Ferenga Oblast, Uzbekistan	8,613
Adizhan Oblast, Uzbekistan	6,881
Namangan Oblast, Uzbekistan	4,537
Bukhara Oblast, Uzbekistan	4,446
Kashka-Dar'in Oblast, Uzbek	641
Total Uzbekistan	53,163
Total	92,307

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 6, pp. 156–157 and doc. 7, p. 157.

Kurds, and Khemshils to agricultural work. Out of 92,307 deported Muslims from Georgia in December 1944, the NKVD initially assigned 84,596 to *kolhozes*, 6,316 to *sovhozes*, and 1,395 to industrial enterprises.²⁸ The Muslim exiles from Georgia did much to develop the agriculture of post-war Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

The exiled Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils became wards of the NKVD and MVD. They lived under constant surveillance and tight discipline. Additionally the Soviet regime deprived them of the right of schools and publications in their native languages. The Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils suffered this punishment solely on the basis of their ethnicity.

The MVD tightened the security of special settlements in 1948. Escapes from special settlements presented the Soviet security forces with a serious problem. Between September 1941 and 1 October 1948 a total of 77,541 special settlers fled the confines of the special settlements.²⁹ Among these fugitives were 2,310 Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils.³⁰ Some of these escapees even managed to return to Georgia. From 1944 to 1948, the Georgian MVD discovered and detained 608 fugitives from special settlements.³¹ The Soviet government often took drastic measures to punish these escapes.

The Meskhetian Turks, Soviet Kurds, and Khemshils exiled to special settlements lived in miserable conditions. The special settlements lacked sufficient food and shelter. Most special settlers lived in unheated, overcrowded, and unhygienic buildings. Many of the special settlers from Georgia suffered from malnutrition, exposure, and disease. Typhus ep-

Table 12.2¹
Deaths and Births of Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils, 1945–1950

Year	Deaths	Births
1945	6,902	599
1946	4,343	547
1947	2,259	895
1948	2,389	1,220
1949	1,655	1,800
1950	1,500	2,322
Total	19,047 ²	7,383

¹N. F. Bugai, "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1992, doc. 30, pp. 138–140.

²Although this figure appears in the original document, the sum of the column is 19,048, a difference of one.

Table 12.3
Number of Exiled Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils

October 1945	88,800 ¹
October 1946	84,402 ²
26 November 1948	80,935 ³
1 April 1949	81,026 ⁴
1 January 1950	86,164 ⁵
1 January 1953	86,663 ⁶

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 17, p. 237.

²Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 25, pp. 244–245.

³Bugai, "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1992, doc. 21, p. 133.

⁴Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 33, pp. 251–252.

⁵Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 34, pp. 253–254.

⁶V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye, spetsposelentsy, ssyl'noposelentsy, ssylne, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155.

idemics claimed the lives of a great number of special settlers. Between the beginning of 1945 and the end of 1950 the NKVD and MVD recorded 19,047 deaths (20% of the deported population) among the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils in special settlements (see Table 12.2).³² For one out of every five of the Meskhetian Turks, Soviet Kurds, and Khemshils, deportation was a death sentence. These nationalities did not recover their pre-deportation populations until after Stalin's death (see Table 12.3). Their dispersal to Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and Siberia was a demo-

Table 12.4¹
Location of Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils, 1 January 1949

Territory	Number of Special Settlers
Kazakhstan	29,497
Uzbekistan	42,618
Kirghizia	8,911
Total	81,026

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsy," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 11, 1990, pp. 10–12.

Table 12.5¹
Location of Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils, 1 January 1953

Territory	Turks	Kurds	Khemshils	Others
Kazakhstan	13,260	5,530	422	13,407
Uzbekistan	30,588	667	2	12,610
Krasnoyarsk	6	22	-----	1
Kirghizia	2,936	2,613	973	3,605
Yakut ASSR	-----	9	-----	-----
Bashkir	-----	-----	-----	4
ITLs	-----	2	-----	6
Total	46,790	8,843	1,397	29,633 ²

¹V. N. Zemskov, "Zakliucheniye, spetsposelentsy, ssyl'noposelentsy, ssylne, i vyslanye," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155.

graphic disaster (see Tables 12.4 and 12.5). The Stalin regime displayed very little concern that the conditions in special settlements resulted in such high mortality rates.

After Stalin died, the Muslims deported from Georgia remained confined to special settlements. It took the Soviet government several years to dismantle the special settlement regime. The first step came on 5 July 1954. On this date the Council of Ministers released all children under 16 including Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils from special settlements.³³ The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet released the remainder of the Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils from special settlements on 28 April 1956.³⁴ The Soviet government, however, did not allow the released Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils to return to Georgia or offer them compensation for property confiscated during the deportation.³⁵ The Soviet government never allowed the Meskhetian Turks to return to Georgia.

Like the Crimean Tatars, the Meskhetian Turks actively petitioned the Soviet government to allow them to return to Georgia, without success. Unlike the Crimean Tatars, even the collapse of the Soviet Union has not

permitted the return of the Meskhetian Turks to Georgia. A large number of Meskhetian Turks, however, left Central Asia for other parts of the Soviet Union. Many of the Meskhetian Turks settled in Azerbaijan. In 1989, Uzbeks staged an anti-Turk pogrom in the Ferenga valley. This event greatly hastened the exodus of Meskhetian Turks from Uzbekistan. The newly independent Georgian government in Tbilisi has agreed to allow Meskhetian Turks to return to Georgia only if they renounce their Turkish national identity in favor of Georgian.³⁶ Returning Meskhetian Turks would be required to change their names from Turkish to Georgian. Both the leadership and vast majority of the Meskhetian Turks have rejected these conditions. Accepting these conditions would amount to agreeing to the disappearance of the Meskhetian Turks as a distinct ethnic group through assimilation. The Meskhetian Turks remain a people in diaspora.

The Soviet leadership's paranoia regarding national minorities manifested itself in an extreme form during World War II. After the war, the Soviet regime employed ethnic cleansing as an adjunct to its foreign policy. The Stalin dictatorship deported unreliable national minorities, especially those near its borders, to special settlements. Stalin's expansionist policy towards Turkey included the mass exile of the Meskhetian Turks, Soviet Kurds, and Khemshils from Georgia to Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The Muslims deported from Georgia suffered greatly during the first years of their exile. They lost their ancestral homelands, their rights as Soviet citizens, and many lives.

Conclusion

The Stalin regime pursued ethnic cleansing as part of its overall security policy. Thirteen small nationalities with ethnic ties to foreign states or with a history of armed resistance to Russian rule suffered wholesale deportation to the interior of the USSR. The Soviet government cleared the border regions of the USSR of these troublesome ethnic groups and replaced them with Russians, Georgians, and other more reliable national groups. Ethnic cleansing played an important adjunct role in Soviet foreign policy during the 1930s and 1940s. The Stalin regime undertook the deportation of the Soviet Koreans from the Far East to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan as a defensive measure against potential Japanese aggression. Likewise, the NKVD deported the Soviet Finns and Germans in conjunction with the defense of the USSR against the Axis invasion. In 1944, they exiled the Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils in preparation for a struggle with Turkey over the Dardenelle straits and the Turkish territories of Kars and Ardahan.

The Stalin regime exiled the Chechens, Ingush, Karachays, Balkars, Kalmyks, and Crimean Tatars in order to remove rebellious ethnicities from strategic areas of the Soviet Union. During World War II, a few small German-sponsored units from the North Caucasus, Kalmykia, and the Crimea fought against the Soviet military. This together with large-scale insurgent activity in the North Caucasus made these nationalities treasonous in the minds of Stalin and Beria. In order to eliminate the threat to Soviet security these groups posed, the NKVD deported them all to special settlements in Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia. The Stalin regime's paranoia over security motivated it to uproot and forcibly resettle over two million people based solely on their ethnicity.

In addition to securing the borders of the USSR, the deportations also provided the Soviet government with a source of labor to develop the infrastructure, mining, agriculture, and industry of Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia. The economy of these sparsely populated areas of the Soviet Union benefited considerably from the arrival of large numbers of exiles. The influx of Korean and German skilled workers into Kazakhstan greatly assisted the economic development of that republic. In general, the exiled Koreans, Germans, Crimean Tatars, Greeks, Armenians, and Bulgarians had more education and superior job skills than the indigenous populations of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The Stalin regime used the labor of these deported nationalities to develop the largely untapped economic potential of the interior of the Soviet Union.

The Stalin regime exiled the deported nationalities to deplorable conditions in special settlements far from their homelands. These national groups collectively suffered hundreds of thousands of deaths in exile before being released from the special settlement regime by Stalin's successors. Despite efforts by these national groups to seek redress and compensation for their exile by Stalin, many continue to suffer from social problems directly related to their deportation.

Appendixes

Appendix A¹

Comparison of Special Settlement Contingents, October 1945

Nationality	Number of Exiles	Percentage
Germans	687,300	30.8%
Karachays	60,100	2.7%
Kalmyks	80,300	3.6%
Chechens and Ingush	405,900	18.2%
Balkars	33,100	1.5%
Crimeans	195,200	8.7%
Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils	88,800	4.0%
Other	679,800	30.5%
Total	2,230,500	100.0%

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat'": dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 17, p. 237.

Appendix B¹**Comparison of Special Settlement Contingents, October 1946**

Nationality	Number of Exiles	Percentage
Germans	774,178	31.4%
Mobilized Germans	121,459	4.9%
Karachays	60,139	2.4%
Kalmyks	81,672	3.3%
Chechens and Ingush	400,478	16.3%
Balkars	32,817	1.3%
Crimeans	193,959	7.8%
Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils	84,402	3.4%
Other	714,836	29%
Total	2,463,940	100.0%

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: “Ikh nado deportirovat’”: dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 25, pp. 244–245.

Appendix C¹**Comparison of Special Settlement Contingents, 1 April 1949**

Nationality	Exiles	Percentage
Germans	1,035,701	44.9%
Karachays	57,491	2.5%
Kalmyks	77,279	3.3%
Chechens and Ingush	365,173	15.8%
Balkars	31,873	1.4%
Crimeans	186,535	8.1%
Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils	81,026	3.5%
Others	472,332	20.5%
Total	2,307,410	100.0%

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: “Ikh nado deportirovat’”: dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 33, pp. 251–252.

Appendix D¹

Comparison of Special Settlement Contingents, 1 January 1950

Nationality	Exiles	Percentage
Germans	1,099,578	42.7%
Karachays	59,340	2.3%
Kalmyks	77,673	3.0%
Chechens and Ingush	372,189	14.5%
Balkars	32,645	1.3%
Crimeans	193,467	7.5%
Turks, Kurds, and Khemshils	86,164	3.3%
Others	651,773	25.3%
Total	2,572,829	100.0%

¹N. F. Bugai, ed., *“Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: “Ikh nado deportirovat’”: dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 34, pp. 253–254.

Appendix E¹

Comparison of Special Settlement Contingents, 1 January 1953

Nationality	Exiles	Percentage
Germans	1,224,931	44.5%
Chechens	316,717	11.5%
Ingush	83,518	3.0%
Crimean Tatars	165,259	6.0%
Crimean Greeks	14,760	0.54%
Karachays	63,327	2.3%
Balkars	33,214	1.21%
Meskhetian Turks	46,790	1.7%
Kurds	8,843	0.3%
Khemshils	1,397	0.05%
Kalmyks	81,475	3.0%
Black Sea Greeks	37,352	1.4%
Others	675,773	24.5%
Total	2,753,356	100.0%

¹V. N. Zemskov, *“Zakliuchenye, spetsposelentsy, ssyl’noposelentsy, ssylne, i vyslanye,” Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5, 1991, table 3, p. 155.

Notes

PREFACE

1. Charles Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 76.

2. Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: Free Press, 1993), p. 212.

INTRODUCTION

1. N. F. Bugai, ed., *Iosif Stalin—Laverentiiu Berii: “Ikh nado deportirovat’ ”: dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii* (hereafter *Ikh nado deportirovat’*) (Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1992), doc. 48, p. 264.

2. This figure is incomplete. It only includes 309,100 exiles who died in special settlements between August 1941 and 1 July 1948 (Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 35, p. 142) and 68,454 deaths in special settlements during 1949 and 1950 (Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 30, p. 139). The figure does not include deaths in special settlements from 1 July 1948 to 1 January 1949. It also does not include the sizable number of exiles who perished during transit to special settlements. Another significant source of exile deaths missing from this figure are the Germans and other nationalities mobilized into work colonies and battalions (*trudarmii*) during World War II. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the mortality rate among mobilized Germans was extremely high. Postwar deaths in special settlements, however, greatly exceeded deaths in ITLs (Corrective Labor Camps) and executions. Between 1945 and 1950, 287,770 exiles perished in special settlements (*ibid.*) as compared to 155,724 recorded deaths in ITLs (J. Arch Getty, V. N. Zemskov, and Gabor Rittersporn, “Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-war Years: A First Approach on the Basis of Archival Evidence,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 98, no. 4, October 1993, appendix b, p. 1049) and 8,736 executions

(V. Popov, "Gosudarstvennyye terror v sovetskoï Rossi 1923–1953 gg. (istorchniki i ikh interpretatsiia)," *Otechestvennyye arkhivy*, no. 2, 1992, table 3, p. 28). Deported nationalities formed the vast majority of deaths in special settlements.

3. *Yearbook of the United Nations* (New York: United Nations, 1948–1949), p. 959.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 387.

7. Document reproduced in Svetlana Alieva, ed., *Tak eto bylo: Natsional'nye repressi v SSSR, 1919–1952 gody*, vol. III (Moscow: Russian International Cultural Fund, 1992), p. 257.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto Bylo*, vol. III, p. 256.

10. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto Bylo*, vol. III, pp. 259–261.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto Bylo*, vol. III, pp. 263–265.

CHAPTER 1

1. N. F. Bugai and Haruki Wada, "Iz istorii deportatsii 'russkikh' koreitsev," *Druzhba narodov*, no. 7, 1992, p. 218; and N. F. Bugai, "Vyselenie sovetskikh koreitsev s dal'nevo vostoka," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 5, 1994, p. 141.

2. Michael Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation: The Far-Eastern Koreans," *Russian Review*, vol. 54, July 1995, p. 392.

3. Chey Youn-Cha Shin, "Koreans," in Paul Friedrich and Norma Diamond, eds., *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*, vol. VI, *Russia and Eurasia/China* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1994), p. 205.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Bugai and Wada, "Iz istorii deportatsii 'russkikh' koreitsev," p. 210; and Bugai, "Vyselenie sovetskikh koreitsev s dal'nevo vostoka," p. 141.

6. On 1 March 1919, close to two million Koreans publicly demonstrated against the Japanese occupation of their country. The Japanese military responded to this provocation with deadly force. The brutality the Japanese used to suppress the revolt caused many Koreans to flee to China and Russia.

7. Bugai and Wada, "Iz istorii deportatsii 'russkikh' koreitsev," p. 218.

8. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," p. 394. The Soviet government practiced a whites-only immigration policy in the Far East. They did not allow East Asians and other nonwhites to settle in the region after 1937.

9. *Ibid.*

10. N. F. Bugai, "Vyselenie sovetskikh koreitsev s dal'nevo vostoka," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 5, 1994, p. 141.

11. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," p. 395.

12. *Ibid.*; and Bugai, "Vyselenie sovetskikh koreitsev s dal'nevo vostoka," p. 141.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," p. 396; and Boris Pak, "Potomki strany belykh aistov," in Svetlana Alieva, ed., *Tak eto bylo: Natsional'nye*

repressi v SSSR, 1919–1952 gody (Moscow: Russian International Culture Fund, 1993), vol. I, p. 53.

15. Walter Kolarz, *Peoples of the Soviet Far East* (New York: Praeger, 1954), p. 37.

16. Soviet fears about an impending Japanese attack proved to be accurate. In 1938 the Japanese military made a small strike against the USSR near Vladivostok, and from May to September 1939 Soviet and Mongolian forces fought a small-scale war against a Japanese probe into Mongolia near the Manchurian border. The Soviet Union repelled both of these Japanese operations and convinced Japan to expand south into China and the Pacific rather than north against the Soviet Union.

17. Bugai, "Vyselenie sovetskikh koreitsev s dal'nevo vostoka," pp. 141–142.

18. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," p. 397.

19. Bugai, "Vyselenie sovetskikh koreitsev s dal'nevo vostoka," p. 142.

20. Bugai and Wada, "Iz istorii deportatsii 'russkikh' koreitsev," p. 219; and Bugai, "Vyselenie sovetskikh koreitsev s dal'nevo vostoka," p. 142.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," p. 398, fn. 37.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 396.

24. Ironically, the Japanese considered the Koreans living near the Soviet border to be a security threat to the Japanese Empire. The Japanese authorities believed that these Koreans were potential Soviet spies and saboteurs. Japanese perceptions and treatment of the Koreans living near the Soviet border mirrored those of the Soviet authorities. In 1937, prior to the deportation of the Soviet Koreans, the Japanese forcibly resettled the Korean population near the Soviet border to the interior of the Korean peninsula and Karafuto (South Sakhalin). N. F. Bugai, *L. Beria—I. Stalinu: "Soglasno vashemu ukazaniuu . . ."* (hereafter *Soglasno*), p. 18.

25. Bugai and Wada, "Iz istorii deportatsii 'russkikh' koreitsev," p. 224.

26. *Ibid.*

27. N. F. Bugai, "O vyselenii koreitsev iz dal'nevostochnovo kray," *Otechestvennaia istoriia*, no. 6, 1992, doc. 2, pp. 142–143.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," p. 404.

33. Bugai, "O vyselenii koreitsev iz dal'nevostochnovo kray," doc. 2, pp. 142–143.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. Bugai, "O vyselenii koreitsev iz dal'nevostochnovo kray," doc. 5, p. 144.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," pp. 390–391.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 391, fn. 6.

41. Bugai, "Vyselenie sovetskikh koreitsev s dal'nevo vostoka," p. 143.
42. Ibid. p. 144. Information on the fate of ethnic Chinese in the Soviet Union after 1937 is both sparse and contradictory. Even the number of Chinese in the USSR is subject to debate. Soviet census data for 1939 does not include the large number of Chinese in the Soviet Union without Soviet citizenship. The few sources available on the subject agree that the once thriving Chinese communities of Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, and Nikolsk Ussuriysy disappeared almost overnight. Many of the 11,000 Chinese arrested in the fall of 1937 ended up in Soviet prisons and labor camps on charges of spying for Japan. On 1 January 1939, the Gulag's Corrective Labor Camps held 3,161 Soviet Chinese. V. N. Zemskov, "Gulag (istoriko-sotsiologicheskii aspekt)," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 6, 1991, table no. 5, p. 17.
43. Bugai, "Vyselenie sovetskikh koreitsev s dal'nevo vostoka," p. 144.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
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47. Bugai and Wada, "Iz istorii deportatsii 'russkikh' koreitsev," pp. 220–221.
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54. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," p. 400, fn. 49.
55. Bugai, "O vyselenii koreitsev iz dal'nevostochnovo kray," doc. 14, p. 148.
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63. Bugai, "O vyselenii koreitsev iz dal'nevostochnovo kray," doc. 26, p. 154.
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69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.

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79. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," p. 406.
80. Stepan Kim, "Ispoved' soren sarem-sovetskovo cheloveka," in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. I, p. 68.
81. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," p. 396.
82. Pak, "Potomki strany belykh aistov," p. 52.
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84. Gerhard Simon, *Nationalism and Policy toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union: From Totalitarian Dictatorship to Post-Stalinist Society*, Karen Forster and Oswald Forster, trans. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991), table A.8, p. 391.
85. Ibid.
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91. Bugai, "Vyselenie sovetskikh koreitsev s dal'nevo vostoka," p. 147.
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95. Zemskov, "Gulag," no. 6, table no. 11, p. 24.
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56. N. F. Bugai, "K voprosu o deportatsii narodov SSSR v 30–40 kh godakh," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 6, 1989, p. 123.
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167. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 45, pp. 75–76.
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181. Transnistria was the wartime name for the area of western Ukraine between the Dniestr and Bug rivers. The Romanians occupied and administered this territory from 1941 to 1944.
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190. Special settlements went through a number of name changes during the 1930s and 1940s, but their structure and purpose remained the same. Between 1931 and 1934. The Soviet government referred to special settlements as areas of "kulak exile." In 1934, they renamed them "labor settlements," and in 1944, "special settlements." Zemskov, "Kulatskaia ssylka v 30-e gody," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, no. 10, 1991, p. 3.

191. The term *kulak* literally translates from Russian to English as “fist.” Historically the term referred to rich peasants who exploited poorer peasants by hiring at low wages, loaning money at high interest rates, or engaging in unfair trade practices. The Stalin regime applied the term *kulak* much more arbitrarily. The OGPU branded any peasant who opposed agricultural collectivization or possessed a modicum of wealth as a kulak or kulak henchman.

192. Special settlements came under a series of different administrations. From 1931 to 1944, these administrations were subdivisions of Gulag. Zemskov, “Zakliuchenye,” p. 162, fn. 4.

1931–1934: Section of Special Settlers, Gulag, OGPU

1934–1940: Section of Labor Settlements, Gulag, NKVD, USSR

1940–1941: Administration of Corrective-Labor Colonies and Labor Settlements, Gulag, NKVD, USSR

1941–1944: Section of Labor and Special Settlements, Gulag, NKVD, USSR

1944–1950: Section of Special Settlements, NKVD-MVD, USSR

1950–1953: 9th Administration, MGB, USSR

1953–1954: Section “II” MVD, USSR

After Oct. 1954: 4th Special Section MVD, USSR

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234. *Ibid.*
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236. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 39.
237. N. F. Bugai, “40-e gody: Avtonomiiu nemtsev Polvolzh'ia likidirovat' . . .,” *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 2, 1991, p. 173.
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299. Eisfeld, "Germans," p. 138.
300. Ibid., p. 139.
301. Brigit Brauer, "Tarnished Dreams: Russian-Germans in Germany," *German Life*, September 1995, p. 22.
302. The term *Aussiedler* literally translates from German as "settler abroad." The government of the Federal Republic of Germany uses this term to refer to ethnic Germans living in the former Soviet Union rather than the term *Volksdeutsche*. The association of the latter term with the policies of Hitler has led to its disappearance from official use.
303. Brauer, "Tarnished Dreams," p. 22.
304. Ibid., p. 23.

CHAPTER 4

1. Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 68.
2. Ibid.
3. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 66.
4. Ibid.
5. Fred Adelman, *Kalmyk Cultural Renewal* (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1960; Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1970), p. 124.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Simon, *Nationalism and Policy*, table A.1, p. 373.
11. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 66.
12. Ibid.
13. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 67.
14. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 70.
15. Bugai, "K voprosu," p. 138.
16. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 72.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Simon, *Nationalism and Policy*, p. 197.
21. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 77.
22. Ibid.
23. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 67.
24. Ibid.
25. Bugai, "K voprosu," p. 138.
26. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 67.

27. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 68.
28. Ibid.
29. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 67.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., p. 77. Although this number appears in the cited source, its component parts add up to 4,075, a difference of 30.
32. Ibid.
33. Bugai, "K voprosu," p. 136.
34. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat*, doc. 24, p. 134.
35. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsy," pp. 15–16.
36. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 69.
37. K.-M. Ibragimbeilli, "To Tell the Truth about the Tragedy of Peoples," *Soviet Review*, vol. 32, issue 2, p. 67.
38. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 69.
39. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 39.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 1, pp. 84–85.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 10, p. 91.
49. Ibid.
50. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 2, p. 85.
51. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 6, pp. 87–88.
52. Ibid.
53. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 2, p. 85, and doc. 6, pp. 87–88.
54. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 2, p. 85.
55. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 10, p. 91.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, p. 95.
59. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 8, p. 89.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, p. 94.
63. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 75.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 78.
67. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 4, p. 86.
68. Ibid.
69. Document reproduced in N. F. Bugai, "Deportatsiia: Beriia dokladyvaet Stalinu," *Kommunist*, no. 3, 1991, p. 111.
70. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsy," p. 8.
71. Ibid.

72. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 77; and Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 40.
73. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 77.
74. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 4, p. 86.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 13, pp. 92–93.
79. Ibid.
80. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 83.
81. Ibid.
82. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 48, pp. 264–265.
83. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 14, p. 93.
84. Ibid.
85. Rywkin, *Moscow's Lost Empire*, table 8, p. 67.
86. Ibid.
87. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 48, pp. 264–265.
88. Bugai, "40–50 gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," doc. 30, pp. 138–140.
89. These percentages are based upon the actual number of Kalmyk arrivals in special settlements: 90,940. The cited document includes a death percentage based upon 91,919 Kalmyk special settlers that includes 979 double-counted Kalmyks.
90. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 14, p. 93.
91. Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 67.
92. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 11, p. 91.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 12, p. 92.
97. Ibid.
98. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 13, pp. 93–94.
99. Bugai, "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," doc. 30, pp. 138–140.
100. Zemskov, "Massovoe," p. 10.
101. Zemskov, "Massovoe," table 3, p. 14.
102. English translation of document in *Conquest, Nation Killers*, p. 145.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, p. 260.
106. English translation of document in *Conquest, Nation Killers*, pp. 148–149.

CHAPTER 5

1. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 56.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 57.

6. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 41.
7. Ibid.
8. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 59.
9. Ibid., pp. 60–61.
10. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 42.
11. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 58.
12. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 42.
13. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 57.
14. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. I, p. 257.
15. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 57.
16. Ibid., p. 58.
17. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 31, pp. 250–251.
18. Zemskov, "Spetsposelentsy," pp. 15–16.
19. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 58.
20. Bugai, "K voprosu," p. 140.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. I, pp. 258–259.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 42.
32. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 61.
33. Alf Grannes, "The Soviet Deportation in 1943 of the Karachay: A Turkic Muslim People of North Caucasus," *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 12, January 1991, p. 58.
34. Ibid.
35. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 62.
36. Bugai, "Pogruzheny v eshelony i otpravleny k mestam poselenii," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1, 1991, doc. 4, p. 145.
37. Ibid.
38. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 62.
39. Grannes, "Soviet Deportation," p. 57.
40. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 63.
41. Ibid.
42. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 42.
43. Ibid.

CHAPTER 6

1. Firuz Kazemzaden, "Russian Penetration of the Caucasus," in Taras Hunczak, ed., *Russian Imperialism from Ivan the Great to the Revolution* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1974), p. 246.

2. Ibid., p. 247.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 256.
5. Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Russian Empire: 1801–1917* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 293.
6. Ibid.
7. Kazemzaden, "Russian Penetration," p. 256.
8. Seton-Watson, *Russian Empire*, p. 293.
9. Kazemzaden, "Russian Penetration," p. 255.
10. Seton-Watson, *Russian Empire*, p. 417.
11. Ibid.
12. Moshe Lewin, *Russia, USSR, Russia: The Drive and Drift of a Superstate* (New York: New Press, 1995), p. 269.
13. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 4, p. 99.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 43.
18. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 3, p. 98.
19. N. F. Bugai, "Pravda o deportatsii chechenskovo i ingushkovo narodov," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 7, 1991, p. 35.
20. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 37.
21. Ibid.
22. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. no. 3, p. 98.
23. Ibid.
24. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, p. 286.
25. Bugai, "Pravda," p. 35.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 97.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 91.
32. Ibid., pp. 91–92.
33. Ibid., p. 92.
34. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 5, pp. 99–100.
35. Ibid.
36. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 100.
37. Bugai, "Pravda," p. 38.
38. Bugai, *Soglasno*, pp. 103–104.
39. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 9, pp. 101–102.
40. Ibid.
41. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 104 fn.
42. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 9, pp. 101–102.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Bugai, "Pravda," p. 39.

47. Bugai, *Soglasno*, pp. 103–104.
48. Document reproduced in Bugai, “Deportatsiia,” p. 103.
49. Document reproduced in Bugai, “Deportatsiia” p. 104.
50. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 58.
51. *Ibid.*; and Bugai, “Pravda,” p. 39.
52. Document reproduced in Bugai, “Deportatsiia,” p. 103.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. Bugai, “Pogruzheny,” doc. 11, p. 142; “Deportatsiia,” p. 104; *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 13.
58. *Ibid.*
59. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 13, pp. 20–21.
60. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 11, p. 103.
61. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 87.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*
66. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 46, p. 125. Although this total appears in the cited document, its component numbers add up to 2,219, a difference of six.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. Grannes, “Soviet Deportation,” p. 57.
71. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat’*, doc. 4, p. 227.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 7

1. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 60.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
4. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 120.
5. *Ibid.*; and Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 61.
6. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 120.
7. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 62.
8. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 121; and Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, p. 63.
9. Documents reproduced in Bugai, “Deportatsiia,” pp. 103–104.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. Document reproduced in Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 128.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*

15. Ibid.
16. Document reproduced in Bugai, *Soglasno*, pp. 128–132.
17. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 26, p. 112.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 26 and fn. 1.
21. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 27, pp. 112–113.
22. Ibid.
23. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 266.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.

CHAPTER 8

1. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 30, p. 114.
2. Ibid.
3. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 31, pp. 114–115.
4. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 35, pp. 117–118.
5. Ibid.
6. Zemskov, "Spetsposelelentsy," p. 8.
7. Ibid.
8. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 35, pp. 117–118.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 62.
13. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 1, pp. 96–97.
14. Ibid.
15. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 2, pp. 97–98. Although this total appears in the cited document, the total number of Karachay exiles in South Kazakhstan and Zhambul oblasts adds up to 45,501, a difference of one.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 5, pp. 227–228.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Simon, *Nationalism and Policy*, table A.8, p. 396.
24. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 62.
25. Ibid., p. 116.
26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Bugai, "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," doc 30, pp. 138–140, and doc. 35, p. 142.
31. Bugai, "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," doc. 35, p. 142. This percentage is based upon 589,212 North Caucasian arrivals in special settlements. The original document uses a percentage based upon 602,193 arrivals that includes 32,981 North Caucasians counted twice.
32. Bugai, "40–50-e gody: Posledstviia deportatsii narodov," doc. 30, pp. 138–140, and doc 35, p. 142.
33. Rywkin, *Moscow's Lost Empire*, table no. 8, p. 67.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Zemskov, "Massovoe," p. 10.
40. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, p. 72.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 227.
44. Ibid.
45. Zemskov, "Massovoe," table 3, p. 14.

CHAPTER 9

1. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 61, pp. 276–277; document also reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. I, p. 311.
2. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. II, p. 228.
3. Ibid., p. 229.
4. English translation of the document reproduced in Conquest, *Nation Killers*, pp. 148–149.
5. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 64, pp. 279–280.
6. Simon, *Nationalism and Policy*, pp. 243–244.
7. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 63, p. 279.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 64, pp. 279–280.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 66, pp. 281–282.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Simon, *Nationalism and Policy*, table A.2., p. 378.

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.

CHAPTER 10

1. Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1978), p. 4.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 27.
4. Ibid., p. 40.
5. Ibid., p. 39.
6. Ibid., p. 50.
7. Ibid.
8. Kazemzaden, "Russian Penetration," p. 243.
9. *Crimean Tatars*, p. 55.
10. Ibid., p. 68.
11. Bugai, *Sloglasno*, p. 142.
12. Fisher, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 138.
13. Bugai, *Sloglasno*, p. 143.
14. Fisher, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 140.
15. Bugai, *Sloglasno*, p. 142.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. V. N. Zemskov, "Sud'ba 'Kulatskoi ssylki' (1930–1954 gg.)" [Fate of "Kulak exiles" (1930–1954)], *Otechestrennaia istoriia*, no. 1, 1994, table no. 1, p. 119. The OGPU exiled 4,325 families from the Crimean ASSR during 1930 and 1931. They sent 2,772 of these families to the Urals and 1,553 to the Far North. Zemskov does not give a breakdown by nationality of these exiles.
19. Fisher, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 147.
20. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, pp. 15–16.
21. Fisher, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 153.
22. Document reproduced in Andreevich and Georgievna, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev*, p. 171.
23. Ibid.
24. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, pp. 20–21.
25. Ibid., p. 20.
26. Bugai, *Sloglasno*, p. 146; and Fisher, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 155.
27. Bugai, *Sloglasno*, p. 146.
28. Fisher, *Crimean Tatars*, p. 161.
29. Bugai, "K voprosu," p. 138.
30. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 2, p. 131.
31. Ibid., p. 286. This number is the total number of deserters and shirkers from the territory and includes non-Tatars.
32. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. no. 3, pp. 131–132.
33. Ibid.
34. Bugai, "Deportatsiia," p. 107.
35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, pp. 62–65.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, p. 62, fn. 1.
46. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, pp. 62–65.
47. Ibid.
48. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 15, pp. 139–140.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 10, p. 137.
52. Ibid.
53. Bugai, "K voprosu," p. 138.
54. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 11, p. 138.
55. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 12, p. 138.
56. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 13, pp. 138–139, and doc. 21, p. 144.
57. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 20, p. 144.
58. Ibid.
59. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 13, pp. 138–139.
60. Nekrich, *Punished Peoples*, pp. 112–114.
61. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 48, pp. 264–265.
62. Rywkin, *Moscow's Lost Empire*, table 8, p. 67.
63. Ibid.
64. Zemskov, "Massovoe," p. 10.
65. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 57, p. 273; document also reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, p. 72.
66. Ibid.
67. Document reproduced in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, p. 73.

CHAPTER 11

1. Sofka Zinovieff, "Greeks," in Friedrich and Diamond, eds., *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*, vol. VI, *Russia and Eurasia/China*, p. 141.
2. Ibid.
3. Bugai, "K voprosu," p. 142, fn. 20; and Bugai, *Sloglasno*, p. 143.
4. Zinovieff, "Greeks," p. 141.
5. Simon, *Nationalism and Policy*, table A.1, p. 374.
6. N. Ascherson, *Black Sea* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995), p. 190.
7. N. A. Aritrude, "Grekii v SSSR," in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, p. 202.
8. Bugai, *Sloglasno*, p. 142.
9. Ibid.
10. Zinovieff, "Greeks," pp. 141–142.

11. Buchsweiler, *Volksdeutsche*, p. 161.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 152.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Simon, *Nationalism and Policy*, table A.1, p. 374.
21. Document reproduced in Andreevich and Georgievna, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev*, p. 171.
22. Ibid.
23. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 192.
24. Ascherson, *Black Sea*, pp. 186–187; Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 93). The Greeks sent two divisions to fight against the Bolsheviks and protect the local Greek communities of these cities. This intervention was part of the Greek government's *Megali Idea* (Great Idea), which sought to establish Athen's rule over the entire Greek population of the eastern Mediterranean. This policy came to a tragic end with the Greek defeat at Smyrna by the Turkish army on 8 September 1922.
25. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 17, pp. 140–142.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 199.
30. Ibid.
31. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 18, pp. 142–143.
32. Ibid.
33. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 198.
34. Ibid.
35. Bugai, "K voprosu," p. 141.
36. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 20, p. 144; and Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 198.
37. Ivan Dalyan, "Vernite nas domoi," in Alieva, *Tak eto bylo*, vol. III, p. 205.
38. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 198.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., p. 200.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Zemskov, "Gulag," no. 6, table 11, p. 24.
46. Ibid.
47. Zemskov, "Gulag," no. 7, table 2, p. 8.
48. Bugai, *Soglasno*, pp. 239–240.
49. Ibid., p. 240.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.
53. Ascherson, *Black Sea*, p. 188.
54. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 240.
55. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye," table 3, p. 155.
56. Ascherson, *Black Sea*, p. 188.
57. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 299.
58. Ibid.
59. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 23, pp. 222–223.
60. Ibid.
61. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 22, pp. 171–172.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Zemskov, "Zakliuchenye," table 3, p. 155.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., p. 154.
68. Ibid., pp. 154–160.
69. Ibid., table 3, p. 155.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., p. 154.
72. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 298.
73. Zemskov, "Massovoe," table 3, p. 14.
74. Ibid., p. 10.
75. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 267.
76. Ibid.
77. Zemskov, "Massovoe," table no. 3, p. 14.
78. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 300.
79. Ibid.
80. Document reproduced in Andreevich and Georgievna, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev*, p. 179.
81. Simon, *Nationalism and Policy*, table A.8, p. 396.
82. Ibid.
83. Zinovieff, "Greeks," p. 141.
84. Ibid.
85. Paul Glastris, "Caught in the Ethnic Crossfire (Civil War in Abkhazia Province Georgia)," *US News and World Report*, vol. 116, no. 23 (13 June 1994), p. 24.

CHAPTER 12

1. Bugai, *Soglasno*, pp. 165–166.
2. Ascherson, *Black Sea*, p. 198.
3. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 5, pp. 155–156.
4. Basil Dmytryshin, *USSR: A Concise History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), p. 256.
5. Herbert Druks, *Truman and the Russians* (New York: Robert Speller and Sons Publishers, 1981), p. 119.
6. Bugai, *Soglasno*, p. 159.

7. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 1, pp. 151–152.
8. Ibid.
9. Bugai, *Soglasno*, pp. 169–170.
10. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 1, pp. 151–152.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Bugai, *Ikh nado deportirovat'*, doc. 3, pp. 152–154.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
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