Migration of German Children from East Prussia and of Russian-speaking Children to Post-War Lithuania[1]

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The wave of famine-caused migration to Soviet Lithuania (1946–1948) has been a subject of historiographical analysis, focusing selectively on one of the migrant groups: either the East Prussian German children (widely recognised in the cultural memory as the wolf children) or those arriving from famine-affected republics of the Soviet Union. By employing the methodology of oral history, using the interviews collected alongside materials sourced from Lithuanian and German archives, research institutes, and memory institutions, this article aims to uncover the reasons behind the arrival of both groups of migrant children in Soviet Lithuania. It also investigates the attempts made by the bureaucratic apparatus to control and halt migration, as well as the efforts of the wolf children in seeking social justice in Germany after 1990. The study reveals that the Soviet system perceived migrants from East Prussia and other Soviet republics primarily as a potential threat due to the risk of a typhus outbreak in Lithuania.

Keywords: Wolf children, Russian-speaking children, famine, forced migration, typhus

INTRODUCTION

Ella Karin Macik was two years old and her older brother was five. Neither of them knows when or how they reached Lithuania from East Prussia (1). However, they do remember that there were a lot like them, 'the little Germans'. After famine struck her village, Maria came to Lithuania from Pskov County, near St Petersburg. Her family had learned from her brother, who was serving in Soviet Lithuania, that there was food there [8]. Such testimonies concerning one of the greatest hunger crises that followed the Second World War exist. Nevertheless, perceiving the children as a single research object without drawing

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any dividing lines or categorising them by nationality or depending on whether they were East Prussian Germans or Russian-speaking children is still not quite the case in the field historiography.

In terms of Lithuanian historiography, the plot of post-war child immigration has not been put in the spotlight yet. It is worth noting that partisan warfare and exile have so far dominated the research topics covering this particular period. German historiography, however, found itself in a completely different situation, where the history of the wolf children had been studied in detail by historians Ruth Leiserowitz, the pioneer of research on the topic, and Christopher Spatz, who amply studied what he referred to as the children of hunger [32]. The term 'wolf children' took root after 1990, when the German film director Eberhard Fechner created a documentary telling the story of the children of one family that initially came from East Prussia to Lithuania and later moved to Hamburg. Historian Christopher Spatz, however, suggests using the term the 'children of hunger' as an alternative to the wolf children, claiming that it better conveys the experience of the children and the situation in East Prussia following the Second World War. The criticism in the first film, which invoked the concept of 'wolf children', was received solely from a community residing in Germany that critiqued the portrayal of Lithuania [12]. The research conducted by Ruth Leiserowitz discussed in detail the topic of purposeful withdrawal of the children from East Prussia, including the topic of passportization and later return to Germany. Meanwhile, Christopher Spatz in his studies focused on the effects of famine in East Prussia, even introduced a new concept to describe the phenomenon – the children of hunger, and presented a typology of the wolf children [31].

This analysis covers targeted Soviet immigration policy measures to stop the flows of child beggars from entering Soviet Lithuania and deals with the situation of post-war children in the former East Prussia and other Soviet republics in general. The article discusses the experience of the children in dealing with various Soviet institutions, such as orphanages, children collection and distribution centres, including specialised educational institutions for begging and orphaned children. The study discusses the possibilities for the immigrant children to receive an education and pursue a career after settling in Lithuanian foster families. The period after 1990 that followed the restoration of Lithuania's independence, including the start of internal democratisation processes, is analysed separately as it was a period when one of the researched groups – the German children from the former East Prussia – started seeking social justice, while the memory of the Russian-speaking child immigrants continued to increasingly sink into oblivion.

The article is based on the interviews with both Russian-speaking and German children from the former East Prussia conducted by the author of the study. All interviewees were born between 1935 and 1943. The study covers the most frequent repetitive plots revealing the children's immigration experiences. The article also analyses the issue of typhus based on the archival documents from the times of Soviet Lithuania as until now they have not been analysed in the context of containing typhus and targeted immigration policy.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CHILD BEGGAR PHENOMENON IN THE BALTIC REPUBLICS

Red-cheeked, well-nourished, happy, and smiling children sitting on the knees of Stalin, the head of the Soviet Union, was a distorted image of childhood used for propaganda purposes. The Stalin cult had been created based on the image of happy children and people and had nothing to do with the impoverished post-war reality. This had severe consequences

on one of the most sensitive groups in society, the children. After the Second World War, children were abandoned to fight for survival. In addition to being victims of the war and actually facing death, witnessing or experiencing both physical and sexual abuse, these children also had to face a post-war reality [24, 221].

As the number of orphans increased during the war, one of the measures of the Soviet authorities was to establish a wider network of orphanages, and in 1942 a resolution on the accommodation of parentless children was passed [34, 62]. According to this resolution, the responsibility for orphan children was handed over to local executive committees obliging them to address the problem of orphans and child beggars. First and foremost, local committees were required to find out if the children had any close relatives, family friends, or acquaintances who could adopt them, and only when there were no potential guardians would the children be taken into institutional care [34, 62]. However, it was not sufficient to only address the problems at the local committee level to regulate the ever-growing number of orphaned children within the territory of the Soviet Union.

Local commissions often existed only on paper and their performance was only visible in bureaucratic correspondence. No regular working meetings took place, and the main purpose of the resolution remained unmet as local residents did not actually share the information about orphans in their neighbourhoods. Seeing the ever-growing number of wandering abandoned children, the Soviet apparatus started looking for additional measures to reinforce the response of authorities to begging. One of the ways to solve the issue was to hand the matter over to the NKVD/MGB structures.

As the problem of child homelessness and begging became more severe in the post-war period, the children would be caught on the streets and put into militia custody facilities where there were special spaces allocated for child beggars. These children gradually yet increasingly found themselves separated from the rest of society, with Soviet security marginalising them [23]. With the advent of collection and distribution centres dealing with the issue of abandoned children, the system became even stricter in attributing them to various categories. The collection and distribution centres were established as a control mechanism for combating the phenomenon of abandoned children [20]. The main function of the centres was temporary detention of the children, their pending adoption, and placement in special institutions. These centres were usually located in urban marketplaces and railway stations, stations, s, where most of the homeless children were staying.

Children were free to leave the centres, that, sadly, were unable to improve their living conditions even fractionally. The child beggars who stayed at the collection centres were distributed to orphanages and infant homes based on an internal system of characteristics. For example, the children who were homeless for a long time or whose behaviour was characterised as anti-Soviet were taken to special orphanages, while homeless girls who had suffered sexual abuse were assigned to special institutions and thereby separated from the rest of the children [34, 68].

Regarding the national identity of the homeless children who ended up in collection and distribution centres, foster care facilities or NKVD/MGB establishments, it is worth noting that a significant proportion of them were not locals but arrivals from other Soviet republics. Similar figures were recorded in Latvia, where the largest number of child beggars to arrive were of Russian nationality and came from the counties of Kalinin, Velikiye Luki, Pskov, and Novgorod [34, 61]. During the cold season, children migrated to the south and south-east of the Soviet Union as the climate was warmer there. The Baltic republics

were a popular migration destination among older children. It is estimated that the largest number of children from the Soviet Union arrived before the beginning of the mass collectivisation of rural areas, approximately before 1947 [34, 61]. Back then, villagers still had work to offer. One of the unique features of the Baltic republics was that, compared to other republics of the Soviet Union, the immigrant children were not going to cities there but rather to villages.

Plagued by contagious diseases, such as typhus and dysentery, and constant starvation, children were forced to leave their native lands. A lot of children were separated from their parents or other relatives during the post-war while on the run. They travelled to the Baltic republics by trains, on foot, or horse-drawn carts in the hope of finding new guardians who could provide them with food and security. Children from both sides of the Second World War, that is, Russian-speaking (2) and German children of the East Prussian region – met in the Baltic republics to beg and find bread. It is estimated that the group of Russian-speaking child immigrants may have been much more numerous than that of the German children from East Prussia. It is difficult to estimate the exact statistics of children who entered Lithuania, despite the efforts of the security authorities. The authorities tried to record the arriving children in order to solve the typhus problem in Lithuania. Since some of the children were constantly migrating between countries, the statistics may not be accurate.

From 1946 onwards, when North-East Prussia was joined the USSR to become the Kaliningrad region, there was a rapid decline in the German population in the area. People began dying from exhaustion, food shortages, and epidemics such as typhus [32, 46]. The typhus infection that accompanied continuous famine greatly affected the psychological and mental wellbeing of the survivors of the Second World War. Records made by doctors and priests include descriptions of the psychological and physical suffering that people went through. The starving people of the north-eastern region of Prussia and their children ate livestock carrion and other waste in an attempt to stay alive:

> When I got to Lithuania, the most important thing for me was that my stomach was full and I had somewhere to sleep. I didn't think in terms of Lithuania being good or bad. What was important was that I got food and didn't need to eat potato peels or cats [3].

The situation of the youngest orphaned children was particularly dramatic since Soviet social care institutions – children's homes – were unable to solve their issues [25, 86]. The largest number of the children of hunger from East Prussia went to neighbouring Soviet Lithuania. There were also cases when children travelled to other Baltic republics – to Estonia [13] and Latvia, and some even reached Russia, Belarus, or Ukraine.

The arrival of the new residents to Kaliningrad region proceeded in a planned manner. Entire villages of Soviet Russia were relocated to the Kaliningrad area through issuing special ordinances and by offering various privileges to the new settlers. Lone individuals with their begging children, who were officially referred to as beggars or mendicants, also fled to

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(2) The term 'Russian-speaking' is used to refer to the persons who speak the Russian language in their everyday environment. This term is synonymously used to refer to the children who came from other republics of the Soviet Union, meaning children who came from Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine towards the end of the war and in the post-war years.

the Kaliningrad area in disorganised groups. In 1947, an increase in the numbers of typhus cases among the people crossing the territory of Soviet Lithuania was recorded:

> The higher incidence in other areas […] is related to the migrant groups from the eastern parts of the Soviet Union who are crossing Lithuania and moving in a disorganised manner to the Kaliningrad area, with large numbers of mendicants among them [15, 68].

THE FIGHT AGAINST TYPHUS: THE DUTY OF THE ENTIRE SOVIET SOCIETY

In the context of Lithuanian historiography, the spread and prevention of contagious diseases after the Second World War remains a relatively little-studied issue. During the war, including the period of the Nazi occupation, the spread of typhus was related to several factors, including evacuees from the Soviet Union and prisoners of war [33]. In the post-war period, the increase in the incidence of typhus was related to the growth in the number of immigrants entering Soviet Lithuania. In the second half of 1944, as immigration from Belarus increased, a higher incidence of typhus was recorded in Soviet Lithuania [33, 126]. In the post – war years, due to the increase in the flow of the children of hunger from the territory of the Soviet Union and East Prussia, the situation eventually became hard to control. There was a direct connection between the problem of typhus and the East Prussian German and Russian-speaking immigrant children since the Soviet bureaucratic apparatus envisaged solving the issue of immigration by applying measures to suppress the spread of typhus.

For starving children, the only way to survive was to take a risky journey on freight trains. In 1946, railway control was introduced to fight child immigration and begging. The Soviet Red Cross established an operation at the Kaunas railway hub [19] with the aim of helping to solve the social problems associated with the collection of these children and their placement in various institutions. According to the provisions of the Red Cross of the Lithuanian SSR, sanitation concerns was one of the priorities contributing to the promotion and improvement of sanitary culture [14]. Since no documents of the Soviet Red Cross organisation from the period under study survived, it is difficult to determine how effective and how engaged in stopping immigration the organisation was.

Risky train journeys, both because of the natural conditions and the dangers that the children hiding in freight trains were facing, were not the only challenge that the young immigrants had to endure. The railway militia often resorted to violence against the weakened, contagious disease-ridden, and starving children. One of the main control measures in the fight against immigration, including the spread of typhus, was related to the railway transport system:

> And then we went on and reached Lithuania. And we were not welcome there. I came some three weeks or maybe more later. When we got off the train, rumour had it that we shouldn't go to Kaunas, because they returned everyone from there. The militia would catch you at the railway station and drive you back again [5].

In 1947, with the increase in immigration of children and the cases of typhus in Lithuania, procedures applied by the railway transport system were tightened. Disinfectant chambers were installed and special check-ups were carried out at large railway stations in

cities to make sure that local people did not have lice [28]. Aiming to educate the population, information leaflets with advice on how they should behave in order to not become infected with typhus and how to avoid spreading it among the population were distributed [18]. Stopping the spread of typhus was perceived as one of the shared duties of Soviet society. The railway departments entrusted with immigration control inevitably had to deal with contagious diseases, including typhus. Following the increase in the incidence of typhus in Soviet Lithuania, the Ministry of Health and the Council of Ministers adopted a package of measures to form special commissions in cities and counties to combat the epidemic.

To control the spread of the disease, the flow of immigrants was recorded, starting the numbers of the arrivals, detainees, and the number of those turned back. For instance, a secret document addressed to the deputy chair of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR dating back to 1947 stated that 136 persons were travelling by train, including 29 Germans from Kaliningrad, who had been turned back [17, 110]. Although both groups of immigrants entered Soviet Lithuania due to famine, Soviet documents referred to them differently.

To combat immigration and the concomitant spread of diseases, a directive appeared in March 1948, specifying a package of measures to combat typhus and spotted fever. On the border with former East Prussia within the Vilkaviškis border section, people arriving from the Kaliningrad area were refused entry on the basis that they were spreading diseases [16, 35]. The Lithuanian families who had taken in German children were subjected to repression. The executive committees were instructed to prohibit villagers from sheltering begging Germans, and if this instruction was disregarded, it was to be reported to the militia [16, 36]. But as the living memories of the German children from East Prussia testify, the militia was bribed or could be easily persuaded. It only took a bottle of alcohol, a chat, and the problem was solved [2].

With the increase in immigration into Soviet Lithuania, not only did the incidence of typhus increase, but the crime rate grew as well [28]. The detained younger children were sent to militia children's rooms and to juvenile labour colonies [20, 83]. A crime-related narrative about the Russian-speaking children left a mark in the memory of the child beggars themselves:

> People used to say that Russian and German children would come asking for food. Lithuanian families used to say that Russians tended to steal and Germans wouldn't. We, the German children, having found an apple on the ground would ask if we could take it, and they would steal from people [10].

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION OF ORPHANED CHILDREN IN CITIES AND VILLAGES

Immigrants who arrived in search of food and accommodation had to face a reality that gave little hope. The famine-ridden children had their own ideal picture of Lithuania, because when they arrived in the neighbouring republic, they hoped that their situation would improve and there would be no need for them to beg for food. They had little understanding of the political situation of the Baltic republics. Children had to face the reality that Lithuania, which they imagined as a 'bread and cake country', was not safe for children because of ongoing Soviet repression against the population, including deportations, the ongoing partisan war, and collectivisation. The rumour among the starved children

migrating between Lithuania and East Prussia had it that there was a hope of survival there. Moreover, Soviet bureaucratic institutions, such as collection and distribution centres, children's rooms, and orphanages, did not work efficiently enough and had difficulties solving the problems of both arriving immigrants and the local unsupervised minors [20, 92]. As a result, the situation of these children did not improve substantially following their entry into care institutions in Soviet Lithuania:

> The children would be caught on the street. The food in the orphanage was very scarce, we wanted to eat. The only way out was to get out [4].

The reception and distribution centres, where children would become infected and fall ill with typhus, were in a very bad state too. The children who ended up in those centres tended to leave them and start begging again. As a result, a massive number of child beggars fled to Lithuanian villages asking for bread and accommodation. Some of the immigrant children, who arrived, never encountered Soviet children care institutions and ended up in farming families right away. Various biographical records show that hunger-induced immigration must have left a particularly strong imprint in the collective memory of Lithuanians:

> In spring, German women from East Prussia began flooding in with their children. They were driven to Lithuania by famine. Some were so starved that they could barely walk. At the same time and for the same reason, Russians from Smolensk in the East started arriving. And they were asking for food, too. And it was both painful and ridiculous, as both the conquerors and the 'rescuers' were beggars in Lithuania [35, 181–182].

The reason why Lithuanians helped the child beggars varied. Some helped, led by faith and feelings of humanity [22, 290–303]. Yet for others these children were a useful workforce on the farms and in families [25, 70]. For Russian-speaking children, the stay in the countryside of Lithuania often was just an interim stop, and for wolf children or the children of hunger it often became a permanent place of refuge or home. Russian-speaking children would eventually be attracted to cities again and often became useful as cheap labour in industrial and commercial enterprises [29, 143]. In the long run, this chaotic immigration turned into labour migration. The Russian-speaking children would often take the opportunity to pursue education and a career. The orphaned and abandoned children would often receive their education in various vocational and craft schools. Receiving education, however, often depended on whether the children came into contact with any bureaucratic entities or not. Those who ended up in care institutions received an education despite the poor hygiene or medical conditions there. For example, the children who studied at the Panevėžys craft school were all orphaned or came from Soviet Russia, Belarus, or East Prussia:

> There were about ten groups of children and four specialties. We never shared our experience with anyone, we were all orphans there, but we had clothes, food, and attained an education. In comparison with Russian children, there was a clearly felt hatred towards Germans. We all fought with each other for the sake of our own future [9].

The German children felt safer and less noticeable living in the countryside, thereby trying to avoid the issue of passports and compulsory registration. Although basic education was compulsory in Soviet Lithuania, Lithuanian families often would not let these children go to school or they would receive only minimal education, while those immigrant children who ended up in villages had limited access to education. A significant number of them received a year or two of schooling and remained semi-literate or even illiterate or could barely read and write. An interviewee who grew up with an adopted German from East Prussia remembers that when the East Prussian started attending school, he often encountered integration problems:

> When we took him to school, he had a very hard time there. He had already learned Lithuanian. Mom would send him off to school, and the neighbours would then tell her that they saw him sitting under a tree and carving something. Yes, this is how your Karolis is studying. Anyway, he learned to read, write, and finished the four grades of school [6].

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD: A SEARCH FOR JUSTICE AND REPRESSED MEMORY OF THE SOVIET ERA

The end of the Cold War and the democratisation processes that began marked a new phase for the repressed memory groups, such as the exiled, partisans, and some national minorities [27, 13]. Recent studies into the society of the Klaipėda region showed that the fall of the Soviet regime brought symbolic justice for the affected people [26]. The memory of the population of this region and that of the wolf children who stayed in Soviet Lithuania was subjected to similar processes. The Russian-speaking and former East Prussian children experienced the 'conspiracy of silence' [21, 88–98] surrounding the Soviet era and the loneliness of their memory. They felt the need to talk about the traumas and grievances they had suffered [26, 377]. Despite the fact that during the Soviet era the memories of both groups were doomed to oblivion, after 1990, the testimonies of the German children from the former East Prussia have been steadily strengthening their footing in collective memory, while the plot of Russian-speaking immigrant children continues to increasingly sink into oblivion.

The restored independence of Lithuania gave the wolf children a chance to regain their voice and seek justice. On 14 September 1991, they established an organisation called 'Edelweiss', which was renamed 'Edelweiss – Wolfskinder' after contact with Germany. German children from East Prussia, who lived in Lithuania, felt a strong need to establish their own organisation. This community interpreted its experience as exceptional. They felt a strong connection through their traumatic memory storylines consisting of immigrant experiences as they related to their travel from North-East Prussia (currently the Kaliningrad area) to Lithuania, the begging, and their further life in Lithuanian families.

The established 'Edelweiss – Wolfskinder' community provided its members with the opportunity to speak, openly and publicly for the first time, about their life story – something that had been suppressed or otherwise masked for almost half a century. At the same time, it allowed the youngest members of the society to find confirmation of their own memories:

When the community was created, the members who joined it were able to get together and openly tell each other, for the first time, about their pain and about what had happened, because there had been no talking about it or any sharing of testimonies within their families before. Sometimes the offspring of the wolf children would say that their parents had made up their stories, that there was not even a German city like the one they were talking about [7].

The organisation of the wolf children attempted to draw the attention of the reunited German state to their issue and sought to have their stories heard, striving for justice and recognition. As Christopher Spatz's research shows, after 1990, the reunited Germany was rather reserved about the topic of wolf children [32, 253]. The ambition to establish contacts with Germany was linked to the fight for acknowledgement of the forced emigration of people from East Prussia to Lithuania and the related restoration of justice. The first changes happened in 2017, with the announcement by the International Society for Threatened Peoples that wolf children were eligible for a compensation from the German Government in the context of forced labour if they submitted the necessary documents of proof. Immigration experience *per se* did not serve as an entitlement to compensation or the confirmed status of victim.

It is worth noting that Lithuania was the first country to seek justice and reparations for the wolf children in relation to their immigration experience in the Lithuanian Soviet Republic. According to Paragraph 4 of Part 1 of Article 71 of the Law on the Legal Status of the Victims of the Occupations of 1939–1990, the wolf children could be granted the status of formerly abandoned children as defined by the following legal wording:

> Minor children who during the Second World War or later left the area of hostilities in the East Prussian region of Germany without their parents, went to the territory of Lithuania, and are currently citizens of the Republic of Lithuania.

To obtain the status of a victim of occupation, individuals were required to go to court in an attempt to prove that they were the wolf children. Most of the children who arrived from East Prussia entered Lithuania without any documents or family photos and therefore faced legal problems in trying to prove that they were entitled to a certain legal status or a benefit. As an alternative to documents, external witnesses were often called on to testify before the court as to a person's biographic experience. If a person came to Lithuania with at least one of their guardians, they would not be entitled to this status or any resulting benefit. For example, in one of the legal cases concerning the status of an abandoned child, the court passed the such an unfavourable verdict based on the documents presented by a wolf child and on witness testimonies.

Prof. Dr Wolfgang Freiherr von Stetten, the head of the former German-Baltic parliamentary group, was the voice of the 'Edelweiss – Wolfskinder' seeking justice after the independence of Lithuania had been restored. Since his first contacts recorded in official documents and correspondence, he has used the concept of the wolf children, which appeared in the film by director Eberhard Fechner, and became one of the people who has made the concept widely known [32, 255]. This policy initiative was used to address the then President of the Republic of Lithuania Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, with a request that the wolf children should, as an exception, be allowed to have dual citizenship due to the exceptional historical immigration circumstances. This proposal was

not adopted for fear of any attempt by other memory groups, national communities, or national minorities to rely on this exemption to achieve citizenship [11].

CONCLUSIONS

The immigration of children from East Prussia and the Soviet Union to Lithuania due to famine posed a challenge to the government of the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War and in the post-war years as it was trying to control the flow of underage children arriving in Lithuania. Soviet bureaucratic institutions feared the immigration would cause an outbreak of typhus, an infectious disease. Thus, the child beggars entering Lithuania from East Prussia and the Soviet Union threatened to trigger the spread of diseases.

German children from East Prussia suffered from the problem of assimilation much more than Russian-speaking immigrants. The stay at the villages for these children was only temporary. The wolf children had fewer opportunities to receive an education and pursue a career. The stories of East Prussian German children during the Soviet period encountered the phenomenon that could be called the Soviet-era conspiracy of silence. They became one of the groups of repressed memory and had no voice until the end of the Cold War. During the transition period, after Lithuania regained its independence, the memory of the German children from East Prussia was linked to the concept of the wolf children.

Although both groups of children had a similar immigration experience, the history of Russian-speaking children was gradually pushed to the periphery of the collective memory. Nor did the Russian-speaking persons seek compensation or justice. Meanwhile, the wolf children gathered into a community based on their traumatic memory. The newly created 'Edelweiss – Wolfskinder' organisation and the politician Wolfgang von Stetten, the head of the German-Baltic Parliamentary Group, started a campaign for the experience of the wolf children to be recognised and recompensed. Lithuania became the first country to legally define the status of a wolf child and provide compensation. In Germany, especially after 1990, the topic, was not widely accepted at first. Yet, the attitude began to change in 2017, once the process of compensation started.

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RŪTA MATIMAITYTĖ

Rytų Prūsijos vokiečių vaikų ir rusakalbių migracija į pokario Lietuvą

Santrauka

Dėl bado 1946–1948 m. įvykusi migracija į sovietų Lietuvą istoriografijoje iki šiol buvo analizuota pasirenkant vieną iš migracijos grupių – Rytų Prūsijos vokiečių vaikus (atminties kultūroje geriau žinomų kaip vilko vaikai) arba atvykusius iš bado paveiktų Sovietų Sąjungos respublikų. Naudojantis žodinės istorijos metodu surinktais interviu, Lietuvos ir Vokietijos archyvų, mokslinių institutų ir atminties institucijų medžiaga straipsnyje atskleidžiamos abiejų migrantų vaikų grupių patekimo į sovietų Lietuvą priežastys, biurokratinio aparato bandymai reguliuoti ir stabdyti migraciją ir po 1990 m. vykusi vilko vaikų kova siekiant socialinio teisingumo Vokietijoje. Tyrimo metu ištirta, kad sovietinė sistema migrantus iš Rytų Prūsijos ir kitų Sovietų Sąjungos respublikų suvokė visų pirma kaip potencialią grėsmę dėl šiltinės epidemijos Lietuvoje.

Raktažodžiai: vilko vaikai, rusakalbiai, badas, priverstinė migracija, šiltinė