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The war in the North - everyday life, Soviet prisoners of war and Norwegians' memories

The paper dwells upon everyday life, Soviet prisoners of war and Norwegians' memories during the Second World War in northern Norway. Characteristics of the ideological war against the Soviet Union, mistreatment of Soviet prisoners of war, civilian forced labour in northern Norway, Norwegians memories and contact with the Soviet prisoners, the politics of memory and repatriation are demonstrated. Different orders in this war of extermination and the brutal treatment of both Soviet prisoners and civilians after the German invasion of the Soviet Union are described. The paper also describes the individual and collective memory connected to the Soviet prisoners of war and civilian soviet labourers and shows the will to remember ‘the others’ in a national context.

Keywords: annihilation, everyday life, Soviet prisoners of war, civilian forced labourers, memories, politics of memory, repatriation

Introduction

The tens of thousands of Red Army soldiers who surrendered in June and July 1941 never imagined the fate that awaited them in German captivity. However, by late summer terrible stories began to spread among the soldiers. They soon learned that this was a war of extermination. It was a war of scorched earth, mass executions, deportations and easy public slaughter. The Soviet soldiers and civilians in German occupied zones were left over to take care for their own survival.

During 1941-1945 nearly 100 000 Soviet prisoners of war were transported to Norway. About 90 000 of these prisoners were soldiers of the Red Army and the rest (about 9000) were so-called "Ostarbeiter". The people in these two categories were Soviet citizens who were driven into forced labour for the Germans in Norway. Among the Soviet civilians there were about 1400 women and 400 children. There were several families among the Soviet civilians and 150 Soviet children were born in captivity in Norway. The Germans established nearly 500 prison camps with Soviet prisoners of war in Norway during 1941-1945.[1]

Most of the camps were established in northern Norway. The size of the camps varied from a few prisoners to several thousand in the same camp. Approximately 13,700 Soviet prisoners of war died in Norway during the War according to the Norwegian War Grave Service and information from German prison cards.[2] Other sources give other numbers. The Soviet authorities claimed that the number of missing soldiers in Norway was 16,000.[3] German source material gives a number on about 7,000 perished Soviet prisoners in Norway.[4] The history of Soviet prisoners of war serves as a good example on how dramatic war experiences from the Eastern front were transferred to Norway, and both the individual and collective memory connected to these prisoners shows the will to remember 'the others' in a national context. 4200 prisoners of war from Yugoslavia and 1600 prisoners from Poland were also forced to Norway. Most of the Soviet soldiers were first sent to Stettin in Germany after they were taken prisoner, then packed together on cargo boats and sent to Norway.

A war of annihilation

To understand why precisely the Soviet prisoners of war and their destiny at the

[1] Soleim, Marianne N: Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge 1941-1945. *Antall, organisering og repatriering*. Spartacus forlag. Oslo 2009 8-9.
[2] RA, Krigsgravtjenestens arkiv og tyske fangekort over sovjetiske krigsfanger fra databasen www.obd-memorial.ru.
[3] RA, Krigsgravtjenesten, sovjetiske krigsgraver 1946-1952, boks 26.
[4] RA, Krigsgravtjenesten, sovjetiske krigsgraver 1946-1952, boks 26.

beginning of the war were more attached to the ideology of the Nazis is Hitler´s *Weltanschauung* decisive. With the German invasion of the Soviet Union the war changed; it became a *Vernichtungskrieg*–a war of annihilation.[5] The ideological war against the Soviet Union was connected to the political long-term aim of the Nazis and Wehrmacht became an active participant in fulfilling these. The German ideological representations of Soviet soldiers and prisoners were characterized by the racistical term *Untermensch*.[6] Nazi racial theory, the ideological basis for the criminal mistreatment of the Eastern European peoples, was openly expressed in such publications as the SS pamphlet "Der Untermensch" (1942).

The advance of German armies which encircled entire Soviet divisions was so dramatic that German soldiers, who without doubt shared the anti-Slavic and anti-Bolshevik prejudices of the German society, easily took part in the roles as racial superiors that the Nazis offered them. The surrender of huge numbers of Soviet troops – 3 350 000 prisoners of war were taken in six months of 1941[7] – points to widespread defeatism and disaffection in the Soviet forces, even if the Germans were impressed by the stubbornness with which other units resisted. The NKVD was instructed to imprison or even to shoot as deserters any Soviet soldiers who escaped and fell into their hands. But those who remained in German hands were no better treated. The German armed forces alone are said to have executed an estimated 600 000 Soviet Prisoners of war during the war. Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, issued guidelines for the troops to be "ruthless and energetic" in their attacks on Bolsheviks and Jews.[8]

The German army, expecting a short war, had made no proper preparations for such overwhelming numbers of prisoners. If the organization was inadequate, the German attitude was also shaped by the Nazis` *Untermensch* propaganda: they were dealing not with human beings like themselves but with a subhuman race. An OKW directive of 8 September 1941 on the treatment of prisoners of war declared that they had forfeited every claim to be treated as an honourable enemy, and that the most ruthless measures were justified in dealing with them.[9]

Three orders reveal Wehrmacht's close integration to the Nazi policies of extermination. These orders are "Barbarossa-Erlaß", "Kommissarbefehl" and Wehrmacht's instructions of 4th June 1941 for the German troops in Soviet Union. The first order dissolved all legal protection for both civilians and prisoners of war. The order was to shot everybody showing sign of resistance and as a result of this order, murder were legalized in the war against Soviet Union. The other order resulted in summary executions of political commissars

[5] Mazower, Mark: Dark Continent. London 1999, p. 171.
[6] Andreyev, Catherine: *Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement*. Cambridge 1987, pp. 29-30.
[7] Herbert, Ulrich: Hitlers foreign workers. *Enforced foreign labour in Germany under the third Reich*. Cambridge 1997, p. 141.
[8] Overy, Richard: *Russia`s War*. London 1997, p. 84.
[9] BA/MA, RH/20/20/204, Anordnungen für die Behandlung sowjetischer Kr.Gef.in allen Kriegsgefangenenlagern, Anlage zu Tagebuch-Nr.3058/41 geheim v.8.9 1941.

in occupied parts of Soviet Union. The third order was a call to the German soldiers to strike hard against every attempt on resistance. With this last order the Nazi racial policy was activated by especially declaring the Asian soldiers as criminals. Many regiments in Wehrmacht were given order to kill all Jews they encountered in occupied areas. Wehrmacht were also charged with clearing out partisans in the rear, which amounted to hunting down Jews and killing them in the field or handing them over to the Einsatzgruppen. As was the case in Serbia, were the Wehrmacht killed almost all adult male Jews in retaliation for ongoing partisan attacks in the summer and fall of 1941. Jews were regarded as the "mortal enemies" of the German army and the German people.

Wehrmacht proved their ideological loyalty by accomplishing these orders. Large numbers were shot outright on the battlefield, without any pretext, in order to relieve the army of the burden they represented. Hundreds of thousands prisoners of war were forced to march until they dropped and died from exhaustion or were herded into huge improvised camps and left without food, medical aid for the wounded, shelter or sanitation. According to a German report of 19 February 1942, almost three million out of the four million prisoners taken by that date had perished.[10] Wehrmacht's treatment of "Asiatic" and "Untermensch" Soviet prisoners of war, in contrast to the 1.2 million prisoners they managed to take care of in the West in 1940, was their singular contribution to the Nazi race war.

Under the Barbarossa decree and commissar order, partisan fighters were shot, collective reprisals towards whole communities were ordered and Soviet political officers – the commissars – were killed even after being captured as prisoners of war. Because of this attitude and policy regarding the commissars the Nazi camp Auschwitz became involved in the conflict. In July 1941 several hundred commissars from ordinary prisoner of war camps were sent to Auschwitz. From the moment of their arrival these prisoners were treated worse than the other inmates. During the summer of 1941 the war on the Eastern Front – the war without rules – came to the camp. The murder of the Soviet commissars was a small part of the function of Auschwitz. During this period the camp primarily remained a place to oppress and instill terror into the Polish prisoners. The summer of 1941 became both a crucial time in the development of the Auschwitz camp and a decisive moment in the war against Soviet Union and the Nazi policy towards the Soviet Jews.[11]

For many civilian forced labourers from the occupied territories in Eastern Europe the Organisation Todt (OT) was the best chance to survive war, persecution and extermination. The organization was in charge of military construction work required by the Wehrmacht and their work force consisted mainly of foreign workers. Forced Soviet civilians were the largest group of

[10] Jackson, Robert H: *The Nürnberg Case*. New York 1971, p. 74.
[11] Rees, Laurence: *Auschwitz. The Nazis and the "Final solution"*. London 2005, pp. 72-77.

workers in the OT in Germany and the occupied territories.[12] The Ostarbeiters in Germany were mostly from the territory of Reichskommissariat Ukraine, (Eastern Ukraine), but while Ukrainians were in the majority, many Belarusians, Poles, Russians and Tatars were also present. Estimates suggest 3.5 million Ostarbeiters were repatriated in 1945.[13]

Forced labour in Norway

Severe labour shortages were probably the reason why Soviet prisoners of war were sent to Norway soon after the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941. The shortage of labour in Norway created problems for the implementation of the Germans' projects in the country they were occupying. The campaigns in the Balkans and the Soviet Union enabled the German authorities to deploy many new forced labourers for the Wehrmacht's extensive building plans in Norway.[14] They were mainly used in the building of railroads, Highway 50, runways, and fortresses along the coastline.[15]

"Festung Norwegen" were built with a large number of bunkers and gun emplacements. The heavy labour was done by the Soviet prisoners, in complete contravention of international law. The purpose was to prevent an Allied invasion. The German administration in Norway was occasionally met with strong opposition from Norwegian labourers who refused to work for the enemy. This caused serious economic consequences for German plans. The need for labour was acute because of German projects. A lot of Danish construction labourers were imported by the Organisation Todt (OT) during the summer of 1941, to start on massive building projects in Trondheim. OT was a half military organization that carried out different building projects for warfare in Wehrmacht`s duty. The campaigns in the Balkans and the Soviet Union enabled the German authorities to deploy many new forced labourers for the Wehrmacht's extensive building plans in Norway. Most of the Soviet prisoners of war, about two thirds, were sent to the Northern part of Norway.

OT was a paramilitary organization that carried out war-related building projects in the occupied countries in Europe. Einsatzgruppe Wiking administrated the activity of the OT in Norway and Denmark. This department was established in summer 1942 and the main office was situated in Oslo. The head of the office was Einsatzgruppenleiter Willi Henne and he administrated

[12] RA, Kontoret for flyktninge-og fangespørsmål, eske 0417. Flyktninge-og fangedirektoratet: Final Report, Prisoner of war Executive, Headquarters allied land forces Norway, Oslo 14.12.45.
[13] Polian, Pavel: *Deportiert nach Hause. Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im 'Dritten Reich' und ihre Repatriierung*. München/Wien: R. Oldenbourg Verlag 2001, pp. 45–49.
[14] Soleim, Marianne N. (ed.) 2010, *Prisoners of War and Forced Labour – Histories of War and Occupation.* Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2010, pp. 9-10.
[15] Ziemke, Earl .F: *The German Northern Theatre of Operations 1940–1945*, First edition. Washington 1959, pp. 264

the activity in both countries. Henne received orders from General Falkenhorst from Wehrmacht regarding military issues. Two deputies sorted directly under Henne. These two were engineer Max Erich Feuchtinger and chief inspector Janssen.[16] Commander-in-chief in Norway, Falkenhorst, demanded 145 000 prisoners of war to carry trough Hitler's plan of a railroad all the way to Kirkenes in Finnmark (Northern Norway). The building of the railroad was not finished before the war ended. Wehrmacht and OT both cooperated and partly struggled about the allocation of Soviet prisoners of war in Norway.

The Soviet prisoners of war made up about half of Einsatzgruppe Wiking's labour force. From autumn 1942 around 50,000 Soviet prisoners of war were brought from Germany to Norway to labour for Einsatzgruppe Wiking. The first foreign groups to arrive for Einsatzgrupe Wiking were neither prisoners of war nor of Soviet origin. During the summer of 1942 about 2,000 Yugoslav prisoners and 2,000 German prisoners were provided. About a thousand Polish prisoners of war who came to Norway in 1942 were also employed to labour for Einsatzgruppe Wiking. The treatment of them was significantly better than that of other prisoner categories, and in contrast to these slave labourers, the Poles received payment. The office of Einsatzgruppe Wiking in Oslo was divided into several departments, each responsible for the various tasks. The two major construction projects in Norway had their own departments: Abteilung Nordlandsbahn (railroad) and Abteilung Festungsbau (the Atlantic wall). In July 1944, OT-Einsatz Finland was subordinated to Einsatzgruppe Wiking.[17]

Everyday life during the war in northern Norway

Hostility towards the Germans among the population in northern Norway was the reason why Territorialbefehlshaber Nordnorwegen strengthened security measures in 1943. There were also a lot of problems with Soviet prisoners who escaped from the camps under the command of Stalag 330 in Kirkenes. It was also known that Soviet escapees got help from Norwegians when they were on the run. Because of these problems the commanding general at LXXI A.K./71. army corps, issued a directive that there should be no contact between prisoners of war and Norwegians. Such contact should be prevented by all means.[18]

It was stipulated that particularly energetic and intelligent guards should be used to enforce security in power plants where Soviet prisoners of war were working. This was done to prevent any contact between the prisoners of war and

[16] RA, High Command Royal Norwegian Forces, Organization Todt in Norway, set-up and main activities, 10. januar 1944.
[17] Seidler, Franz W: *Die Organisation Todt. Bauen für Staat und Wehrmacht 1938-1945*. Koblenz 1987, pp. 66-67.
[18] RA, Riksadvokatens krigsforbryterarkiv eske 34, Der Kommandierende general LXXI.A.K. Qu.Az.III/G Nr.896/43 geh. K.H.Qu., den 6.12.1943

civilian workers. The female labourers from Ukraine in the Lohmann & Co plant in Hammerfest were aware of the prohibition against contact with Soviet prisoners of war. However, they did their best to help their fellow fellow citizens who were imprisoned in German camps in Hammerfest. This assistance was not without risk, and some of the women got arrested. In November 1942 the high command of the German forces at Alta in northern Norway (Höhere Kommando LXXI, Territorialbefehlshaber Nordnorwegen) reported the arrest of two female forced labourers. They were arrested because they had made a package of food for Soviet prisoners of war near their camp and had tried to persuade German guards to give it to the prisoners.[19] Female labourers got punished if they violated camp rules, but civilian forced labourers were in general better treated than prisoners of war.

In 1942 began the construction of Trondenes fortress and its gigantic Adolf Gun, which was intended to secure the coastline nearby Narvik. Primitive wooden huts were built for the Soviet prisoners in 1943, and they were put to labour under the most horrendous conditions. Konstantin Seredintsev came to Trondenes in February 1943, and died three months later of poor general health and circulation failure, undoubtedly as a result of the hard labour and lack of food. However, his diary was found after the war, and his descriptions of the conditions are one of the most important sources of information, helping us to understand what happened in the prison camp on Trondenes. At the sight of the dirty, cold and cramped huts, he writes “now it is clear to me that we have been brought here to die”.[20] Just outside the graveyard wall, north of Trondenes Church, is a monument to those who died. A classic Soviet monument built of red stone commemorates the prisoners who lost their lives.

Humiliation, inhuman treatment, hunger and death were to characterize the existence of the Soviet prisoners of war who were forced to Norway as labor. But prisoner life also contained some positive experiences in the form of unity among prisoners and contact with Norwegians who tried to help the Soviet prisoners of war in various ways. The large number of Soviet prisoners of war sent to Norway resulted in a brutal meeting with German prisoners of war policy for Norwegians. A brutal wartime life that initially developed on the Eastern Front, with the abuse and starvation of Soviet prisoners of war, was transferred to Norway.

In the quarry at Engeløya in Steigen, many died and German guards often mistreated the prisoners so they were not able to work. “Everywhere there was death”, says Viktor Petrashevsky. Hard work, hunger and inhumane living conditions ruined prisoners' health. The discipline in the camp was very strict and for various offenses the prisoners were punished with 10 to 25 or 50 lashes. For theft or escape, the prisoners received 50 lashes. Before the war, the island

[19] NA, T314, rull 1560, Höhere Kommando LXXI, Teritorialabschnitt Alta, November 1942.
[20] Soleim, Marianne N: *Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge 1941-1945. Antall, organisering og repatriering.* Spartacus forlag. Oslo 2009, p. 3.

of Engeløya, was a remote community with neither electricity nor a road network, and so quays and roads to the coastal fort had to be built to enable the transport and handling of the heavy guns. The civilian population of Bø, the village close to the battery, was forcefully evacuated with only three days' notice in the summer of 1943. 1700 prisoners of war from the Soviet Union and several hundred forced labourers from Norway and other European countries were set to work to build Batterie Dietl. The mortality rate among the Soviet prisoners was extremely high, with more than 500 deaths, most during the first winter. Gradual improvements in the food and medical care did, however, radically reduce mortality levels.[21]

Norwegians' memories

Vladislav Spirov was sent with his mother to the camp at Høybuktmoen near Kirkenes in January 1944 when he was 9 years old. He was put to 16 hours of hard work every day. They were working at the airport in the winter and road construction when the winter was over. From January to October 1944, Spirov and his mother were placed in three different camps in Sør-Varanger. Regardless of age, hundreds of civilian forced laborers from the Leningrad district were employed at the airport. All forced laborers aged seven to eighty - men, women and children - had to do forced labour. They were sent up to the airport to keep the runway free from snow. Kalle Wara remembers the civil forced laborers:

> "There was something sad and strange about these Soviet citizens. They were so different from us. Girls and boys only seven years old worked with huge snow shovels, wrapped in the strangest bunches of Russian clothes. Young girls in large men's clothing along with old men and women (…) And winter was hard for the Eastern workers up here on the Arctic Road. It might be cold in the Leningrad too, but nothing against the freezing cold on Høybuktmoen. Very often, the children collapsed from exhaustion and cold. Then the parents – if they were present - had to comfort and help them to get warm again".[22]

The civilian forced laborers in Kirkenes received no better treatment than the military prisoners of war. The only difference was that there were no barbed wire around their camp, but just an ordinary fence.

Prohibition of contact with prisoners of war

[21] http://www.hamsuns-rike.no/?id=722540610&News=47
[22] Wara, Kalle: *Nordpå: okkupasjonsminner fra Kirkenes-traktene*. Oslo 1984, p. 49.

Notes describing the ban on contact with Soviet prisoners of war were printed in the newspapers to prevent contact between Soviet prisoners and Norwegians. Despite the ban, the Norwegian people had sympathy and care for the prisoners of war all over the country. Many provided food and clothing to the prisoners, encouraged them with a smile, and showed that they were their friends. Many helped the prisoners to escape from the camps with great danger to their own lives. But there were also those who informed the German police about prisoners on the run for payment in the form of money, alcohol or tobacco.

When the civilian forced labourers arrived in Norway they were sent to different camps run by the German administration of forced labour, and most of the women were sent to the German fishing industry in Northern Norway. Some of the women gave birth to children during their captivity in Norway. The everyday life in the camps was determined by how the German guards and commandants treated them and how much contact they had with Norwegian civilians. 19 year old Marfa Maksimovna Stepina was taken from her family home in 1941 in the village of Sinezyorskiy in Brjansk region. Together with other women from the same area she was transported to Brjansk and accommodated in a school. Shortly afterwards they were transported to Belarus, Poland, Denmark and finally to Norway. Marfa Maksimovna Stepina worked as a forced labourer in Bodø and gave birth to her daughter Valentina Arkadijevna Stepina in captivity in 1945. Marfa remembers the Norwegian women at the factory as being very helpful to female forced labourers with newborns. They brought them clothes and food and provided the babies with knitted mittens and wool socks. She was very grateful for the help and the compassion given by the Norwegian women to the female labourers in Bodø.[23]

When liberation came it was not always easy to return to the home country after a long time spent as a forced labourer in a foreign country. Returning female labourers were treated with suspicion by the Soviet authorities because they had been working for the Germans. The story of female forced labourers must be regarded as a forgotten part of the history of the Norwegian occupation.

Evacuation of prisoners of war and forced laborers in 1944

The last phase of the war was an additional burden for the prisoners of war in Finnmark in northern Norway. The withdrawal of the Germans from the county in the autumn of 1944 resulted in a forced evacuation of both the civilian population and the Soviet prisoners of war. General Lothar Rendulic became central to “the tactics of scorch earth” carried out in Finnmark. On October 4, 1944, Rendulic gave instructions for the destruction of the Petsamo area and

[23] Letter from Stepina 2008.

parts of nearby areas in Norway. Military, industrial, and other structures were to be destroyed.

Feodor Mezentsev was among the prisoners who had to march from Northern Finland to Alta in the fall of 1944:

> "The next leg of sixty kilometers to Alta took was very exhausting, we marched for 12 hours before we could rest. Admittedly, we got five minutes of rest for each time, and we had the wind in the back, but still it was a difficult march. Every time we set off to march after the rest, some prisoners couldn't get up and just lay on the ground. I don't know for sure what the guards did to them. But, they said that they were picked up by truck and driven to Alta. (…) We are now approaching the end of 1944. I mention this, because now the guards did not execute the prisoners who were not able to keep up with the others, as they would in 1941".[24]

After a short stay in Alta, about 2,000 Soviet prisoners of war were sent by ship from Alta to Trondheim. As a result of the forced evacuation in Finnmark, all prisoners of war in this area were moved. As the German troops moved south, they brought the prisoners of war to Troms and Nordland county.

Repatriation and collective memory

In spite of the fact that the Soviet prisoners of war represented the nationality with the largest casualties on Norwegian soil during the war, they have not been included in the national context of Norwegian history of occupation. One reason for this absence is the prisoners destiny after the repatriation to their homeland in 1945. A total number of 87 000 Soviet citizens were repatriated from Norway, and until the beginning of the 1990s there was almost no contact between Norwegians and former Soviet prisoners. After the repatriation a lot of western researchers asked questions about Stalin and his treatment of the returned former prisoners. Eyewitnesses could tell about shooting and bad treatment of the repatriated. Because of this there was established a myth about their destiny and a lot of researchers claimed that all prisoners were forced into working camps in northern Russia or killed. In 1990 Russian researchers presented a different picture. They claimed that 58 % of the former prisoners of war were sent home and only 14 % to working battalions.[25] This material is based on primary sources in Russian archives, but still there is a lot of discussion about these numbers in Russia today.

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[24] Mezentsev, Feodor: *I konsentrasjonsleire bak polarsirkelen*. 1997, pp. 87-88. Oversatt fra russisk av Asbjørn Hortman.

[25] Zemskov, V.N: "K voprosu o repatriacii sovetskich graždan 1941-1955." ("Problem with repatriation of the Soviet Citizens 1944-1951"), i *Istoriya SSSR*, Nr.4/1990.

The politics of memory is activities with the aim of a certain collective memory, and the motivations for this activity are often controlled by interests of different parts. The authorities are the main part of this politic and there are several fields of expression. Such fields are school, research and cultural celebrations. This activity of memory has hardly included the Soviet prisoners of war in these fields. Several schoolbooks do not mention the Soviet prisoners and by cultural celebrations until the 1990s there were mainly the Norwegian victims of the war that were remembered. On one hand the subject is something strange and forgotten in the Norwegian history of occupation, but on the other hand this is something familiar through all the local historical knowledge both orally and written. But this knowledge is not used in a broader perspective and the result is a limited memory. Until 2010 there was no space for a living memory about the Soviet prisoners of war on a national level in the Norwegian community. Graveyards of the war are places with a certain value of symbolic. The anonymity at military graveyards does not only remind us of the one soldier that died, But about the bloodbath from the war Establishment and maintenance of war monuments and memorials dedicated to soviet prisoners of war that died on Norwegian soil are dependent on local initiative. Absence of memorials or no interest in such gives us an evident signal on the communities will to remember the destiny of other nationalities in Norway during the Second World War.

The Norwegian War Grave Service and the Falstad Memorial and Human Rights Centre are now working with a project on the identification of the unknown buried Soviet prisoners of war in the country. Until 2009 only 2,700 of the Soviet victims in Norway have been identified by name according to the register of the Norwegian War Grave Service. With the help of the identification project it is now identified over 4,000 new names of the Soviet victims. In this work they use the Russian database OBD Memorial (www.obd-memorial.ru)[26] with digitalized prison cards from Russian and German archives to identify more Soviet victims on Norwegian soil. The database www.krigsgraver.no[27] with identified victims on Norwegian soil was opened on 23 March 2011. According to the plan of the War Grave Service all the new identified names of the victims who died in northern Norway during the war will be set up at the Tjøtta International Graveyard when the project is finished.[28] After several years and NOK 10 million in cost of renovation, the war cemetery was reopened in October 2016.

[26] www.obd-memorial.ru
[27] www.krigsgraver.no
[28] FAD, Merking på Tjøtta sovjetiske krigskirkegård. Høringsnotat. 04.06.2012.