

**The Criminal System of Occupational Policy – The Role of Occupational (Repressive)
Structures and Collaboration with Them in 1944-1953.**

CONCLUSIONS

(Approved by the Commission on December 17, 2003)

1. During the Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1944, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, or the (VKP(b)), once again became the most important and only official political structure, as well as the mainstay of the political regime in Lithuania. Its constituent part, the Lithuanian Communist Party, (LKP(b)) was the territorial organization of the VKP(b) which performed the functions of the occupation's administrative authorities. The LKP (b) had no authority, nor did it have sufficient political power to sustain the government without the support of Soviet military and repressive structures. Lithuanian society generally considered the LKP (b) as an alien organization, which opposed Lithuanian nationhood.
2. In the national composition of the LKP (b), Lithuanians were a minority: 18 % in 1947, 38% by 1953. Almost all Party programs would be carried out in Russian; documents and the bulk of Party literature were prepared in the Russian language. The LKP (b) became the agent of Russification in Lithuania. Members of the LKP (b) were for the most part lacking formal education. Their dismissive, or even antagonistic attitude towards the religion and ethnic values of society contributed to their amoral behavior and the ferocity of their assault on that society.
3. The main function performed by the LKP (b) was the unconditional and unquestioning implementation of directives given by the VKP (b) Central Committee, the VKP (b) CC Politburo and its supreme authority, Joseph Stalin. The main objectives set for the LKP (b) were the Sovietization of Lithuania and the establishment of a Communist regime, the struggle against the national underground, and the introduction of the 'nomenklatura' structure. Communist Party policy in establishing the Soviet regime in Lithuania was kept strictly confidential. Not only planned repression or acts of terror, but also the basic decisions about everyday life were to be concealed from the public.
4. One of the most important tasks of the Party structures was to constantly search for "national or class enemies", and organize their repression. Four categories of people or social groups became the victims of the VKP (b)-LKP (b) repression: (1) partisans and members of

underground organizations and their supporters (“bourgeois nationalists”); (2) farmers (“kulaks”); (3) the employees of Soviet institutions (teachers, intellectuals and others), former politicians, officials, soldiers, other representatives of independent Lithuania (“politically and socially unreliable elements”); 4. Catholic clergymen (“reactionary Catholic clergy”). All these categories subject to arrest, imprisonment, deportation, or execution. This was the most extensive and most significant sphere of the LKP (b)’s criminal activities. Other spheres (including rigged elections, Russification, spiritual oppression, militant atheism (the persecution of believers and of the Church), tendentious execution of justice, anti-Semitism and economic repression) of the LKP (b) activities took the form of political discrimination against individuals and were also of a criminal nature.

5. Supported by Soviet repressive structures during 1944-1945, the LKP (b) established its authority in the population centers of Lithuania in a short period of time. However, it was less successful in expanding its network of authorities in the countryside. The *partorgs* (Party organizers) sent there constituted the highest local political authority. They initiated and organized local repression; they were distinguished by their brutal behavior, inhumanity and unethical/amoral life styles. In 1948, they were replaced by the secretaries of Party organizations.
6. Many Lithuanian Communists displayed a negative attitude towards Lithuanian nationhood, traditions, and common national values. Many participated voluntarily in the crimes of the Stalinist period. Many had few scruples, and in later year expressed little regret about their criminal activities. Among the leadership, there were some Communists, especially intellectuals who would try to mitigate the attacks of Stalinist forces; they would help their relatives, would rescue friends and would criticize some decrees of Moscow. Unfortunately, these were rare exceptions, which had no effect on political life in Lithuania or on the LKP (b) criminal activities.
7. During the first years of the postwar period, Moscow ordered the LKP (b) to speed up Sovietization and tighten its repressive policy. In 1944-1946, the VKP (b) CC passed three decrees strongly criticizing LKP (b) for unsatisfactory action in sovietizing Lithuania. The implementation of these decrees was controlled by the VKP (b) CC’s Lithuanian bureau and the LKP (b) CC bureau. In 1944-1953, they were succeeded by decrees and resolutions of LKP (b) bureau and LKP (b) CC plenums, which rode roughshod over human rights. Those documents focused primarily on different groups or social strata who were antagonistic

towards the Soviet authorities (“bourgeois nationalists”, “kulaks”, “reactionary Catholic clergy”, “socially alien elements” and the like). Those decrees considered repressive measures regarding these people, who were included in lists of politically unreliable people. At the end of forties and the beginning of fifties, the VKP (b) introduced a state policy of anti-Semitism. The VKP (b) would provoke political and ideological anti-Semitic campaigns, and would embark on repression. Anti-Semitism was officially named as the fight against “Zionism”, “Cosmopolitanism”, and “Freemasonry”. VKP (b) authorities aimed to oust the Jews from state government and from active public life.

8. As the entire Soviet political system was introduced into Lithuania, so too was Stalinist personnel policy, the practice of creating a ‘nomenklatura’ (elite) which was to help the Communist Party to expand its control over all state, economic, cultural and other institutions in a very short period of time. The people belonging to the ‘nomenklatura’, the leading personnel and specialists of the Soviet Lithuanian Party and Soviet administrative institutions, made up a privileged stratum of Lithuanian officialdom, the composition of which was unofficially controlled by the VKP(b) CC and the LKP(b) CC. Overall, there were more than 42,000 ‘nomenklatura’ positions in Lithuania in 1952. Half of the people working in the ‘nomenklatura’ were non-Lithuanians, primarily Russian-speaking people of different nationalities of the USSR sent by the VKP (b) CC.
9. The Bureau of the LKP(b) CC was among the most important structures of the LKP(b) CC apparatus responsible for dealing with repression issues (e.g. how to suppress the resistance movement or to deport people) as well as most administrative, economic, social, etc. issues of the LSSR (in the period from 1944 to 1947 the most decisions related to the sovietisation of Lithuania were taken by the Lithuanian Bureau of the VKP(b) CC). All the former members of the Bureau (together with the leadership of the VKP(b) CC) are politically responsible and guilty for the consequences of the Soviet occupation, the forced sovietisation and inhuman crimes against the Lithuanian nation.
10. The First Secretary of the LKP (b) CC, Antanas Sniečkus, was the creator of the Soviet regime, the most important Lithuanian collaborator, and the loyal viceroy of Moscow in Lithuania. All his life, he remained devoted to the tradition of Marxist dogmatism, obedience, and intolerance of contrary opinions. From 1944 to 1953 his name was associated with the forced Sovietization and Russification of Lithuania, the planning of the struggle against the

national underground, mass deportations of innocent people, imprisonments, persecutions of the opponents of the regime and of the Church, and the disruption of national culture.

11. Among the most important elements supporting the Communist regime in the USSR were the repressive structures (NKVD-MVD, NKGB-MGB and the *prokuratura* (prosecutor's office), as well as the special trials. During the postwar period in Lithuania, while executing the mission of the VKP (b) CC and the central repressive departments of the USSR, these structures developed a significant weight since it was their activities, notably the everyday struggle against resistance of the Lithuanian nation, which determined that the Soviet regime, and the Communist Party specifically, were able to exist in Lithuania.
12. The repressive Soviet structures were formally subordinate to the VKP (b). The LKP (b) in Lithuania did not have any actual administrative authority over these institutions, nor did the LKP (b) CC have the political power to bring under its control the entire repressive apparatus. These structures were directly subject to the central departments of the USSR in Moscow. They employed almost no Lithuanians were not trusted. The LKP (b) authorities made efforts to spread their influence and to make those institutions more Lithuanian, to form Lithuanian military-repressive units. However, Moscow was determined to put an end to military resistance by using its own military-repressive power, leaving the Lithuanians only with the function of formal implementation of the Communist regime. The nature of the LKP (b) leadership was more Party-ideologically oriented. Nevertheless, while during 1945-1948, deportations were carried out following direct orders from Moscow, in 1949-1953, the approval of directives regarding deportations would be sanctioned in the first instance by the LKP (b) CC.
13. The decisions of the LKP (b) CC office and the CC plenums required the repressive structures to pursue the general policy of establishing the Soviet regime and state terror. However, various levels within the LKP (b) did not have the opportunity to control the activities of those structures. Disagreements between the LKP (b) and the repressive structures had no impact on the Sovietization of Lithuania; all the relevant administrative institutions of the occupation were controlled from Moscow.
14. In 1944, it was not Soviet occupiers who were appointed to the leading positions in the central and local state institutions of the LSSR administration, but former Lithuanian citizens, mostly Communists who, because of their ideological beliefs, opportunism or other motives,

were supporting the Soviet Union. They voluntarily cooperated with the occupiers; they had sufficiently high administrative authority to force their countrymen to submit to the orders of Moscow. The Lithuanian Communists were against an independent Lithuania, and for the Soviet Union. Since they were defending not the interests of Lithuania, but those of the USSR, i.e. of the occupiers, their activities can be treated as criminal cooperation, assistance or collaboration.

General conclusion

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, or the (VKP (b)), constituting the basis of the structure of the state and having been designated by the Soviet constitution as the leading political power in society, made the state itself an instrument of its political interests and ideology. The Party took control of all political and state government. Concerning postwar Lithuania, the appearance of democracy and constitutionalism in the state consisted of the supposedly normal attributes of statehood, the high institutions of state authorities and government, the constitution, elections, and the legal system. Using these and other elements of statehood, the Communists realized the Party's total control over society, forbidding freedom of opinion, violating basic human rights and freedoms, pursuing a criminal policy of state terror, repression and the destruction of Lithuanian nationhood.

All the most important decisions regarding the destruction or repression of Lithuanian nationhood were made in Moscow, by the leadership of Communist Party. In Lithuania, all state structures of the occupation administration sanctioned these decisions and passed appropriate resolutions regarding them. The Lithuanian Communist Party leadership (LKP (b) Central Committee, the LKP (b) district, town and community committees, the secretaries and partorgs of Party committees) became the initiators, organizers and perpetrators of criminal activities; they also demanded that Party members, Komsomol members, other functionaries and activists of the Soviet apparatus take part in those activities. They provided ideological justification for the killing of a part of the population of Lithuania, and also instilled such attitudes in it into all the state structures of the Lithuanian SSR. The entire activity of the Communist Party was based on the Stalinist theory of the class struggle. Communism would set one social group of people against another. Party members were also encouraged to incite discord among people, arguing that the poor people represented the most advanced stratum of society.

In postwar Lithuania, as well as the Lithuanian Communist Party, other Soviet political structures operated in Lithuania: the VKP (b) CC Lithuanian bureau and the Lithuanian Communist Youth

Union of Lenin (Komsomol). Those organizations made active contributions to the process of Sovietization, they fought against the resistance and participated in repression.

In 1944-1953, the VKP (b) and its territorial division, the LKP (b) was a criminal organization, which perpetrated crimes against humanity, against the Lithuanian people and Lithuanian nationhood. The Communist terror and political repression affected some half a million Lithuanians. The LKP (b) never openly disclosed or discussed its past, and never admitted that it had engaged in criminal activity.

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