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The Criminal System of Occupational Policy – the role of the police (repressive) structures and collaboration with them

Historiography

The activity of the Soviet repressive bodies was top secret in the Soviet Union. Nobody had access to the documents of the state security or internal affairs' bodies except for the staff of the structures. Researchers were offered an opportunity to study them only after Lithuania restored its independence in 1990. Thus, a number of studies were carried out by historians during the last decade of the previous century, analysing one or another aspect of the issues of Lithuania's Soviet occupation, the history of the repressive bodies' activity including. However, the structure of the Soviet repressive bodies, the role of their separate subdivisions and collaboration with them in 1940 – 1941 has so far drawn little attention from the researchers. One of the reasons behind this is the very poor base of sources retained in Lithuania.

The reasons that led to the Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1940 and the consequences of the occupation were analysed more exhaustively by the researchers. Firstly, the pacts signed by the USSR and Germany in 1940, which determined the occupation and annexation of Lithuania, were examined on the basis of archive documents made public. The Lithuanian historiography researched the formation of the totalitarian repressive regime. The historians presented their evaluation of the Communist Party's activity in destroying the statehood of Lithuania and revealed the crimes of the Soviet regime against the Lithuanian and other nations. The issues of the genocide of the Lithuanian people, resistance to the Soviet system, collaboration by the locals and the role of individual persons in the historical developments, were also researched.

History may not be analysed without sufficient factographic material, therefore, many historians were aiming up till now at disclosing some unknown facts about the Soviet security and its activity. A monograph by Anušauskas, *The Soviet Annihilation of the Lithuanian Nation in 1940 – 1958* (Vilnius (V. hereafter), 1996) presents a most comprehensive analysis of the criminal occupation political system – the occupation police (repressive) structures and their role in annihilating the Lithuanian nation. Basing himself on the copious Lithuanian and Russian archive material and published works, the author surveys a rather wide spectrum of issues: the monograph reveals the peculiarities of the Soviet terror system, also analysing the preparation for the mass genocide actions, the conducting of military punitive operations, the circumstances, methods and consequences of mass deportations of Lithuanians and their annihilation in prisons and concentration camps. The repressive structures are unequivocally evaluated in the monograph as the main organisers and perpetrators of the crimes against the Lithuanian nation, thus, such issues as the structure and staff of these bodies, the system of concentration camps, the relation of the structures to the USSR political and military leadership and the Soviet Army, etc. are also analysed.

Other works by the researchers of the Soviet period history examine narrower aspects of the repressive structures. Truska has carried out an exhaustive analysis of the personnel of the Soviet repressive bodies in 1940 – 1953[1]: the author researches the issues of staff recruitment and training and the national composition of the personnel, also presenting information on the number of local staff and personnel sent to Lithuania from the Soviet Union, the lists of the executive staff and brief official biographies of the security staff. The figures Professor Truska presents, especially those on the composition of the security personnel in 1940 – 1941, are not entirely exact due to the already mentioned fact that very few documents from this period are available. For instance, the author determined the national composition of the staff on the basis of the surnames of the employees, which inevitably leads to certain errors in the data; however, presenting more precise figures is currently impossible.

Anušauskas has briefly examined the structure of the Soviet repressive bodies and their formation in Lithuania in the already mentioned *The Soviet Annihilation of the Lithuanian Nation in 1940 – 1958* and in another monograph, *Lithuanian Secret Services, 1918 - 1940*[2]. However, the author did not provide a more detailed analysis of the structure since it was not the object of his research. The issue is researched

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[1] Truska, L., Anušauskas, A., Petravičiūtė, I. *Soviet Security in Lithuania in 1940 – 1953*, V., 1999.
[2] Anušauskas, A. *Lithuanian Secret Services, 1918-1940,* V., 1995, 2nd revised edition V., 1998.

most comprehensively in the work by Petravičiutė, *The Structure and Functions of the Soviet Security in Lithuania*[3]. The author presents a rather exhaustive research into the structure of the NKVD and NKGB and the functions of the structural subdivisions. Russian historians Kokurin and Petrov have carried out a similar analysis: basing themselves exclusively on the archive documents, the authors compiled a reference book on the structure of the state security and internal affairs' central staff that operated in the Soviet Union in 1917 – 1960[4]. The research examines the development of the VCheka-OGPU-NKVD-NKGB-MGB-MVD-KGB structure and the main laws that regulated the activity of the bodies, also giving brief official biographies of the people's commissars and their deputies. The publication is especially valuable from the factographic aspect, in particular for those researchers of the Soviet period history who have no access to the Russian archives.

Another reference book of a similar character published in Russia provides an exhaustive analysis of the USSR GULAG system structure, based on the archive documents[5]. The reference book is composed of over five hundred monograph articles on the system of correctional labour and special camps, which operated in the Soviet Union during the Stalinist years, and the central boards of the USSR OGPU-NKVD-MVD that had these institutions of imprisonment at their command. The book also includes articles on the general features of the development of the gulag system in 1920 – 1950.

Lithuanian and foreign researchers paid special attention in their works to the mass deportations of 14 June 1941. Two document collections were published in Lithuania, presenting the documents of the security bodies retained at the country's archives that reflect the course of the organising and conducting of the deportations and their results[6]. A monograph by Grunskis, *Deportations of the People of Lithuania in 1940 – 1941, 1945 – 1953* (V., 1996) summarised the archive material as well as studies and articles on the issue of deportations published till then. The author analysed not only the deportation action of June 14 – 18 but also the repressions against the people of Lithuania perpetrated by the Soviets since the start of occupation up till then, the mechanism of deportation planning and preparation as well as the course of the deportations. Grunskis also presented in his monograph the number of the deported. Guryanov, a research fellow of a Russian scientific information and educational centre The Memorial, conducted research into the deportations of 1941 that took place in the territories occupied by the USSR (the Baltic states, Western Ukraine, Western Belorussia, Moldavia) after the 1939 pact between the Soviet Union and Germany[7]. He presented the data on the victims of the deportations recorded in the documents of the Russian Federation State Archive and the Russian Military State Archive. However, the researcher, as well as Lebedeva, the researcher of the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute of World History, and other Russian researchers, avoids evaluating the USSR actions in the Baltic states and other captured territories in 1940 as occupation and annexation.

The works mentioned reflect only one of the aspects of the activity of the Soviet repressive bodies in the occupied Lithuania, i.e. the deportation and its victims. The historiography also draws attention to another category of persons, the organisers and the perpetrators of the repressions. The biographies of the Soviet officials and a brief survey of the Lithuanian history in the period from 1940 to 1990 are presented in a book by Tininis, *The Soviet Lithuania and Its Officials* (V., 1994). The author limited his historical sketch to the outlining of the major events that determined this period in the history of Lithuania. Tininis was the first in the Lithuanian historiography to present the biographies of some of the security officials (Dekanozov, Podzniakov, Baranauskas, Gailevicius and others). Continuing the series of the biographies of the Soviet state officials, Tininis published in 1995 a biographic book on Sniečkus who for many years was the head of the Soviet Lithuanian administration[8]. The author mainly focused in his work on the personality of Sniečkus and the facts of his biography in the context of the Soviet Lithuanian history. As it was already mentioned, Truska included brief biographies of the Soviet security officials into his

[3] Ibid., p. 7-71.
[4] *Liubianka. VČK-KGB,* Moskva, 1997.
[5] *Sistema ispravitel'no – trudovych lagerej v SSRS, 1923-1960,* Moskva, 1998.
[6] *The History of Lithuania's Fights and Sufferings, part 1, Deportations of the People of Lithuania in 1941, 1945-1952,* V., 1994; *Deportations of the People of Lithuania in 1940-1941, 1944-1953 in the documents of the Soviet occupation authorities,* V., 1995.
[7] Guryanov, A. "*The Scale of the Deportation of Residents into the Depths of the Soviet Union (May – June 1941.), Genocide and Resistance,* 1997, No. 2, p. 56-65.
[8] Tininis, V. *Sniečkus. 33 years in power*, V., 1995; 2nd revised edition, V., 2000.

research[9]; the reference book by Kokurin and Petrov also features the biographies of the chief officials of the USSR central security staff[10].

The present Russian historiography focuses more on the exhaustive biographies of the Soviet Union and repressive bodies' leaders. Academic and journalistic works were published during the last decade, analysing the biographies of the former USSR and repressive bodies' chiefs – Lenin, Stalin, Beria and others. The book by Mlechin *Predsedateli KGB. Rassekrečenyje sud'by* (Moscow, 1999) should be mentioned here. The author presents in a popular style not only the biographies of the Soviet security chiefs from 1917 to the present times but also the history of the development of the security bodies and the evaluation of their impact on the governing of the country. Still, such books mainly focus not on serious academic research but rather on sensations – the KGB intelligence operations abroad[11] and piquant details of the USSR leaders' biographies[12]. Russian historians pay comparatively little attention to the Lithuanian issues and clearly tend not to assess the events of 1940 in Lithuania as the Soviet occupation and annexation of an independent state.

The security officials themselves also allocated some attention to the history of the Soviet repressive bodies. The books for official use of the security employees, currently kept at the Museum of the Genocide Victims, testify to this: a reference book *Kontrrazvedyvatel'nyj slovar* (Moscow, 1972), "*Istorija sovetskikh organov gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti*" (Moscow, 1977) and a document collection *V.I. Lenin i VČK (1917-1922)*". The information summarised in these publications was used for the theoretical training of the KGB staff. The books are written in the spirit of the Communist ideology; still, their factographic value is incontrovertible.

The main sources of the present research are the funds of the Lithuanian SSR Internal Affairs People's Commissariat (fund R-756) and the Lithuanian SSR State Security People's Commissariat (fund R-759) at the Lithuanian State Central Archive, and the archive documents of the former LSSR KGB and the Ministry of the Interior, presently kept at the Lithuanian Special Archive. However, few documents of the repressive bodies of 1940 – 1941 were retained at both archives. As it is known, practically all the archive of the NKVD-NKGB was removed to Russia following the start of the USSR-Germany war. Nearly all of the operational archive of the LSSR NKVD-NKGB was taken to the Chkalov region; the files of the LSSR NKVD and those of the criminal actions against the servicemen of the 29th territorial riflemen corps were removed to the Sverdlovsk region, and the operational material of the 29th territorial riflemen corps, together with over 1,000 agency files and file service lists, around 3,000 agent files, and the files of the executive personnel[13]. Due to this, the above-mentioned funds of the Lithuanian State Central Archive mainly include documents reflecting the administrative and economic activity.

Analysing the available archive materials of the security services, the researcher encounters at least three problems: 1. the authenticity of the documents; 2. the reliability of the documents; 3. the Soviet phraseology. The first problem occurs mainly due the technicalities, since a considerable part of the documents are simply copies, which usually were not signed by the highest officials; also, not all of the documents include dates and other properties proving the authenticity and legal significance of a document. Another problem is the authenticity of the documents. The Soviet documentation was inseparably linked with the Soviet ideology that had to reflect "the most glorious deeds of the standard-bearers of Communism in the fight against the class enemy". Thus, the events and data were recorded in a subjective manner in the documents by deliberately distorting them and presenting biased evaluations as well as untrue statistical data (e.g. the reports of the security officials on the persons detained and imprisoned indeed did not show the real situation). Since the very first days of occupation, a specific phraseology was used in the documents, turning the former Lithuanian state officials, politicians and public persons as well as the intelligentsia, big and small proprietors, etc. into class enemies, traitors to

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[9] Truska, L. and others, *Soviet Security…*, p. 188-398.
[10] *Liubianka. VČK-KGB*, p. 143-158.

[11] Gordiyevski, O., Endriu, K. *KGB – razvedyvatel'nyje operacii ot Lenina do Gorbačiova*, Moskva, 1991, 1999.
[12] Enko, K. *Chastnaja zhizn' vozhdej. Lenin, Stalin, Trotski*, Moskva, 2000.
[13] Report by the chief of the USSR NKVD 4th Board 2nd Division 5th Subdivision, Guzevičius, to the chief of the USSR NKVD 4th Board, Sudoplatov, Lithuanian Special Archive (LYA hereafter), fund (f. hereafter) K-1, inventory schedule (Inv. sch, hereafter) 3, file 149, page (p. hereafter) 147-151.

their country and anti-Soviet elements. The spying on the people, the arrests, imprisonment and deportations became in the documents the means for society cleansing and the ensuring of the state security. Therefore, it is essential that the documents, which in many cases are the only primary sources available, be assessed critically when studying them.

Single documents on the operational activity are also stored at the Lithuanian Special Archive. The majority of the 1940 – 1941 documents of the Lithuanian SSR State Security Committee (KGB) fund (f. K-1) are files of the criminal actions (LYA, f. K-1, Inv. sch. 58), among them several files of the LSSR NKVD-NKGB Secretariat (LYA, f. K-1, Inv. sch. 10) including reports on the agent-operational activity of separate NKVD divisions, official and special reports. The inventory schedule (LYA, f. K-1, Inv. sch. 6) of the LSSR NKGB A section (archive – registration) includes two registration journals of the personal files on the agents according to their pseudonyms as well as agent files, kept for the spying on the underground organisations that operated in Lithuania in 1940 – 1941 (The Saboteurs, The Parasites, and others). In the 15th inventory schedule of the fund (LSSR NKGB-KGB regional (district and rural district) subdivisions)) documents on the activity of the German Repatriation Commission in 1940 – 1941 have been retained, and the 29th inventory schedule (the special department of the Red Army 29th territorial Lithuanian riflemen corps) includes a single file the documents of which reveal the efforts by the USSR NKVD to "cleanse" the 29th territorial riflemen corps of enemies and "unreliable elements".

The fund of the MVD Cadre Department (f. 142) of the former archive of the LSSR Ministry of the Interior has retained the nominal lists of the LSSR NKVD and NKGB personnel, which are very important in analysing the structure and personnel composition of the repressive bodies. Some documents on the preparation for the 14 June 1941 deportations and the course and the results of the deportations are available at the former LSSR MVD Information Centre fund (LYA, f. 135). The reports of 1942 on the quantitative and qualitative personnel composition of the NKVD and NKGB in the summer of 1941 are kept at the funds of the former Lithuanian Communist Party (LKP) Centre Committee (CK) archive (currently Lithuanian Public Organisations Archive).

Due to this comparatively poor document base, many questions of the history of the first Lithuanian Soviet period still have not been finally solved; evaluating the role of the Soviet repressive bodies and the issue of collaboration with them is rather complicated.

1. Preconditions for the establishment of criminal occupation political system in Lithuania

The Soviet Union, having unlawfully seized the territory of the Republic of Lithuania by threatening to use force, i.e. having occupied Lithuania in June 1940, ignored the measures for occupied territories set by the international law. According to the standards of the international law, residents of the occupied territories and the occupants should be applied separate laws. In Lithuania, the same laws applied both for the occupants and the people of Lithuania. Until the incorporation of Lithuania into the USSR, laws in force in the Republic of Lithuania up till then were used. However, such situation impeded to a certain extent the Soviets in progressing with their colonial plans and the Soviets were making haste to legalise the seizure of the country and start its integration into the Soviet Union with the assistance of local collaborators. A speedy and successful achievement of the goals of a totalitarian state was ensured by a mechanism of activity in occupied territories, perfected during two decades: 1. taking over the legislative, executive and judicial powers and the mass information means, 2. setting up repressive (party, security, military) structures, 3. creating conditions for the repressive structures to commit acts of terror against the society or separate groups of the society. This method was applied in Lithuania rather successfully.

First of all, the USSR leadership took control of the Lithuanian Government, the Office of the President of the Republic, the Lithuanian Communist Party (LKP), and the mass information means through its envoy, the Deputy USSR Foreign Affairs People's Commissar Dekanozov. Already on June 22, the head of the Lithuanian puppet government Paleckis declared in the territory of Lithuania, except for the Vilnius district, the state of reinforced defence instead of the state of defence (martial law). The alteration of these laws granted authorisation to maintain internal order to the newly recruited employees of state institutions, the Ministry of the Interior in the first place. The majority of the new staff were Communists. In the period from June 19 to July 1, the People's Government banned all the political parties that existed till 20 June 1940 and nearly all the public organisations. On June 25-28, the people's government legalised the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Young Comsomol League (LKJS); on June 27, the Seimas and the Government Council were disbanded and all permits to publish newspapers and journals granted before 20 June 1940 were revoked. The documents, archives and assets of the organisations closed were gradually handed over to the Ministry of the Interior, thus making the members of the banned organisations potential victims of the future repressions.

Under the law on the Seimas elections promulgated by the Paleckis-led government on 5 July 1940, the election campaign and the Seimas elections were officially conducted in line with the law on the Lithuanian Seimas elections, but in reality the elections were organised according to the USSR electoral system. The People's Seimas elect proclaimed itself a sovereign representative of the nation's will by violating the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania and adopted on July 21 a declaration on the state system, declaring Lithuania a Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR). Lithuania was officially incorporated into the USSR at the 7th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 3 August 1940, which declared Lithuania a Union Republic. After 3 August 1940 the USSR sovereignty and citizenship entered into force in Lithuania; on August 25, the LSSR Constitution was adopted on the basis of the USSR Constitution of 1936.

By the decree of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet of 30 November 1940 on the "temporary application of the RSFSR criminal, civil and labour law in the territory of the Lithuanian SSR"[14], the codes of the Russian RSFSR criminal and civil law and other legal acts were officially enforced in Lithuania, while the citizens of Lithuania were held criminally liable for political activity in the past (before the occupation of Lithuania) under article 58 of the RSFSR Criminal Code already back in the summer of 1940[15].

After the state institutions of the independent Lithuania were liquidated and political parties banned, together with nearly all the public organisations, the formation of new structures, corresponding to the political system of the USSR and implementing its political will, was launched. The order by the

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[14] Instruction by the LSSR Justice People's Commissar Pakarklis, LCVA, f. R-761, Inv.sch. 1, file 1, p. 26.
[15] Bill of indictment by Rimvydas, J., ibid., Inv.sch. 6, file 27, p. 4.

USSR Centre Executive Committee of 10 July 1934 on "the establishment of the Union Internal Affairs Commissariat" provided for the formation of the Internal Affairs People's Commissariats (*Narodnyj komissariat vnutrennych del, NKVD)* in the Union Republics too. The order by the Lithuanian SSR NKVD People's Commissar Guzevičius, declared on 3 September 1940, announced the establishment of the LSSR NKVD[16]. According to the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 3 February 1941, an independent State Security People's Commissariat (*Narodnyj komissariat gosudarstvennoj bezopasnosti, NKGB*) was established on the basis of the Chief State Security Board (*Glavnoje upravlenije gosudarstvennoj bezopasnosti, GUGB*) that operated as part of the NKVD up till then. On 8 March 1941, the Lithuanian SSR NKVD was also reformed into two separate people's commissariats – the LSSR NKVD and LSSR NKGB.

The repressive actions conducted in Lithuania in 1940 – 1941 were based on the order No. 00123 of 11 October 1939 by the NKVD People's Commissar Beria "on the conducting of operational registration of criminal, socially dangerous and anti-Soviet elements"; the order also instructed that in the occupied territories (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia including), the following were to be annihilated first: members of non-communist organisations, prison staff, police officers, landowners, manufacturers, public servants, military officers, Polish refugees, German repatriates who still had not left and family members of such persons[17].

The first large-scale action of arrests organised and controlled by the USSR NKVD was conducted on July 14-18 on the basis of "The plan of the preparatory work for and the operational liquidation of the leadership of the anti-state parties: The Tautininkai, The Voldemarininkai, The Populists, The Christian Democrats, The Young Lithuanians, The Trotskyists, The Social Democrats, The S.R.'s, The Home Guard and others", approved by Sniečkus on 7 July 1940[18]. The plan instructed to "isolate the leaders and members of former political parties and organisations"[19]. The order by Beria of 23 October 1940 on "the use of archive material in the work in the operational CHEKA work" and the "Instruction on the registration of counter-revolutionary elements (by using archive material)" of November 23 gave precise guidelines for compiling lists of the arrested. The arrested people were prosecuted and stood trial by following the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (according to article 58 in nearly all the cases).

The mass deportations of 14-18 June 1941 were organised according to the instructions by the USSR political and security leadership, followed by the political and party leaders of the LSSR, NKGB and NKVD: resolution No. 1299-526 "On the expulsion of socially alien elements from the Baltic republics, Western Ukraine, Western Belorussia and Moldavia", passed by the All-Union Communist Party(b) Centre Committee (VKP(b) CK) and the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars on 16 May 1941, directive No. 77 on the deportation of "destructive anti-Soviet, criminal and socially dangerous elements" from the Baltic states, issued by the USSR State Security People's Commissar Merkulov on 19 May 1941, and the instruction by the Deputy USSR State Security People's Commissar Serov of 19 May 1941 for the operation of "the expulsion of anti-Soviet elements from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia".

The Soviet occupation of Lithuania started with the state structures still existing and the national law still in force; however, the political and state system of the country was destroyed and the Soviet regime, protected by the LKP, the army, and the repressive bodies (NKVD, NKGB), was established during a very short period of time and without any stronger resistance.

2. Occupation (police) repressive structures in Lithuania in 1940 – 1941
2. 1 Primary stage of the establishment of repressive structures

At the primary stage of the establishment of occupation police (repressive) structures in Lithuania, in June – August 194, the Soviets used the institutions that operated up till then: the Ministry of the

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[16] Order No. 1 by the LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissar of 3 September 1940, ibid., file 11, p.1.

[17] Anušauskas, A. *The Soviet Annihilation of the Lithuanian Nation*, V., 1996, p.18-19.

[18] The plan of the preparatory work for and the operational liquidation of the leadership of the anti-state parties: : The Tautininkai, The Voldemarininkai, The Populists, , The Christian Democrats, The Young Lithuanians, The Trotskyists, The Social Democrats, The S.R.'s, The Home Guard and others, LYA, f. K-1, Inv. sch. 6, file 1, p. 231-233.

[19] *The Genocide of the People of Lithuania,* vol. 1, V., 1999, p. 58

Interior and the State Security Department. The chief aim of the occupation authorities during this period was to form the state security service according to the USSR NKVD model and create favourable conditions for perpetrating repressions. The founding work was organised and co-ordinated by the USSR envoy Dekanozov, sent from Moscow to Lithuania already on 15 June 1940 and by the USSR Soviet of People's Commissars' envoy for Lithuania, Podzniakov, who arrived later. Dekanozov and Podzniakov were reporting on the events in Lithuania directly to Beria and Stalin. Appointed to the post of the State Security Department Director on 19 June 1941, Sniečkus is quoted as having said: […] I came here having consulted Comrade Podzniakov. We will have to create from nothing an institution that is known in the Soviet Union under the name of the CHEKA or GPU. There will be plenty of work […]"[20].

Until Lithuania's incorporation into the Soviet Union, the State Security Department was being reorganised by forming new divisions and recruiting Soviet-reliable staff. The NKVD was practically formed and corresponded to the structure of the regional Internal Affairs People's Commissariats operating in the Soviet Union already in early August 1940. On 8 August 1940, the State Security Department had the Secretariat, the 2nd and 3rd departments, the departments of Economics, Inquiry, Cadre, and Administration-Economy department, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd special departments and the 7th Division[21]. On 3 September 1940, the order signed by the LSSR NKVD People's Commissar Guzevičius was declared, officially announcing the establishment of the LSSR NKVD[22]. In November 1940, Guzevičius said: "The autumn of 1940 was the period for organising the LSSR VRLK (Internal Affairs People's Commissariat, NKVD – *author*) centre machinery and district branches. All the attention was concentrated on the acceleration of the organisation process and the strengthening of the NKVD bodies. It had to be accomplished and it was accomplished"[23].

2.2 NKVD – the system of repressive subdivisions

The branch of the USSR NKVD established in Lithuania, the LSSR NKVD, was set the following tasks, taking into account both the specific situation of Lithuania (a formerly independent state, forcible annexed to the USSR, bordering with Germany) and the internal policy goals of the Stalinist regime:

- create conditions for Lithuania's speedy Sovietisation and integration into the Soviet Union and "cleanse" the country of elements unwelcome from the anti-Soviet aspect;
- annihilate separate groups of people: members of non-communist organisations, public persons, officers, businesspeople, proprietors, and the progressive members of the society unfit for "re-education";
- stop and obliterate the manifestation of the anti-Soviet movement in the country;
- ensure an absolute security of borders with Germany (i.e. bar the roads for the retreat of the residents of Lithuania to the West).

All the NKVD machinery was strictly centralised – the centre department would report to the leadership of the LSSR NKVD and to the respective subdivisions of the USSR NKVD centre; the leadership would send joint reports on the work of the LSSR NKVD to the USSR NKVD leadership in Moscow[24]. All the NKVD departments were divided into administration-economy and operational-CHEKA, each of which had concretely defined functions.

The staff of the NKVD operational-Cheka departments and the agent network covered all the areas of the country's life: public administration institutions, strategic industrial and agricultural enterprises, state, public, culture and science organisations and separate groups of people into which the society was divided on the basis of Stalinist ideology.

The Economics Department of the NKVD (*Ekonomičeskij otdel, EKO*) was spying on the workers of industrial and agricultural enterprises, compiled lists of former proprietors and large-scale farmers, and

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[20] Gailius, A "The Visit of Sniečkus", *Politics,* 1990, No. 6.
[21] Orders by the State Security Department director No. 27 and No. 31 of 9 August 1940, LCVA, f. R-756, Inv.sch. 6, file 5, p. 90, 91, 94.
[22] Order No. 1 by the LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissar of 3 September 1940, ibid, file 11, p.1.
[23] Order No. 66 by the LSSR NKVD People's Commissar of 23 November 1940, ibid., p .192

[24] Order No. 5 by the LSSR NKVD Internal Affairs People's Commissar of 18 September 1940, ibid., file 13, p. 59, 114; order No. 3186 by the LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissar of 7 October 1940, ibid., p. 13;

controlled the nationalisation of the industry and agriculture objects. Separate subdivisions of the LSSR NKVD assumed control of strategic institutions of transport and communications: the NKVD Highway Board (*Upravlenije šossejnych dorog, UŠOSDORG*) was responsible not only for the supervision of Lithuania's roads but also for drawing up and executing a plan for the centralisation of the Lithuanian roads and their joining to the Union highway system[25]. The staff of the NKVD Highway Board were spied on by the LSSR NKVD 3rd Transport Subdivision, which also controlled the Lithuanian SSR Communications Board and its subdivisions as well as the Kaunas city radio station[26]. The staff of the NKVD Water Subdivision and their agents were spying the institutions of water basins: the ports of the Nemunas River basin and the Šventoji Fishery port at the Baltic Sea coast[27]. The USSR NKVD Road Transport Division at the Lithuanian railway controlled the Lithuanian railway lines and spied on the railway staff. The LSSR NKVD Archive Division was handed over the centre state archives in Vilnius and Kaunas, and the archives of state institutions, organisations, and societies, as well as confessional and military archive documents and those of the judicial bodies and institutions, nationalised industrial, trade, financial, education (universities, institutes) institutions, estates, palaces, the press, and postal and telegraph services[28]. Thus the NKVD had at its disposition the material necessary for planning and carrying out repressive actions.

The special subdivisions of the NKVD (the 1st, 2nd and 3rd special departments) had to fulfil specific operational tasks: the 1st Special Department was compiling an internal archive of the NKVD and registering documents, while the staff of the 2nd Special Department was responsible for the equipment used in operational missions, and agents of the 3rd Special Department were spying on persons in which the security was interested in, conducting searches and making arrests.

The punishment execution system, controlled by the LSSR NKVD, comprised the Inquiry Division and the Prisons Division that had at its command all the institutions of deprivation of liberty in Lithuania[29] except for the correctional labour colonies, belonging to the NKVD Department of Correctional Labour Colonies[30]. After the NKVD took control of the imprisonment institutions, they became part of the joint USSR prison system, which meant that a person arrested in Lithuania could be imprisoned in any prison or concentration camp in the Soviet Union. The system for perpetrating the Soviet terror also included special courts. The courts that functioned in Lithuania before the occupation were replaced by the Soviet Union judicial system practically from the first days of the annexation: the criminal cases against former Lithuanian political figures, party leaders and members, public servants, public persons, etc. were tried by the USSR NKVD Special Meeting (*Osoboje soveščanije, OSO*), established in the Soviet Union on 5 November 1934[31]. The Military Tribunals of the USSR NKVD Army, joined on 9 December 1940 by a newly-established Lithuanian SSR NKVD Army Military Tribunal[32], heard the cases against officers, conscripts, staff of the NKVD Militia Board, Administration, Economy and Service Departments and the security operational personnel, charged with service violations[33]. The other courts, the Military Board of the USSR Supreme Court and the District Military Tribunal (heard the cases of treason, espionage, terror, sabotage and military counter-revolutionary crimes) as well as the railway and water transport courts (heard the cases of treason crimes committed in the sphere of transport)[34] heard comparatively few cases in Lithuania in 1940 – 1941.

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[25] Report by the LSSR NKVD Highway Board Director Kanišauskas to the LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissar of 26 October 1940, ibid., file 12, p. 3.
[26] Report by the Deputy LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissar Baranauskas and the LSSR NKVD 3rd Transport Subdivision Director Lichvincev to the USSR NKVD of 12 December 1940, LYA, f. K-1, Inv.sch. 6, file 2, p. 27-32.
[27] Report by the Deputy LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissar Baranauskas and the LSSR NKVD Water Subdivision Director Gavrilin to the USSR NKVD of 14 December 1940, ibid., p. 33-35.
[28] Note to the chiefs of the LSSR NKVD city and district divisions, LCVA, f. R-756, Inv. sch. 2, file. 59, p. 61.
[29] List of the LSSR NKVD prison governors, ibid., file. 79, p. 5-6.
[30] Anušauskas, A. "KGB in Lithuania in 1940-1991", *Lithuanian Archives*, 1997, No. 8, p. 42.

[31] Copies of the protocols of the Special Conference, LCVA, f. R- 756, Inv. sch. 2, file 59, p. 61.
[32] Order No. 82 by the LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissar, ibid., Inv. sch. 6, file5, p. 25.
[33] Report by the USSR Justice People's Commissar, chairman of the Board of Military Tribunals of 31 October 1940, ibid., file 51, p. 23.
[34] *Represii 30-40-ch g.g. v Tomskom krae,* Tomsk, 1991, s. 5-7.

Respective NKVD subdivisions operated in all the territory of Lithuania: in Vilnius, the NKVD Vilnius City Board was established, while Kaunas had the NKVD Kaunas City Division; all the district centres had NKVD district divisions and in the rural district centres, the NKVD rural district subdivisions were formed. The provincial subdivisions were directly subordinate to the LSSR NKVD centre and carried out its instructions.

2.3 The system of political persecution

The main functions of political persecution and terror perpetration were discharged by the State Security Board (*Upravlenije gosudarstvennoj bezopasnosti, UGB*) that was part of the NKVD up till 3 February 1941 and later by the NKGB. Each of the board (State Security People's Commissariat later) divisions persecuted the groups of society that it had at its disposition. The 2nd Special-Political Department (*Sekretno – političeskij otdel), SPO*) collected data on persons that were to be annihilated according to the order by Beria of 11 November 1939: former public servants of the Republic of Lithuania, members of political parties, public persons, emigrants, Polish and German refugees, employees of the Lithuanian SSR state and academic instutions, staff of militarised organisations suspected of anti-Soviet activity. The 3rd Counter-espionage Department (*Kontrrazvedyvatel'nyj otdel, KRO*) had to disclose the activity of foreign special services in Lithuania and stop it as well as to expose persons working for foreign intelligence services. The task of the 1st Subdivision was to ensure the safety of the members of the LKP(b) CK, the Government and the Supreme Soviet and to check candidates to the LKP(b) CK. The 7th Subdivision checked persons whose job was related to the Soviet state secrets. In late 1940, the Intelligence Department (*Razvedyvatel'nyj otdel, RO*) was formed. During the 1940 – 1941 period, the department mainly focused on reconnaissance in countries occupied by the Nazi Germany[35].

After the NKVD was divided into separate commissariats, the Internal Affairs People's Commissariat (NKVD) and the State Security People's Commissariat (NKGB) by the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 3 February 1941[36], the general internal affairs of the state were left at the responsibility of the NKVD, except for the state security. The NKGB was delegated the political functions of ensuring the security of the state. The State Security Board, part of the NKVD up till then, became an administratively independent repressive institution of the Soviet totalitarian state. Some functions of the NKVD were delegated to the NKGB: the operational files kept by the Economics Department and the transport subdivisions were taken over by the NKGB Special Political Department[37], while the special departments of the NKVD (departments of operational equipment, exterior espionage and arrests) were reformed into respective NKGB subdivisions (the 3rd and 4th department of the NKGB)[38]. The NKGB was also given some of the punishment execution subdivisions: the Inquiry Division with 26 interrogators, the internal prisons of Vilnius and Kaunas, and the wards of the district internal prisons together with the prisoners[39].

When dividing the NKVD into two independent people's commissariats, respective alterations were also made in the provincial subdivisions. The former NKVD Vilnius City Board was reformed into the NKGB Vilnius City Board and the NKVD Vilnius City and District Division[40]. The NKVD district branches were divided into the NKVD and NKGB district branches and the NKVD rural district branches were reformed into the NKVD and NKGB rural district branches.

These changes increased the influence of the police structures in the state even more; the state security bodies, which implemented the priority political tasks of the Soviet authorities, received broad powers

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[35] Historical review of the activity of the Reconnaissance Subdivision of the LSSR state security bodies, LYA, f. K-1, Inv. sch. 49, file 846, p. 2.
[36] 15 *Liubianka. VČK-KGB*, Moskva, 1997, s. 26.
[37] Order No. 0022/008 by the LSSR People's Commissioners of Internal Affairs and State Security of 10 March 1941, LCVA, f. R-756, Inv. sch. 2, file 79, p. 5-6.
[38] List of the structural subdivisions and posts of the LSSR NKGB of 3 April 1942, LYA, f. 142, Inv. sch. 1, file 89, p. 6, 7.
[39] List of the LSSR NKVD prison governors of 1941, LCVA, f. R-756, Inv. sch. 2, file 79, p. 5-6.

[40] The structure of the LSSR NKVD Vilnius City and District Division in 1941, LYA, f. 142, Inv. sch. 1, file 96, p. 16-18; List of the subdivisions and posts of the LSSR NKGB Vilnius City Board, ibid., file. 89, p. 14-19.

and their functions were expanded, therefore, they could increase the machinery (i.e. recruit more staff and expand the agent network).

The Soviet authorities aimed at establishing the Soviet system in Lithuania speedily and ensuring its stability by all means available. In order to achieve its goals, the occupants had to isolate the part of the society that expressed or could express its dissatisfaction with the totalitarian system. The activity of the repressive structures was directed exactly at this. The centre leadership of the USSR NKVD and NKGB organised the actions of terror that were conducted by the subdivisions of the centre machinery, the LSSR NKVD and NKGB leadership and the respective staff. The leadership of the USSR repressive bodies organised and perpetrated two large-scale repressive actions with the approval of the leadership of the Communist Party, the mass arrests of 10-17 July 1940 and the mass deportations of 14-18 June 1941, also conducting during the year the registration of the residents, persecuting, arresting and deporting the people, which often resulted in the death of the repressed.

The repressive machinery functioned in Lithuania for a relatively short period – until the start of the Germany – USSR war. Following the start of the war, part of the LSSR NKVD and NKGB machinery was evacuated in June 1941 to various locations in the Soviet Union: the districts of Gorki, Ivanov, Yaroslavl, Kirov and Vologda, Altay and Krasnoyarsk regions, the Bashkirian SSR, the Tatar ASSR, the Uzbek SSR and other places[41]. Also, from the start of the war, a group of the Lithuanian SSR NKVD (NKGB) staff operated within the centre USSR NKVD (NKGB as of April 1943), controlling persons evacuated from Lithuania, the arrested including, organising an co-ordinating the activity of the special groups in the territory of the German-occupied Lithuania and conducting preparatory work for the re-occupation of Lithuania (in the case of the Soviet Union winning the war).

Summarising this part, a conclusion may be drawn that the repressive bodies that were established in Lithuania, occupied by the Soviets and incorporated into the Soviet Union, followed the model of the other Soviet Union institutions of that character in their structure and functions. All the repressive machinery was strictly centralised by establishing the direct subordination and accountability of the provincial subdivisions to the LSSR NKVD and NKGB centre, the latter reporting to the USSR NKVD, NKGB and VKP(b) CK centre leadership in Moscow. The main task of the repressive structures was to finally destroy the state sovereignty of the occupied Lithuania and the manifestations of possible resistance to the occupants.

3. Collaboration with Soviet repressive bodies
3.1 Recruitment of the staff of the repressive bodies

As the Soviet Union leadership started forming the repressive structures in Lithuania in the summer of 1940, meeting the standards of the USSR repressive structures in their form and defending only the interests of the USSR, recruiting suitable staff became a major task. The Cheka personnel had to remain faithful to the implementation of the state policy, understand their duty as the administration of unquestionable justice, not doubt the necessity of their actions, be full of hatred to the state enemy and aware that offences will inevitably be punished by resorting to most drastic measures. The cadre selected for the work in the repressive bodies were persons devoted to the Communist ideology and tested in the Cheka activity. The occupants were also sending their personnel to Lithuania and used the support they received from the local helpers – the LKP and people sympathising with it.

In late June (early July) 1940, former staff was being replaced with newly-recruited cadre in all the divisions of the former Lithuanian State Security Department both in the centre machinery and the provincial branches. In the case of shortage of local cadre suitable for service in the future NKVD machinery, the USSR personnel were sent to Lithuania. The report by resident Petrov No. 29 to the USSR GUGB Foreign Division of 28 June 1940 said: "[…] The Political Police Department of the Ministry of the Interior in Kaunas is recruiting staff from Communists recently released from prison […]"[42]. The LKP(b) CK Bureau obligated the party's structures on September 18 to take an active part in the formation of the NKVD and send to the institution 2,600 Communists, Young Communists and reliable

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[41] The work plan of the Lithuanian Secretary at the SSRS NKVD of 4 November 1941, ibid., f. K-1, Inv. sch. 3, file 149, p. 37.

[42] Ibid., Inv. sch. 49, file 826, p. 499.

non-party members ("non-party Communists"): 1,830 to the militia, 260 to the State Security Board, and 515 to serve as prison governors[43]. The heads of the NKVD district divisions were instructed to recruit new staff only after co-ordinating their candidacies with the secretaries of the party district committees[44]. The national Cheka cadre were to be trained at a republican NKVD school, established in the autumn of 1940 (two hundred Lithuanians of 25-35 years of age and having at least primary education were selected to study at the school)[45]. The Cheka cadre of a higher rank for the Baltic states (100 for each of the states) were to receive training at the Special Department of the USSR NKVD Moscow higher educational establishment. In October-November 1940, the LKP(b) CK approved 114 candidates for studying at the school: 103 Lithuanians, 9 local Russians and 3 Jews[46].

A report by Gladkov to the USSR NKVD leadership presents the most comprehensive summary of the selection of the cadre for the repressive bodies: "[…] the distribution of the people according to the new LSSR NKVD posts is practically completed. Both the people recruited to the NKVD locally and the NKVD staff who were on a mission here received appointments as of 10 September. […] The commissariat mainly includes the locals, formerly imprisoned and jobless, while the rest have been sent from the USSR"[47].

The staff of the repressive structures was recruited in line with the instructions by the USSR political and party leadership. The attention was focused on the ideological preparedness of the candidates and their loyalty to the Soviet system, therefore, the structures of the Communist Party influenced the formation of the NKVD and NKGB personnel most powerfully.

3.2 The staff of the LSSR NKGB

The centre leadership of the LSSR NKGB and the composition of the staff. The LSSR State Security Committee's People's Commissar Gladkov was sent to Lithuania in July 1940 and served as the 1st deputy to the Internal Affairs People's Commissar till 8 March 1941 (i.e. till the establishment of the LSSR NKGB)[48]. Lithuanian Communist Baranauskas as well as Bykov and Zakharov, sent from the USSR, were appointed deputies to Gladkov. Out of 37 chiefs of the LSSR NKGB centre divisions and subdivisions and deputies to the heads of the divisions, i.e. highest rank officials, 6 (16.2 percent) were Lithuanian, 5 (13.5 percent) were local Jews and the remaining 26 (70.3 percent) were persons of other nationalities[49].

According to the data presented to the LKP CK division by the LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissar Guzevičius, the LSSR NKGB had a staff of 557 in June 1941, 288 (51.7 percent) of whom were non-local and 269 (48.3 percent) were local residents. The NKGB system also had 123 secret employees (not divided into local – non-local in the document). The district divisions of the NKGB were "most Lithuanian", the staff of 218 persons including 139 (63.7 percent) locals and 79 (36.3 percent) non-local people. According to the nominal staff lists of the NKGB, the centre NKGB had a total of 208 employees (the staff of the internal prison excluding) in the spring of 1941, of whom 60 (29 percent) were Lithuanians, 35 (16.8 percent) were local Jews and 113 (54.2 percent) were Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and others.

The staff of the LSSR NKGB provincial subdivisions. The staff of the second most important subdivision of the NKGB, the LSSR NKGB Vilnius City Board included in June 1941 106 (nearly 90 percent) employees sent from the USSR and 12 locals (according to the report by Guzevičius of 1942). Counting according to the nominal staff lists of the board, a total of 117 employees of the board and 42 employees of the NKGB Vilnius internal prison will be found[50]. All the 21 chiefs of the Vilnius City Board divisions and subdivisions as well as their deputies were non-local; out of the 37 of the board's

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[43] LVOA, f. 1771, Inv. sch 1, file 3, p. 1-2.
[44] Ibid., file 17, p. 4-5.
[45] Resolution by the LKP(b) CK of 18 September 1940, ibid., file 3, p. 1.
[46] Ibid., file 19, p. 2-47; file 25, p. 2-4; file 307, p. 33-103.

[47] Report by Gladkov to Merkulov, LCVA, f. R-756, Inv. sch. 2, file 11, p. 56-59.
[48] Office dossier/card of Gladkov, LYA, f. K-1, Inv. sch. 61, card index No. 41.
[49] Truska, L., Anušauskas, A., Petravičiūtė, I. *The Soviet Security in Lithuania in 1940-1953*, V., 1999, p. 98-99.
[50] LCVA, f. R- 756, Inv. sch. 6, file 184, p. 1-9.

operational employees, 4 (10.8 percent) were Lithuanian, 2 were Jewish and 2 – Polish, while the rest (78.4 percent) were Russian-speaking, and out of the 14 interrogators of the of the board's Interrogation Division, 13 were Russians and only 1 was Lithuanian. The staff of 38 at the internal prison did not include a single Lithuanian[51]. According to the data possessed by the LKP(b) Vilnius City Committee, the party organisation of the LSSR NKGB Vilnius City Board included 58 Russians, 8 Ukrainians, 1 Belorussian, 10 Jews, 2 Lithuanians and 3 Communists of other nationalities on 25 May 1941[52].

The LSSR NKGB Kaunas City division was more Lithuanian: in June 1941, it had a staff of 6 locals and 2 non-locals[53], while in the internal prison, 6 employees were Lithuanian, 4 were Russian and 1 was Jewish[54].

In the 21 district divisions of the NKGB, nearly half of the staff were local – Lithuanians and Jews. Out of the staff of 194 of the NKGB district divisions, 77 (39.7 percent) were Lithuanians, 18 (9.3 percent) were Jews and 99 (51 percent) were Russians[55]. Out of the 15 chiefs of the district divisions, 3 were non-local, while the 21 deputy district chiefs all were non-local; all the 11 chiefs of the secret political subdivisions and the 12 chiefs of the counter-espionage subdivisions were sent from the USSR, as well as the majority of the senior operational envoys and interrogators. The local security staff formed a majority only among the ordinary operational personnel (out of 70 operational envoys and their deputies, approximately 60 were Lithuanians).

The NKGB Transport Subdivisions at the Vilnius, Kaunas, Šiauliai, Panevėžys, Kretinga, Tauragė, Virbalis and Švenčionys railway stations were headed by Russians, and the operational staff of 24 included 4 Lithuanians and 1 Jew (20.9 percent) and 19 (79.1 percent) Russians[56].

Since the state security was a priority sphere of the USSR internal policy, the major posts at the USSR security subdivision in Lithuania were occupied by the staff sent from the Soviet Union and local Communists, the national composition of which was influenced by the national composition of the local party organisations.

3.3 The staff of LSSR NKVD

The centre leadership of the LSSR NKVD and the composition of the staff. The Internal Affairs People's Commissar, Lithuanian Guzevičius had three deputies, two of whom were non-local – Doncov and Vradiy (replaced Lithuanian Mickevičius in June 1941), and the third was a Lithuanianised Latvian Krastinis[57]. In late May 1941, out of the 138 employees of the LSSR NKVD centre authorities (division and subdivision chiefs, their deputies and assistants, secretaries, instructors, operational envoys, interrogators, inspectors), 72 (52.2 percent) were Russian-speaking persons, 43 (31.2 percent) were Lithuanian and 23 (16.6 percent)[58] were Jewish, while out of the 20 chiefs of the Militia Board divisions and subdivisions, as few as 6 (20 percent) were Lithuanian[59].

According to the data provided by the LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissar Guzevičius to the LKP CK division in 1942, the LSSR NKVD had a staff of 4,487 in June 1941, of whom 4,071 (90.7 percent) were local and 416 (9.3 percent) were sent from the Soviet Union[60]. The Militia divisions had the greatest number of local employees – 2,835, which accounted for 63.18 percent of the total staff of the NKVD machinery; the prisons employed 878 locals, i.e. 19.56 percent of the total NKVD machinery

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[51] LYA, f. 142, Inv. sch. 1, file 89, p. 42-43.

[52] LVOA, f. 3109, Inv. sch 3109, file 54, p. 39-43.

[53] Data presented by the LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissar Guzevičius to the LKP CK in 1942, ibid., f. 1771, Inv. sch. 5, file 102, p. 191-192.

[54] LYA, f. 142, Inv. sch 1, file 89, p. 44.

[55] Nominal staff list of the district divisions compiled by the LSSR NKGB Cadre Department, ibid., p. 20-41.

[56] Ibid., p. 45-47.

[57] Truska, L. "The Russification of Lithuanian state institutions in 1940-1941", *The Works*, 1996, No. 1, p. 15, 19.

[58] Staff list of the LSSR Internal Affairs People's Commissariat according to the posts occupied of 28 May 1941, compiled by the LSSR NKVD Cadre Department, LYA, f. 142, Inv. sch 1, file 96, p. 1-9.

[59] List of the Militia Board staff with posts indicated of 28 May 1941, ibid., p. 10-14.

[60] Data presented by the LSSR NKVD People's Commissar Guzevičius to the LKP CK division in 1942, LVOA, f. 1771, Inv. sch. 5, file102, p. 191-192.

staff, and the city and district divisions had 24 non-   local employees and 138 locals – 3 percent of the total staff of the NKVD machinery.

The personnel of the NKVD prisons. According to the nominal staff lists of the NKVD prisons, the staff of 79 higher rank officials (prison governors and their deputies, political instructors, operational envoys, deputy governors on duty) included 53 (67 percent) Russians, 4 (7.7 percent) Jews, and 20 (25.3 percent) Lithuanians[61]. The national composition of the lower-rank personnel was more Lithuanian, however, in the spring of 1941 the prisons did not have a single employee who had worked there before 15 June 1940 as all the prison governors were replaced already in the first weeks of the occupation and the changes in the lower-rank staff started in the autumn of 1940. During a new wave of cadre changing in the spring of 1941, the local senior prison governors, even the Communist ones, were being replaced by the Cheka staff sent from the USSR[62].

The staff of the NKVD provincial subdivisions. Out of the 162 staff members of the NKVD city and district divisions, 138 (85 percent) were local persons and 24 (15 percent) were non-local. The posts of the division chiefs were mainly occupied by Lithuanians, while Russians were mostly appointed their deputies[63]. However, after the majority of the Russian-speaking NKVD district division chiefs moved to the NKGB district divisions in March 1941, the situation slightly changed: in the spring of 1941, 11 (25 percent) out of the 44 NKVD district division chiefs (division chiefs and their deputies) were Russian-speaking persons, while the rest were Lithuanians (around 75 percent), except for 1 Jewish employee (25 percent). Deputies to the chiefs of the district militia divisions usually were Russians[64].

The "more Lithuanian" composition of the NKVD personnel was conditioned by the fact that the authorities of some of the provincial services, the militia, archives, fire prevention and rescue service, prisons, transport subdivisions, etc. allowed the former employees to remain in their posts temporarily. Certainly, with the number of "specialists" trained specially for the Cheka service growing, the "old" staff would have been replaced anyway, as it was done in the prisons and the militia. However, the formation of the executive sections of the NKVD displayed the same tendencies as the state security machinery – the major posts were being occupied by either the staff sent from the USSR or local Communists.

3.4 The agents of pre-war repressive bodies

The system of total espionage of the NKVD and NKGB played a very important role in the repressive system. The reports by the agents would be assumed as a basis for including any person into the "operational register", while the people who were put on the list via other ways (e.g. when examining the archives of the banned organisations) would be spied on by the agents. The Soviet state security system was established in such a way as to cover all the social and professional layers of the Lithuanian society: each of the NKVD and NKGB subdivisions had a very clearly defined sphere of activity and an agent network of its own. This gave a pretext for part of the society to collaborate with the occupation authorities. However, this form of collaboration with the occupants may not be evaluated unilaterally as the majority of the people were recruited under compulsion in 1940 – 1941. The instruction on the recruitment of agents among criminals, issued by Gladkov on 27 September 1940, said: "A personal file containing compromising material must be kept on each of the persons recruited […]"[65]. Thus, agents were recruited not only from the criminal world (in fact, criminals formed only one agent category – the ward agents). From the point of view of the Soviet authorities, compromising material was a state office held during the years of independence or a social status, membership in public organisations, conversations disloyal to the occupation authorities, acquaintances with persons arrested, and ties with the underground. Consequently, any person was a potential candidate for recruitment. Also, it was very

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[61] List of the NKVD prisons' staff of 28 December 1941, LYA, f. 142, Inv. sch. 1, file 96, p. 98-123; List of the NKVD prison governors of 17 June 1941, LCVA, f. R- 756, Inv. sch. 2, file 79, p. 5-6; Nominal list of the LKP(b) members of June 1941, LVOA, f. 1771, Inv. sch 2, file 265-258.
[62] Truska, L., Anušauskas, A., Petravičiūtė, I. *The Soviet Security in Lithuania…*, p.97-98.
[63] List of the LSSR NKVD executive staff of September 1940, LCVA, f. R-756, Inv. sch. 6, file 11, p. 2-4; Lists of the NKVD district division chiefs of 28 September 1940 and 16 October 1940, LVOA, f. 1771, Inv. sch. 1, file 307, p. 118-119, 124-125.
[64] List of the staff of the NKVD district divisions of 28 May 1941, LYA, f. 142, Inv. sch. 1, file 96, p. 16-97.
[65] LCVA, f. R-789, Inv. sch. 1, file 94, p. 1.

difficult not to yield to the pressure as brutal repressions awaited those who refused to collaborate, generally ending in the physical annihilation of the disobedient.

Exact data on the NKVD and NKGB agents in 1940 – 1941 has not been preserved in Lithuania. Only a few figures recorded in the documents of the repressive bodies retained can be presented currently: the Economics Department of the NKVD Vilnius City Board had 301 agents in industrial, trade and financial enterprises and institutions and the agricultural sector from August 1940 till the end of the year[66]; the USSR NKVD Road Transport Department at the Lithuanian railway registered 1,051 agent personal files in the period from 10 October 1940 to 15 March 1941[67]; the NKGB district divisions had 3,672 agents and informants on 15 May 1941, who spied on 535 persons and provided information to the file – service list No. 851[68]. In the period from 15 August 1940 to 20 June 1941, a total of 7,746 agent personal files were registered at the LSSR NKVD and NKGB[69].

The ward agents. Following the instruction by the USSR NKVD Prison Board of 6 August 1940, all the prison governors were advised to have at least 2 informants in each ward, who would assist "the NKVD interrogation bodies in establishing the facts of criminal activities and their relation to the counter-revolutionary underground"[70]. On 1 December 1940, the NKVD had 36 informants among prisoners, while on 1 January 1941 the number was 261 (among them 91 political prisoners); by 1 April 1941, the number of informants had already risen to 333 (among them 116 political prisoners), while in June the NKVD had a total of 252 informants (among them 121 political prisoners)[71]. The majority of the prisoners who served as informants were criminal offenders even though they accounted only for one fourth of the people imprisoned in Lithuania then.

Unfortunately, these facts will not suffice to draw general conclusions on one of the forms of Lithuanian residents' collaboration with the occupants, the secret co-operation. Still, it is obvious that the secret co-operation did not extend to very broad sections of the society in 1940 – 1941, manifesting itself more in the groups declared the potential enemies of the state, since it was the material compromising from the Soviet point of view that became the major motive of drawing a person into the agent network.

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[66] Report by the NKVD Vilnius City Board acting director, Lieutenant Anokhin to Guzevičius of 7 February 1941, ibid., Inv. sch. 6, file 36, p. 7.
[67] Registration journal of personal and official files of agents of the LSSR NKVD Road Transport Department at the Lithuanian railway, LYA, f. K-1, Inv. sch. 6, file 1278.
[68] Note on the number of agent espionage files, files – service lists and secret collaborators in the Lithuanian SSR NKGB district divisions on 15 May 1941, ibid., Inv. sch 10, file 5, p. 317.
[69] Registration journal of the LSSR NKVD agent personal files, ibid., Inv. sch. 6, file 1277.
[70] Ibid., file. 32, p. 1.
[71] Anušauskas, A. *The Soviet Annihilation…*, p. 68.

4. Conclusions

1. The Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1940 started with the state structures still existing and the national law still in force; however, the political and state system of the country was destroyed and the Soviet regime, protected by the LKP, the army, and the repressive bodies, was established during a very short period of time and without any stronger resistance. The Soviet Union ignored the measures for occupied territories set by the international law – the Soviet laws applied both to the occupants and the local residents in Lithuania. The incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union was conducted by using the mechanism of activity in occupied territories, perfected by the Soviets: 1. taking over the legislative, executive and judicial powers and the mass information means, 2. setting up the repressive (party, security, military) structures, 3. creating conditions for the repressive structures to commit acts of terror against the society or separate groups of the society.

2. After the state institutions of independent Lithuania were liquidated and political parties banned during a short period of time, together with nearly all the public organisations, the formation of new structures, corresponding to the political system of the USSR and implementing its political will, started. The order by the USSR Centre Executive Committee of 10 July 1934 on "the establishment of the Union Internal Affairs Commissariat" provided for the formation of the Internal Affairs People's Commissariats, the NKVD, in the Union Republics too. On 3 September 1940, the establishment of the LSSR NKVD was announced. By the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 3 February 1941, an independent State Security People's Commissariat, the NKGB, was established on 8 March 1941. All the repressive machinery was made strictly centralised by establishing the direct subordination and accountability of the provincial subdivisions to the LSSR NKVD and NKGB centre, the latter reporting to the USSR NKVD, NKGB and VKP(b) CK centre leadership in Moscow.

3. Three conditional stages of the repressive security bodies' formation in Lithuania in 1940 – 1941 can be marked out:
   1) At the primary stage in June – August 1940, the Soviets used the institutions that had operated in Lithuania up till then: the Ministry of the Interior and the State Security Department. The chief aim of the occupation authorities during this period was to form the state security service according to the USSR NKVD model and create favourable conditions for perpetrating repressions.
   2) The period from September 1940 to March 1941 was the time of the formation of the centre NKVD machinery and the provincial subdivisions. The major goal at this stage was for the NKVD to take control of all the spheres of life of the country – the industry, the agriculture, strategic enterprises of transport and communications, the educational and cultural system, the political and public structures and all the layers of the society.
   3) The spring and summer of 1941 was the period of the NKGB establishment and preparation for as well as implementation of the mass repressive measures against the people of Lithuania; the realisation of one of the major goals of the Soviet totalitarian regime – to neutralise (i.e. deport, imprison or physically annihilate) the part of the society that expressed or could express dissatisfaction with the Soviet system, started.

4. Following the start of the war in June 1941, part of the LSSR NKVD and NKGB machinery was evacuated to various locations in the Soviet Union. A special subdivision was established at the centre USSR NKVD machinery, comprising staff of the repressive bodies of the Lithuanian SSR who controlled persons evacuated from Lithuania, the arrested including, organised and co-ordinated the activity of the special groups in the territory of the German-occupied Lithuania and conducted preparatory work for the re-occupation of Lithuania (in the case of the Soviet Union winning the war).

5. The staff of the repressive structures was recruited in line with the instructions by the USSR political and party leadership. The attention was focused on the ideological preparedness of the candidates and their loyalty to the Soviet system, therefore, the structures of the Communist Party influenced the formation of the NKVD and NKGB personnel most

powerfully. The VKP(b) CK was directly responsible for the selection of the candidates suitable for the Cheka work.

6. The formation of the NKGB and NKVD staff displayed common tendencies: the major posts were occupied by the staff sent from the USSR and local Communists, the national composition of which was influenced by the national composition of the local party organisations. The staff sent from the USSR accounted for 51.7 percent of the LSSR NKGB personnel, while at the LSSR NKVD they made up 9.3 percent (in June 1941). The "more Lithuanian" composition of the NKVD was conditioned by the fact that the occupation authorities of some of the provincial services, the militia, archives, fire prevention and rescue service, prisons, transport subdivisions, etc. allowed the former employees to remain in their posts temporarily; however, with the number of "specialists" trained specially for the Cheka work growing, the "old" staff was being replaced with new personnel. The most important posts at the repressive bodies were being occupied by either the staff sent from the USSR or local Communists. Nearly all the executive staff (subdivision chiefs and their deputies) of the NKGB centre and provincial subdivisions were not Lithuanian – persons of other nationalities accounted for 80.3 percent, the majority of whom were sent from the USSR. A greater part (around 53 percent) of the NKVD executive and operation staff also were non-local.

7. When establishing the occupation police (repressive) structures, the Soviet leadership did not manage without the assistance of the local residents; however, high posts were occupied by the staff sent from the USSR solely. The local Communists were not trusted either – to those having higher posts, deputies sent from the USSR would be appointed. This tendency was especially pronounced in the provincial subdivisions – the militia and district divisions.

8. The Communists aimed at establishing in Lithuania a well-conspired agent network, covering all the layers of the society, however, the secret co-operation in 1940 – 1941 did not extend to very broad layers of the society and manifested itself more in those groups that were declared the potential enemies of the state since it was the material compromising from the Soviet point of view, possessed by the authorities, that was the main motive for the recruitment of a person into the agent network.

The USSR Government and the repressive structures it established were conducting the annihilation of the Lithuanian nation since the first days of the occupation by implementing a predatory policy in Lithuania, applying specially adapted law, using the army and carrying out the most brutal physical and moral measures of violence based on the Communist ideology.

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