The System of the Criminal Politics of Occupation – The Role of the Occupation's Political and Public Structures and Collaboration with Them in 1940-1941

CONCLUSIONS

(Approved by the Commission on December 17, 2003)

1.   Because of its centralized state structure, the Soviet Union had an integral political system and totalitarian regime, a bureaucratic government type and a unified system of state administration. The characteristic feature of the Soviet political system and totalitarian political regime was its political dictatorship over the society carried out by the Communist Party, which monopolized the government. In order to maintain the monopoly of the illegitimate regime and to change public life according to its interests and aims based on the communist doctrine, the Communist Party subordinated the social and political institutes to its benefit.

2.   From the very first days of Lithuania's occupation, the occupation authorities had been setting up the mechanism of its regime and state rule, as well as the system of the Communist Party's rule. The Communist Party implemented its policy through the system of political institutions, primarily through the structures of Communist Party, through the network of the state apparatus and through the the layers of political officialdom (*nomenklatura* or "nomenclature"). Lithuania was controlled utilising this system of rule and administration. Each administrative institution of the Lithuanian SSR was established by the USSR which in fact organized and administered all spheres of Lithuanian social life. Under the conditions of a totalitarian regime, the state aimed to take control over all spheres of public life, to organize, control and administrate them. Consequently, it extended the functions of government and the administrative system. The sphere and extent of its activities increased the role of the state apparatus in regulating and controlling public life. As a result, the Communist Party organization and its apparatus played a significant and decisive political and administrative role, with a prevailing bureaucracy layer based on political devotion, the political bureaucracy (the "nomenclature").

3.   The aims of occupation policy were to incorporate and to keep Lithuania within the Soviet Union by force, to change the social and political life of Lithuania for the benefit

of the Communist Party's interests and goals, to organize and control the processes of Lithuanian society. It set its task to destroy Lithuania's independent statehood, its national political order and economic structure; to annihilate the previous forms of social and spiritual life in Lithuania; to break down the national and political consciousness of the Lithuanian nation, and to neutralize its opposition to the occupation regime; to exterminate the most physically and politically active part of the nation; to establish the Soviet political system, and the socialist planned economy in Lithuania; to form the integral social structure of society; according to Communist fundamentals thus transforming other spheres of public and spiritual life. The functions of occupation policy included: expressing and realizing the interests of the ruling Communist Party; reorganizing the life of occupied Lithuanian society so that it would submit to the Communist doctrine; organizing and administrating the public processes in accordance with Communist ideals; integrating Lithuania into Soviet Union and thus ensuring the integrity and stability of the Soviet social-political system.

4.   Immediately following Lithuania's occupation, the Communist Party started formulating its policy in Lithuania. The VKP(b) (All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party) authorities set the goals, aims of the Communist Party policy and means for implementation of the policy in occupied Lithuania. The All-Union Party also approved all the more important political decrees on changing the social-political reality in Lithuania to realize Soviet interests and goals. After the government of the Soviet Union enforced its political power on Lithuania, it began changing its political system, primarily the principles for managing the political institutions, their functions and reciprocity.

5.   The structure of the Communist Party was the most important instrument of party policy in the Soviet political system in terms of its political and administrative role. The implementation Lithuania's Sovietization was under the direct supervision of Party organizations. In order to take control over all spheres of public life, to dictate politically to the administrative institutions and control their activities, the leadership of the Communist Party formed the party apparatus. The LKP(b) (Lithuanian Communist Party [Bolshevik])) Central Committee created departments and sectors established for controlling specific spheres of public life and formulating Party policy, as well as for organizing the implementation of political decisions by the Party and ensuring their realization. The Party also gave direct orders to and controlled the work of the institutions

administrating those areas. Having extended the control of the LKP(b) CC apparatus over all administrative institutions, the CC departments began directly interfering in all matters pertaining to these institutions.

6.   Having created the main political structures of the Lithuanian SSR, the Communist Party continued forming the system of political institutions, establishing the network of the USSR's state apparatus, and used these structures to realize its policy. The system of political structures and administrative institutions was created by liquidating Lithuanian political institutions which did not correspond to the Soviet political system and to the principles of totalitarian regime.

7.   In actual fact, the councils (local soviets) were only a formal political structure with no real authority; they did not play any important political or administrative role. From the very beginning, when the local administrative institutions were formed, they were subordinated to the aproppriate Party structures: to the LKP(b) Central Committee departments, the town or district Party committees, and their organs. Following the example of the USSR, there were leaders of the occupation's political structures (Party, administrative and repressive organs) who appointed members of the provisional executive committees.

8.   The tasks, functions and role of occupation political structures were determined by the aims and tasks of the VKP(b), by their implementation strategy and tactics, and the mechanism of party policy. After the incorporation of Lithuania into the USSR, the main aim of Communist Party policy was to forcibly keep the country within the union and follow the Communist Party's interests and aims in keeping with the Communist doctrine of changing Lithuania's social and political life. The aims of the Lithuanian Sovietization policy set concrete tasks for the political organizations and administrative institutions of the Lithuanian SSR.

9.   In order to maintain Lithuania within the Soviet Union, the Soviet government formed a mechanism with functions which included the suppression of the opposition of Lithuanian society to the occupation, and the subordination of the society to the occupation authorities. It was a repressive apparatus which held the levers of influence over the society. The army stationed on the territory of Lithuania, the courts,

prokuraturas (prosecutors' offices), the organs of the interior and of security, pursued repressive policies, and were the instruments organized by the USSR in order to subordinate the Lithuanian society to the occupation regime. Suppressing the resistance to the occupation, to the Communist system and to the Party authorities, and any criticism against the latter, was the their most important field of activities.

10.   The Soviet political and party authorities staffed the personnel of repressive organs. The main requirements set for the applicants were: their ideological preparation and loyalty to the Soviet regime; therefore it was the Communist Party which carried significant weight in selecting the likely candidates. While putting together the NKGB and NKVD personnel, general tendencies was to have the main appointments held by the employees sent from the Soviet Union or by the local Communists, the national composition of which depended on the national composition of the local party organizations. The employees sent from USSR made up 51.7 percent of personnel in the Soviet Lithuanian NKGB, and 9.3 percent within the Soviet Lithuanian NKVD (June 1941). Most, i.e. 80.3 percent of the leading personnel in the NKGB center and periphery divisions (heads of divisions and their deputies) were not of Lithuanian nationality, most of them sent from USSR. The majority, i.e. 53 percent of NKVD leading and operative employees were also non-Lithuanians, a large number of whom had been sent from the Soviet Union.

11.

In order to reorganize the social and political life Lithuania according to Communist principles, and to point the development of society in another direction, the Communist Party aimed to set up the overall organization, administration and control over society. Those functions were assigned to the Soviet Lithuanian political and administrative structures. They had to cover all spheres of Lithuanian social life, not leaving any space for the processes and manifestations, which had not been sanctioned and controlled by the local occupation authorities. Organizing and controlling all forms of social life according to Communist ideology was the purpose of policy.

12.   Because of the power concentrated in the hands of the VKP(b) authorities and the method of formulating Communist Party policy, not a single political structure of the Lithuanian SSR could make political decisions on their own account. The policy of the

Communist Party was formed by the VKP(b) CC Political bureau (Politburo). It was the latter and the council of USSR Peoples' Commissars, which would make all political decisions regarding the Sovietization of Lithuania. On the basis of such decisions, the political structures of the Lithuanian SSR would pass relevant or identical resolutions.

13. The LKP(b) CC bureau as the most important political structure in Lithuania and the highest Soviet Lithuanian administrative institution would pass orders to other political organizations and administrative institutions; it directed and controlled the activities of of all institutions.

14. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and its Presidium were the institutions which adapted the decisions of the USSR state institutions and Communist Party structures in Lithuanian conditions, and would pass relevant laws and orders. Due to the centralized government and multiple subordination to All-Union state institutions and to the Communist Party structures, the council of Peoples' Commissars of the Lithuanian SSR did not have the executive power, and could not perform all the functions of government. The range of its functions included operative leadership and the adaptation of All-Union USSR government decisions in Lithuanian conditions, planning and controlling the implementation of those decisions. The Council of Peoples' Commissars played a key role in organizing the implementation of VKP(b) policy and controlling the enforcement of its measures. On the basis of decisions passed by the Communist Party and the USSR institutions, it would pass decrees Sovietizing social life.

15. Lithuanian society did not approve of the occupation and annexation of Lithuania, painfully experienced the loss of Lithuanian statehood, and, as much as they were able, resisted the occupiers and their regime. However, because of different reasons part of society adapted to the occupation regime, became involved in the activities of occupation political structures, made different contributions to the implementation of criminal occupation policy in Lithuania, aided the occupation regime and also collaborated. The participation of Lithuanian people in the criminal occupation policy very much depended on which political structures or administrative institutions of the occupation they were active in and what appointments they held there.

16. All occupation political and administrative structures executed the policy of the occupiers, took part in destroying the existing Lithuanian political system and economic conditions, and transforming social life according to Soviet principles, in neutralizing the resistance of the Lithuanian nation to the occupation regime, and in organizing and executing terror. The Lithuanian Communist Party, especially the authorities, made the greatest contributions to the occupation regime. It was a consistent executor of VKP(b) policy, and the organizer of political measures. The Communist Party participated in making decisions regarding deportation of Lithuanian people, and also participated in the actions themselves, and thus was the accomplice of this crime. The leading personnel of political and administrative structures, primarily of the Communist Party and central administrative institutions, provided the most aid to the occupation regime in organizing and executing the occupation policy, and perpetrating the crimes of the occupation regime. The communists and other administrators selected on the grounds of political confidence by the occupiers and employed within the institutions made the bureaucratic layer, which conformed to the occupation government. Having common political interests and aims, the administrators-Communists adapted to the occupation regime. The society justly viewed this layer as embodying the occupation.

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