

VYTAUTAS MAGNUS UNIVERSITY  
LITHUANIAN INSTITUTE OF HISTORY

Jonas ŠVILPA

**THE COMINTERN AND THE COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND  
IN LITHUANIA IN THE 1930S  
(ORGANISATIONAL PECULIARITIES OF ACTIVITY)**

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation  
History (05 H), Humanitarian Sciences

KAUNAS, 2007

This Thesis was drafted from 2003 till 2007 at the Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, Lithuania.

The right to conduct doctoral studies was granted to the Vytautas Magnus University (Kaunas) together with the Lithuanian Institute of History (Vilnius) under the Resolution No 926 of 15 July 2003 by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania.

**Scientific Supervisor:**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Antanas Kulakauskas** (History (05 H), Humanitarian Sciences, Mykolas Romeris University)

**The Board of defense of the dissertation:**

**Chairman:**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Saulius Pivoras** (History (05 H), Humanitarian Sciences, Vytautas Magnus University)

**Members:**

Prof. Dr. Habil. **Bronislovas Genzelis** (History (05 H), Humanitarian Sciences, Vytautas Magnus University)

Prof. Dr. Habil. **Liudas Truska** (History (05 H), Humanitarian Sciences, Vilnius Pedagogical University)

Dr. **Silva Pocyté** (History (05 H), Humanitarian Sciences, Klaipėda University)

Dr. **Gediminas Vaskela**, (History (05 H), Humanitarian Sciences, Lithuanian Institute of History)

**Opponents:**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Nerijus Šepetys** (History (05 H), Humanitarian Sciences, Vilnius University)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Šarūnas Liekis** (History (05 H), Humanitarian Sciences, Mykolas Romeris University)

This Doctoral Thesis shall be defended at the public meeting of the Board of Researchers (Area: Humanitarian Sciences, Direction: History) to be held in the Adolfas Šapoka auditorium (Audit. 508, Vytautas Magnus University, K. Donelaitis Str. 52, Kaunas) on 30 November 2007 at 3.00 p. m.

Full Address: Auditorium 508, Vytautas Magnus University, K. Donelaitis Str. 52, LT-44244 Kaunas, Lithuania.

Telephone: (+370 37) 327 836.

The Summary of this Thesis was disseminated respectively on ..... October 2007.

This Thesis can be found in the following libraries: Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania (Vilnius), Library of Vytautas Magnus University (Kaunas), and Lithuanian Institute of History (Vilnius).

VYTAUTO DIDŽIOJO UNIVERSITETAS  
LIETUVOS ISTORIJS INSTITUTAS

Jonas ŠVILPA

**KOMINTERNAS IR KOMUNISTINIS POGRINDIS LIETUVOJE  
XX A. 4-AJAME DEŠIMTMETYJE  
(ORGANIZACINIAI VEIKLOS ASPEKTAI)**

Daktaro disertacijos santrauka

Humanitariniai mokslai, istorija (05 H)

KAUNAS, 2007

Disertacija rengta 2003-2007 metais Vytauto Didžiojo universitete.

Doktorantūros teisė suteikta Vytauto Didžiojo universitetui kartu su Lietuvos istorijos institutu 2003 m. liepos 15 d. Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybės nutarimu Nr.926

**Mokslinis vadovas:**

doc. dr. **Antanas Kulakauskas** (Mykolo Romerio universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

Disertacija bus ginama Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto ir Lietuvos istorijos instituto Humanitarinių mokslų srities istorijos krypties taryboje.

**Pirmininkas:**

doc. dr. **Saulius Pivoras** (Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

**Nariai:**

prof. habil. dr. **Bronislovas Genzelis** (Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

prof. habil. dr. **Liudas Truska** (Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

dr. **Silva Pocyté** (Klaipėdos universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

dr. **Gediminas Vaskela**, (Lietuvos istorijos institutas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

**Oponentai:**

prof. dr. **Šarūnas Liekis** (Mykolo Romerio universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

doc. dr. **Nerijus Šepetys** (Vilniaus universitetas, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija – 05 H)

Disertacija bus ginama viešame Humanitarinių mokslų srities istorijos krypties tarybos pasėdyje, kuris vyks 2007 m. lapkričio 30 d. 15 val. VDU Adolfo Šapokos auditorijoje, K. Donelaičio g. 52, (auditorija 508).

Adresas: K. Donelaičio g. 52, LT-44244 Kaunas, Lietuva.

Telefonas: (8 37) 327 836

Disertacijos santrauka išsiuntinėta 2007 m. spalio ... d.

Disertaciją galima peržiūrėti Lietuvos nacionalinėje M. Mažvydo, Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto ir Lietuvos istorijos instituto bibliotekose.

## Introduction

The Communist International, or the Third International, (abbrev. Comintern) was founded in Moscow (Russia) in March 1919. It aimed at providing support and coordination for the Communist Movement worldwide, applying the principle of the so-called “democratic centralisation” for both its structure and operation. The Communist parties of foreign countries would operate as divisions of the Comintern, which was their official status. Initially the Comintern managed to maintain as if some autonomy from authorities of the Communist Russia, later from the USSR. From the end of the 1930s, however, when Joseph Stalin’s dictatorship regime had rooted in the USSR, it actually became a part of the control mechanism practiced by Stalin’s authorities.

The Lithuanian Communist Party (Bolshevik) (LCP (B)) was established at the end of 1918. Initially it served as a national-territorial subdivision of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) (RCP (B)). Later, from the early 1920s, with Lithuania being independent and holding friendly enough relations with the USSR, the LCP (B) became a separate Comintern’s division and maintained this status *de facto* until autumn of 1938, when the Secretariat of that division was annulled under instruction of the so-called “competent bodies of authority”.

Although LCP (B) History was under a separate branch of research in Lithuania in the Soviet times, the amount of research on Pre-Soviet LCP (B) History, especially with a focus on the latter’s organisational peculiarities, was insignificant. Concealment and the Communist propaganda highly prevail over facts in this Historiography. Even historians considered “reliable” to the Communist ideology were not allowed to conduct any in-depth research respectively. Instead, there were attempts to persuade everyone that the LCP (B) of the time when the “Lithuanian national bourgeoisie was in rule” represented an organisation of the most progressive and brave Lithuanian people who would fight for “the sake of the labour people of Lithuania” and aim at introducing historically the most progressive Communist (Socialist) order in Lithuania. The organisational peculiarities of the LCP (B) or its links to the Comintern would have been given briefly and vaguely, with no clear indication of the actual situation up to the present Thesis.

This Thesis aims at providing an in-depth outlook of the activity of the Comintern and the LCP (B) in the 1930s, looking from the inside; also, observing alterations in the

context of the changing conditions of that time, rather than limiting itself to mere listing of their quantitative achievements.

**Subject of Scientific Research.** Organisational Peculiarities of the LCP (B) as a division of the Comintern in the 1930s.

The period of the 1930s was chosen for the following substantial reasons: the scope of this Thesis and abundance of archival materials, on the one hand, provide no possibility to cover the entire LCP (B) activity period (between WWI and WW2). Also, in terms of the Comintern history, the chosen period (the 1930s) can be regarded as separate, providing at least two interlinked conditions: first, changes in the global geopolitical situation, particularly distinct when Hitler took over the rule in Germany; second, the USSR policy of Stalin's dictatorship regime, which, at significant range, was that of a dictator who would recklessly reinforce his authority, the policy itself functioning as Stalin's reaction to international changes in the world.

**Aim of Research.** To research the development of the LCP (B) activity in the 1930s, mainly its activity as a section of the Comintern, revealing its organisational peculiarities and interrelation between the Comintern's „Centre“ based in Moscow and the underground Communist activists in Lithuania.

#### **Tasks of Research:**

1. To indicate hierarchically the place and role of the LCP (B) in the structure of the Comintern;
2. To reveal how the changes in the Comintern structure influenced the LCP (B);
3. To establish the role of the LR special services while applying means of secret intelligence to observe and register the destructive activity of the LCP (B) aimed at the Republic of Lithuania;
4. To show by evidence the participation of the LCP (B) in secret intelligence work conducted by the special services of the USSR in Lithuania;
5. To disclose the funding sources of the LCP (B) activity;
6. Following the collected data, to gradually highlight the backstage fight for leadership within the LCP (B);
7. To highlight the attempt by Stalin's authorities to annul the LCP (B) at the end of 1938 that failed to be mentioned in the Soviet Historiography.

To perform the said tasks the descriptive-analytical and comparative **methods** were applied in this Thesis, by systematising and analysing the published and unpublished official letters of the sources and the data of historiography.

The present aim, tasks and obtained sources have determined a certain **structure** of this Thesis. To conduct the present research, the chronological- and thematic principles of text construction were observed and followed, with an Introduction, four parts of Exposition, and Conclusions present.

Chapter 1 covers the period from the 6<sup>th</sup> till 7<sup>th</sup> Comintern Congresses (July 1928—August 1935), highlighting the centralisation process of the Comintern governance, when its close and unbroken relation to the authorities of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (B) is set and the fight for the top-leadership posts begins within the LCP (B). In Lithuania, meanwhile, its underground activity is controlled and largely influenced by the LR institutions of secret intelligence and counterintelligence.

Chapter 2 covers the period after the 7<sup>th</sup> Comintern Congress till 1938, when the processes within both the Comintern and the LCP (B) begin to develop with the blistering speed. Here the central attention falls with the gradual activity paralysis of both the Comintern and the LCP (B). Thus, the LCP (B) Central Committee's *Politburo* is transferred from Moscow to Kaunas. Also, the LCP (B) structure is changed; and the centre of influence moves closer towards Lithuania. The underground activity of the LCP (B) in Lithuania, meanwhile, remains in hands of the LR institutions of secret intelligence and counterintelligence.

Chapter 3 does not relate to the Comintern congresses or plenary sessions. Instead, it is specific by its contents: it sets out to present a brief overlook of the LCP (B)'s "underwater activities", when the USSR institutions of secret intelligence perform tasks of secret intelligence, disguising under the name of the Comintern Communist Parties, including the LCP (B).

Chapter 4 is the last but not least of this Thesis. It aims at analysing the most problematic period of 1938-1939, when the Comintern managed to simultaneously both completely break from and partially renew contact with the LCP (B). Also, the criminal case of Zigmas Angarietis is an indispensable part of this period, when the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) detains, questions and imprisons the LCP

(B) authorities located in Moscow. Here the inner—sometimes invisible—Comintern activity processes are highlighted, which had direct impact on activity of the LCP (B).

The main part of **Sources** applied in this Thesis includes unpublished archival materials. They were extracted from the case files stored in the Lithuanian Special Archives in Vilnius, mainly in the Division of the Lithuanian Communist Party Documents that structurally comprises the following funds: that of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee (F. 77, 1918–1940), Zigmas Aleksa-Angarietis (F. 5420, 1912–1938), Antanas Sniečkus (F. 16895, 1921–1974), and Romas Šarmaitis-Romaitis (F. 17635, 1927–1995). They include personal LCP (B) member characteristics, reports on underground activity in Lithuania, extracts of correspondence by the LCP (B) Central Committee's Secretariat with the Moscow-located authorities of the LCP (B); also, various reports by the LR Ministry of the Interior on Communist-activity-in-Lithuania-related issues; then, indictments by the LR courts regarding members of the LCP (B); and the LR State Security Department certificates on LCP structure, activity, and structural division by nationality. In addition, they include unique correspondence by Zigmas Angarietis with Juozas Jurginis and Antanas Bimba, the editor of *Freedom*, a US labour daily, as well as other significant materials. A considerable amount of reminiscences found in the personal case files of the LCP (B) members on underground activity in Lithuania and used in this Thesis had never earlier seen the daylight, not even in the Soviet times.

The remaining archival materials needed for this research were collected from the Lithuanian Central State Archives (Vilnius). These include materials from the funds of the LR State Security Department (F. 378, 1919-1940), LR Ministry of Foreign Affairs (F. 383, 1919-1940), and the LR Cabinet of Ministers (F. 923, 1918-1940). They helped to reveal the circumstances regarding the prisoner ex-change between Lithuania and the USSR in 1933 and 1935. They also included reviews on activity of political parties and organisations in Lithuania until 13 June 1940, drafted by the LR State Security Department Agency's division.

It must be noted that the found case files reflect only fragments of the LCP (B) activity; materials fail to be solid, all-in-one; they also lack chronological sequence, which poses obstacles in re-establishing the actual, smooth-integrity-abiding chronological order of that time.



Although the Order of 24 August 1991 by the President of the Russian Federation of the time Boris Yeltsin provides that everyone may have access to archival Comintern's documents (label 'unclassified'), not all documents have had their label 'classified' removed yet. At present, the following archival materials of the Russian Federation still remain labeled 'Classified', i.e. are not available to the broader public: the descriptions stored in the Division of International Relations (Descript. 23, 1920–1942; Descript. 138, 1922–1934; Descript. 151, 1931–1937) and those of the Comintern's Executive Committee Cryptographic Correspondence with ComParties Division (Descript. 184, 1933–1943), both located at the Comintern's Executive Committee Fund (F. 495, 1919–1943) of the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, which has made the present analyses and overview of activity of the LCP (B) in the field of secret intelligence much more complicated.

**Another Group of Sources** includes memoirs and reminiscences, the genre which was neither abundant in materials in the Soviet times, nor is fruitful in them nowadays, when Lithuania has declared its Independence (in 1990). Considering the memoirs drafted in the Soviet period, firstly, one may observe that not only the period of the 1930s, but also the earlier decades of the underground activity of the LCP (B) are mentioned only episodically. They, meanwhile, leave the processes and events that could touch upon the inner life of a comparty by eyes of a witness aside, even though one would wish that those descriptions had at least some pulse of that historic period events and the experience of the actual witnesses of that time was at least to some extent present. Even after years since Lithuania has restored its Independence, only one memoir book<sup>1</sup> has been published in Lithuania so far, which as if has turned the last page in history of the LCP (B), being dedicated to the long-lived life and political activity of Antanas Sniečkus, the First Secretary of the LCP (B). It includes reminiscences by his comrades, congenial friends, and close relatives, focusing on the field of political activity from the mid-1940s until the mid-1970s.

**Historiography.** The works published in Lithuanian and related to this Thesis could, first of all, be divided chronologically into 1.Soviet- and 2.Last Decade Historiography (20<sup>th</sup> Century). This relative division (according to the date of publication) also represents the outlook on historic phenomena that is introduced in this

---

<sup>1</sup> Kazakevičius, V. and Mališauskas, R. *Sniečkus Fenomenon: Recollections and Contemplations.*—Vilnius, 2003.

Thesis. Beginning with encyclopaedias<sup>2</sup>, doctoral theses<sup>3</sup>, and monographs of that time up to separate articles on various aspects of LCP (B) History until 1940, the Soviet LCP (B) Historiography is scarce in volume; also, it, as a rule, would have been analysed only by the Lithuanian and Russian researchers. No sooner than at the end of the 1950s, mainly in 1957, when the first attempts to present a systematised LCP (B) History until 1944 were made. That was initially a collection of articles by the Institute of History of the Party under the Central Committee of the LCP (B)<sup>4</sup>; then, articles published in *Communist* magazine in 1959–1960 that were reissued in a book entitled *Undisclosed Points of History of the Lithuanian Communist Party* (1961)<sup>5</sup>. Those and later-published monographs<sup>6</sup>, dating prior to restoration of Lithuanian Independence make a significant contribution to Historiography; however, they have no long-lasting value. This is because when conducting research on the Communist underground activity in Lithuania, the Soviet-time researchers would only apply concepts of the Soviet Historiography, the contents of their historic narrative as if bearing the seal of “Ordered-by-the-Authorities”, i.e. the materials provided in the said publications were presented from the point of the “class of the proletariat”. And the link between the works of the latter and majority of the articles published in the media of the Soviet Lithuania is easy to trace. However, since the analyses of the Soviet-time ideological paradigms, origins, development stages of and interrelations among the Communist ideas fall beyond the

---

<sup>2</sup> *Soviet Lithuanian Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 4 (1978), Vol. 5 (1979), Vol. 6 (1980), Vol. 8 (1981)—Vilnius; *Encyclopaedia of Soviet Lithuania*, Vol. 2.—Vilnius, 1986.

<sup>3</sup> Atamukas, S. *The Fight of the Lithuanian CP against the Facism, for the Soviet Rule in Lithuania in 1935–40. A Doctoral Thesis.*—Vilnius, 1958; Jankūnas, S. *Significance of Lithuanian CP's Proclamations for Expansion of the Party Influence among the Masses in Years of Dictatorship (1927–40). A Doctoral Thesis.*—Vilnius, 1970; Navickas, K. *The Role of the Soviet Union in Defence of Vital National Interests of Lithuanian Nation (1917–40). A Doctoral Thesis.*—Vilnius, 1965; Petkevičienė, L. *Public-Cultural Activity of the Progressive Lithuanians in the USA in 1933–40. A Doctoral Thesis.*—Vilnius, 1966; Žeimantas, V. *Underground Printing Houses of the Lithuanian CP (1918–40). A Doctoral Thesis.*—Vilnius, 1970, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Revolutionary Movement in Lithuania. A Collection of Articles.*—Vilnius, 1957.

<sup>5</sup> *Undisclosed Points of History of the Lithuanian Communist Party.*—Vilnius, 1961.

<sup>6</sup> Lempertas, I. *Facist Regime in Lithuania.*—Vilnius, 1975; *Outline of History of Lithuanian Communist Party. 1920–40*, Vol.2.—Vilnius, 1978; Merkys, V., Vyšniauskas, A., and Eidintas, A. *Contemplations on Development of the Lithuanian Communist Party.*—Vilnius, 1989; Šarmaitis, R. ‘The Lithuanian Communist Party Ahead of the People’s Revolutionary Fights and Social Construction’—In *November Revolution and Public Sciences in Lithuania.*—Vilnius, 1967; Šarmaitis, R. *Lithuanian Revolutionaries.*—Vilnius, 1988; Tomanas, B. ‘Historiography of Revolutions of 1940 in the Baltic States’—In *Social Revolutions of 1940 in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.*—Moscow, 1978, pp 11–61, etc.

scope of this Thesis, the secondary available sources and Historiography<sup>7</sup>, instead, were by far applied throughout this Thesis.

Considering the contemporary Lithuanian Historiography, there is no other significant research work but this that covers and analyses the activity of the LCP (B) from a “new” point. Although over the present decade a few research works have been published in the field, they cover only biographies of rather acclaimed activists of the LCP (B)<sup>8</sup>. And as for the unforgettable stereotype of the “Jew the Bolshevik”, or “Jew the NKVDist” (NKVD standing for the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs), there are attempts either to deny it at all or palliate it by drafting research works<sup>9</sup> that analyse the history of the Jews in Lithuania in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, with attempts to leave the issue of membership of the Jews within the LCP (B) until 1940 untouched, with no polemic present.

The latest publications<sup>10</sup> in the field do not deal directly with the subject of this Thesis; still they touch upon separate aspects analysed herein; thus, they have been included in this Thesis.

In the media of the Lithuanians in emigration, meanwhile, almost no sign of analyses regarding the activity of the LCP (B) could be traced, except for rare instances when the opinion on the activity and structure of the underground Communists in Lithuania was, as a rule, formed on the basis of reminiscences of that-time contemporaries; also, taking the situation of the Communists in Kaunas city as an example. **Significance of Scientific Research.** Aiming at revealing peculiarities of the interrelation of the Comintern and the LCP (B), aspects of their organisational activity, the comparty’s propaganda and secret intelligence deeds and doing so by analysing the activity of the Comintern and the comparty itself, this Thesis, it is credible, will undertake a significant enough place within the context of the research on Lithuanian History.

---

<sup>7</sup> Адиебеков, Г.М., Шахназарова, Э.Н., Шириня, К.К. *Организационная структура Коминтерна. 1919–1943.* Москва, 1997; Чубарьян, А.О. (Отв. ред.) *История Коммунистического интернационала 1919 - 1943.*—Москва, 2002.; Лебедева, Н.С., Рентола, К., Саарела, Т. М. (ред.) *Коминтерн и Финляндия. 1919-1943. Документы.*—Москва, 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Tininis, V. *Antanas Sniečkus: 33 Years in Authority.*—Vilnius, 1995; Tininis, V. *Soviet Lithuania and Its Public Characters.*—Vilnius, 1994.

<sup>9</sup> Atamukas, S. *The Way of the Lithuanian Jews.*—Vilnius, 2001; Levin, D. *A Short History of the Jews in Lithuania.*—Vilnius, 2000.

<sup>10</sup> Kriščiūnas, E. ‘Communist Revolutionary Zigmās Angarietis: Personality and Activity Traits’—In *History*, Vol. 64, Vilnius: Vilnius Pedagogical University PH, 2006; Urbonaitė, A. ‘Myth of Antanas Sniečkus’—In *Ekstra*, 6 January 2002, No 1 (213), pp 26-29.

**Significance of Scientific Research.** The present research has proven that the Lithuanian Communist (Bolshevik) Party (LCP (B)) that would illegally operate in the 1920s and 1930s was not an independent political organisation. It had substantially operated as a part of the secret control mechanism commanded by Moscow (also called “a hand of Moscow”). Besides spreading propaganda and agitation, some of its members would also perform tasks set by the USSR special services.

The authorities of the Comintern’s Lithuanian Division that operated in Moscow had no major influence on decision-making within the All-Russian Comintern nor did they belong with the most influential representatives of the international Communist Movement.

### **I. Interrelation between the Comintern and the LCP (B) (1930–August 1935)**

The Communist International, also the Third International (abbrev. Comintern), as introduced above, was an international organisation representing the Communist Movement. It united a variety of Communist Parties of different countries that would operate as the Comintern’s divisions. The Comintern itself, meanwhile, would operate, following the programme documents and the statute to be approved during its congresses.

The Comintern’s Executive Committee (CEC) was the top governing body of the organisation that would operate in between the Comintern’s congresses. The CEC Presidium (1919–1943) was founded in July 1919, following the RCP (B) Central Committee’s recommendations (besides, until 14 September 1921 it was called the CEC Smal Bureau). The function of the CEC belonged with decision-making on policies and actual activity of the Comintern and the CPs; also, its responsibilities included publication of *Коммунистический интернационал (Communist International)*<sup>11</sup>, a theoretical-practical magazine that reflected the main CEC activities. The decisions made by the CEC were obligatory to all Comintern’s divisions. It also had a prerogative to appoint advisory bodies from within organisations and other-than-Comintern parties with pro-Communist views; also, it held a deciding voice regarding withdrawal of parties from the Comintern. More significant issues that would be related to activity of

---

<sup>11</sup> On 26 March 1919, at its first meeting, the Bureau of the Comintern’s Executive Committee made a decision to publish the magazine *Коммунистический интернационал (Communist International)* in three languages: Russian, German, and French.

the Communist Party and the Comintern would be discussed in extended meetings, here called ‘the plenary sessions’ (total: 13 plenary sessions)<sup>12</sup>.

The CEC also introduced special apparatus for practical task management, which was repeatedly reorganised in response to nature of political assignments that the Comintern would be given. The CEC apparatus structurally also included departments responsible for separate fields: Organisational, Propaganda, Information, Media, Work in Rural Areas, Publishing-Editorial, Recruitment, etc. In the period 1926-1935 the lensectors also operated within the CEC structure; later, CEC divisional Secretoriats were introduced, aimed at implementing analytical and organisational work of the Communist Movement in the designated region.

The structure of any political organisation reflects its ideological-political orientation and modes of activity. The Comintern was a revolution-oriented international Communist organisation, aimed at destroying the existing social-economic system by breaking a proletarian revolution. Its organisational structure with unique peculiarities was designed to reach the said aim, the structure itself constantly undergoing apparent changes in response to actual historic conditions.

The Communist universities, or higher party schools, were introduced in the USSR at the beginning of the 1920s, when the Civil War ceased. In the study year 1922–1923 the total of 8 Communist universities were operating in the USSR, 3 of them in Moscow (that of Sverdlovsk, Western National Minority one, and Eastern Communist University), 2 in St Petersburg; and 1 per city in Saratov, Kazan, and Omsk. The Communist universities would be formed, following the example of their Sverdlovsk counterpart. The three Communist universities in Moscow, of course, represented the main training and recruitment centre, aimed at preparation of “politically loyal” personnel for the Communist parties of different states. Besides undergraduate and graduate studies within those universities, additional post-graduate studies could be also undertaken. Initially studies continued for 3, then, 4 years. Intermediate command party staff would upgrade in yearly university courses. In 1932, majority of the Communist universities were reorganised into the higher Communist schools of agriculture. In 1935, the Sverdlovsk Communist University was restructured into the Sverdlovsk Higher Propaganda School under the All-Russian CP (B) Central Committee; similar

---

<sup>12</sup> Лебедева, Н.С., Рентола, К., Саарела, Т.М. *Коминтерн и Финляндия. 1919-43. Документы.*— Москва, 2003, с. 372.

propaganda schools were also established in other republican, regional, and district centres.

The Lithuanian Division of the Western National Minority Communist University, in operation from 1921 till 1936, basically functioned as the same but differently named Lithuanian Central Party School in Moscow (since 1921). The first Class of the former graduated on 1 April 1922, after 1-year studies, with the total of 42 students in the group (incl. Jonas Macijauskas, Jurgis Kondratas, etc.).

In the study year 1922–1923 a 3-year study course was introduced; and 1932–1933 marks the introduction of a 4-year study programme. In the period 1922-1936 the total of 300 entrants were accepted to the Lithuanian Division of the Western National Minority Communist University, from who only 86 were successful graduates.

Differently from its counterpart of the Western National Minority Communist University, the Lithuanian Division of the International Lenin School was founded only in 1932. In the period 1930-1936 the total of 49 students studied at the International Lenin School.

At the beginning of the 1930s the USSR Communist universities faced reforms, which provided favourable conditions for annulment of several institutions of higher education at the end of the 1930s, including the Western National Minority Communist University and the International Lenin School. Since then, political command personnel of the LCP (B) was no longer trained neither in the USSR nor the rather in Lithuania. And neither Comintern's authorities in Moscow nor the LCP (B) cared for the future of the already trained personnel in the field.

The top executive elite of the LCP (B), once part of both the Lithuanian Division and the underground LCP (B) Central Committee's Secretariat, did not know the actual number of members of the Party (1930-1935). That, in its turn, prevented it from effective use of personnel in underground activity in Lithuania. Also, the interrelation between the top executives and the lowest hierarchically part of the staff (chapter) (and vice versa) failed to be operative; and things would be moved so slowly in some cases that no movement of anykind seemed to take place. Exchange of information process would be scarce; and continuous meetings would complicate the situation even worse in terms of communication within the Party.

The underground Communist Movement would be continuously observed and watched by the LR State Security Department. Also, the latter would receive information through its agencies on ongoing alteration within the LCP (B). Information on identity of newly arriving LCP (B) members, however, would often fail to be received by the Department operationally or on time. That was caused by the fact that the new arrivals would use forged LR passports and travel under forged identities (including forged name, surname, date of birth, etc.).

Considering the LCP (B) work in the regions in the 1930-1935, first of all, one should beware that the Communist Movement basically operated in the city of Kaunas, plus, the Districts of Kaunas and Panevėžys. Therefore, its organisational structure in the periphery was weak and lacking qualified personnel, which caused problems with exchange of information there; and often, due to slow and very slow interaction, even no information would be received. Thus, knowledge of the activity in the periphery is usually fragmentous, incoherent, and incomprehensive, which allows for a mere glimpse at the activity of the LCP (B) and provides only very limited materials for an in-depth overall view.

## **II. Interrelation between the Comintern and the LCP (B) (August 1935 –November 1938)**

The organisational structure of the Comintern would continuously change and gain different structural forms, just like those of a living creature. That must have ensured its mobility and interrelation with the parties under its subordination and control. Also, the apparatus of the Comintern's Executive Committee faced further centralisation, with levers of control to be focused in one pair of hands. The 7<sup>th</sup> Comintern Congress that had just ended played a significant role in creation of a new structure of the Comintern's governing bodies, with the Secretary General of the Comintern's Executive Committee (CEC) and the CEC Secretaries heading the process. When electing the latter, one had to receive personal approval by Joseph Stalin and the All-Russian CP (B) Central Committee for each candidacy, even if the latter held prior formal trust from Joseph Stalin.

Following the decision by the CEC Presidium, the CEC secretary positions and candidacies respectively were approved. Each CEC secretary had his Secretariat, a

structural division within the Comintern's apparatus, and was responsible for management of issues of a country group or would lead one of the Comintern's divisions. Political advisors and personal assistants would function as the subordinates to the CEC secretaries. The CEC secretaries would keep direct contact with the Party coordinators; and all due correspondence with the Communist Parties had to have prior approval by the CEC's Secretary General, i.e. the latter would have to approve any step or decision.

There were the following 9 (nine) CEC secretaries, subordinates to the CEC's Secretary General: Dimitrov's Secretariat, Deputy Secretary General Erkolis' Secretariat, Manuilskis' Secretariat, Pika's Secretariat, Kuusinen's Secretariat, Marti's Secretariat, Moskvin's Secretariat, Florin's Secretariat, and Van Min's Secretariat.

The Moskvin's Secretariat was responsible for relations with the Communist Parties of Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. It comprised one representative per each above indicated Communist Party, three political advisors, two personal assistants, and other personnel, with the total of 11 people. Besides, it was responsible for the finances, the International Relations Division (Communications Division, abbrev.IRD), and the administrative matters of the CEC apparatus.

In the second part of the 1930s, with the increase in suspicions and secret intelligence mania within both the All-Russia CP (B) and the Soviet society, that also touched upon the CEC apparatus. The search for "enemies" within the CEC apparatus started in the beginning of 1935. That marked the date when particularly intense search for the "class malady" (or "enemies") began directly within the CEC apparatus, also looking for such "enemies" within the CPs. In the period from beginning of January till end of July 1937 102 people were forced to resign within the CEC apparatus, i.e. every sixth employee (total of personnel per CEC apparatus: 606 people at that time).

That tense atmosphere of suspicions would not lose its intensity because that purge of the CEC personnel would also take place in 1938. On 3 July 1938 that harsh campaign was also faced by B.Bronkovskis, B.Kunas, J.Lenskis, Z.Angarietis, J.Anveltas, etc., all members and candidates to the CEC International Control Commission that were crossed out from the CEC Presidium.



In November 1938 M. Moskvina was arrested by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the USSR (NKVD). His removal from the CEC and CEC Secretariat was not officially approved. Nevertheless, the functions of the *de facto* non-functioning Moskvina's Secretariat were substantially taken over by the IRD.

Due to extensive repressions, the victims of which were the majority of acclaimed employees of the Comintern, the activity of the CEC governing bodies significantly declined. After the end of the meeting of the CEC Presidium on 16 August 1938 the next one took place no sooner than on 26 December of the same year.

In the second part of the 1930s the structure of the LCP (B) Division (LCP Bureau for Foreign Affairs) also slightly changed. In 1936, with arrival of Antanas Sniečkus, the Political Bureau of the LCP (B) Central Committee (CC) was transferred to Lithuania. Despite that, control over the Party remained with Moscow, mainly in hands of Zigmantas Angarietis until his very arrest in spring of 1938.

In 1935-1938 also new structural units occurred in the LCP (B) CC Secretariat, of which only fragmentary knowledge is sustained (eg Bureau under LCP (B) Secretariat for Work with the Jews and that for Work with the Lithuanian Intelligentsia).

The LCP (B)'s underground activity in Lithuania in 1935–1938 substantially remained the same as in the prior period, with the scope of activity including underground media, agitation and propaganda, and organisational work. Repeatedly expressed encouragement by Zigmantas Angarietis to the LCP (B) CC Secretariat to increase amount of articles in foreign Communist media aimed at the Lithuanians abroad was never fulfilled; instead, local publications would be sent. Continuous detention and arrests of the Party members made the LCP (B) reduced in number, which posed significant complications for the underground activity.

### **III. The LCP (B)'s International Relations (1930–1939)**

The International Relations Division (also Communications Division, abbrev. IRD) of the Comintern was responsible for relations with the Communist Parties of the affiliated countries, i.e. those that extended outside the territory of the USSR, including the LCP (B). Its foundation is historically related to establishment of the Secret Division, following the decision of 8 August 1920 by the Comintern's Small Bureau.

The IRD's scope and modes of activity provided for closer contact with the State Political Directorate (SPD, also GPU) and United State Political Directorate (USPD, also OGPU) in majority of foreign countries. In April 1923 the Head of the IRD, O. Vampe, and the SPD's Chief of Feldjaeger (Messenger) Unit, P. Mitrofanov, signed an agreement, providing that the IRD could use connections of the CPD's Feldjaegers for its needs. The IRD, in its turn, obliged to inform the latter on the actual coordinates where the IRD's stations were located, their transfer, itineraries of movement, etc., which helped the SPD to get perfectly oriented regarding location of the IRD's stations within the USSR and abroad.

Majority of published production, different consignments and goods aimed at the Comintern would go to Moscow, with prior approval by the People's Commissariat for Internal Trade. The Comintern's telegrammes and radiogrammes would be sent to foreign CP divisions exclusively with prior approval by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Following the decision by the RCP (B) CC Political Bureau and the Council of People's Commissars (Ru *Совет Народных Комиссаров*), the carriage of passengers and loads would be performed by the IRD in special-purpose railway carriages (wagons) and traders (commercial ships), both disposed by the IRD.

In the period between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Comintern Congresses, the IRD had its signals stations in Odessa, Vladivostok, Irkutsk, Chita, Leningrad, Murmansk, Kiev, Baku, Riga, Tallinn (Revel), Berlin, Vienna, Varna, Stockholm, Paris, and other cities of Europe, Asia, and Northern America.

While the USSR Communist universities (higher party schools) were first founded in the early 1920s, when the Civil War was over, the CEC IRD had its separate schools that trained people to establish conspiracy contacts; also, to train signals and deciphering (cryptography) specialists.

Prior to Hilter's rule in Germany (1933), the largest and most active European IRD signals station was located in Berlin. It helped the CEC to maintain strong contact with the German CP and other CPs and movements seeking for national freedom; also, it was the main intermediary between Moscow, on the one hand, and England, France, and Czechoslovakia, on the other hand.

In 1933, when getting ready to annul the IRD signals station-Berlin, its functions would be gradually transferred to other IRD signals stations. In 1930, when the actual

threat was felt due to dissolution of the German CP, the IRD signals station-Vienna began adjusting communications with the Czechoslovakian, Swiss, Italian, and French CPs; also, the latter would begin receiving money transfers via that signals station. In 1933 the main functions of the IRD station-Berlin were transferred to Paris, from then on responsible for the IRD communications with the CPs of Europe, Asia, Northern America, CEC publishing houses, and Communist organisations in emigration.

At the beginning of the 1930s the CEC IRD activated its signals station in Stockholm that would operate not only with the help of the Feldjaegers (messengers), but also by applying the radio (wire) connection via the radiostation-Stockholm established in 1932. A year later (1933) such a radiostation was also founded in the IRD station-Prague; and then in the IRD station-Kaunas (1934).

The IRD stations-Paris, Prague, Brussels, Stockholm, Istanbul, Zurich, Athens, Shanghai, and others would have messenger services, “passport technique (falsification)” specialists and document forgers, plus, deciphering (cryptography) specialists. During the Civil War in Spain, some signals stations of the CEC Communications Service would actively contribute to help international brigade volunteers to get into Spain. Signals stations of harbours would use motor boats, often using even sea-going seamen services, having accurately examined their personalities and activity in advance.

After the 7<sup>th</sup> Comintern Congress in September 1935 the structure of the Comintern was changed. The Moskvin’s Secretariat became responsible for relations with the CPs of Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In November 1938, as mentioned above, M. Moskvin himself was arrested by the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD). His forced withdrawal from the CEC and the CEC Secretariat was not officially approved. However, actually the Moskvin’s Secretariat ceased operating; and its functions were substantially transferred to the CEC IRD, a subordinate to the State Political Directorate (SPD, also GRU), which meant that the latter region would receive exceptional attention; also, that new secret intelligence goals and aims would be raised.

With the break of WW2, when Hitler stepped into Paris, the CEC Secretariat’s IRD signals stations were transferred from Paris to the south of France. Meanwhile, its stations in Prague, Brussels, Istanbul, Shanghai, etc. kept operating. In Stockholm a reserve radio station (extra unit) was founded to serve as a safeguard if the radio stations

set in the Netherlands and France were to be forcefully closed. In 1939–1940 new signals stations were founded in Yugoslavia, Mexico, and Chile.

Archival data regarding relations between the LCP (B) or special services with Germany, France, and Spain are very episodic; thus, the overall actual situation cannot be revealed. Meanwhile, those with Great Britain, Sweden, and the USA are much more telling, which allows to establish the actual relations among the secret intelligence of different countries of the 1930s much more accurately.

Transfer of secret information between the LCP (B) CC in Lithuania and the Comintern IRD-Lithuanian Division via messenger services became insecure and fragile at the beginning of the 1930s. Information flow management (reception and transfer) became very slow and failed to satisfy the standard requirements set for secret intelligence information. Thus, from autumn of 1934 till autumn 1938 the short-wire radio connection was used instead, which ensured operative and timely information transfer. And data would be transferred, applying cryptography.

Over the entire period of secret intelligence radio operation (1934–1938) the LCP (B) CC in Lithuania and the Comintern (or Zigmas Angarietis) in Moscow had exchanged radiotelegrammes approximately 300 times. All connections were safe, with no incident of leakage or disclosure of information, which allows one to conclude that the LR SSD, the counterintelligence service, and other institutions were unable to control the “actual” activity of the Communist underground, rather have influence on it. The Comintern radio communications with the LCP (B) CC would be kept top secret even in the Soviet times.

Exchange of political prisoners between Lithuania and Russia (USSR) in 1933 and 1935 reveal a new, almost blank page of research in the field. Also, it must be noted that this significant process of the 1930s would be primarily initiated by the former.

The Lists regarding Exchange of Political Prisoners (1933, 1935), drafted by the LCO (B), would include those Party members who personally were acquainted with and well-known to Moscow. The range of personal and working relations was another important factor when drafting those lists.

Dominance of Jewish surnames on those LCP (B)-drafted lists could be related to the fact that more than 50 per cent of members of the LCP (B) were of Jewish nationality in Lithuania in 1933-1935. That was a crucial factor in the said process. The

final word, however, belonged with Vincas Mickevičius–Kapsukas and Zigmą Angarietis.

The LR Government, LR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Curia of Kaunas Metropolis, meanwhile, functioned as mere mediators when initiating and conducting that exchange of political prisoners between Lithuania and the USSR. In addition, the Bishop of Latvia, HE Rancenas, contributed. The Holy See was the original planner and the “client” who had ordered the entire process. The fact that it was planned by the Holy See is obvious: Lithuania had recovered more than 53 people; and the USSR only 30 respectively.

#### **IV. The LCP (B): Independent or Dependent? (March 1938–December 1939)**

In the Soviet times the Historiography of the LCP (B) would be formed tendentiously. Instead of being given access to all documentary materials, historians of that time would merely receive historic materials that would add to positive unimpeded illustration.

The Zigmą Angarietis criminal case materials let one take a look at activity of the Comintern and its Lithuanian Division from the inside, considering entire processes and events that had taken place within the LCP (B) anew.

In 1910s a new conflict rose and developed between Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas and Zigmą Angarietis. In 1920s-1930s it reached the level of a fight for the leading role within the LCP (B), which revealed Zigmą Angarietis as a high-profile personnel manager at the top executive level. That conflict lost its significance only with the death of Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas (on 17 February 1935). To conduct research into the said conflict between Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas and Zigmą Angarietis and make any part of it public was strictly forbidden in the Soviet times.

Today, historically, the arrest of Zigmą Angarietis is considered the crucial fact of LCP (B) History. As the author of this Thesis I dear suggest a broader perspective. Instead of being considered as a mere historic fact, I believe that arrest should be considered and analysed as a process (rather than a fact) that began no earlier than in March 1938, when Zigmą Angarietis was arrested.

In 1934, under Stalin’s initiative, the All-Russian CP (B) Central Control Commission announced its verdict regarding the LCP (B). It claimed the latter was guilty of application of improper fighting methods. Thus, Zigmą Angarietis was forced

to 10-month jobless circumstances (April 1935—January 1936), facing hardships of unemployment, property auction-off, indebtedness to comrades and coming and seeing them “for a continuous cup of tea”.

After the 7<sup>th</sup> Comintern Congress of September 1935 the structure of Comintern was changed. The Moskvin’s Secretariat became responsible for relations with the CPs of Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The Head of that Secretariat Moskvin himself showed hostility towards the CEC Lithuanian Division and its Head Zigmantas Angarietis from the very beginning. Instead, Moskvin aimed at appointing Aizik Lifšic. Thus, it is probable that the fight for leadership in the LCP (B) CC Secretariat, strongly supported by Moskvin, was actually initiated by members of the LCP (B), the Jews, in 1935.

The fate of the Moskvin’s Secretariat and the CPs under his wing of coordination was pre-arranged in advance, much earlier than the historic spring of 1938. Although the CPs under Moskvin were disbanded as unnecessary, the fact that functions of the Moskvin’s Secretariat were transferred to the CEC IRD, a direct subordinate to the State Political (or Secret Intelligence) Directorate (also GRU), meant that the said region was given exceptional attention, with special aims and goals raised.

The main task of the LCP (B) was to stand strong to prevent Lithuania from getting close with Poland, differently than intended by pro-Poland supporters; and to do their best to prevent Lithuania from entering the block of Poland and Germany that was aimed against the USSR. The said main task of the LCP (B) remained unaltered almost during the entire period of the 1930s, even when the Comintern discontinued its relations with the LCP (B).

By holding considerable amount of information on the LCP (B) members in Lithuania, the LR State Security Department (SSD) would have impact on number of the members within the LCP (B). Besides, the LCP (B) itself would pay insufficient attention to keeping personnel within the LCP (B); and even less care was given to training of personnel; also its members were not required to follow conspiracy. The latter was caused by the fact that, as a rule, as soon as they got out of the prison, the members of the LCP (B) would be immediately, i.e. in two-three months, detained and stayed imprisoned for several years. That was also the case in 1939, when the agreement

between the USSR and Lithuania was concluded: the amount of arrests of the members of the LCP (B) rose.

Nevertheless, the author of this Thesis claims that the truly poor financial situation of the LCP (B) faced by the LCP (B) for the last two years (1938-1939) was one of the crucial reasons for the said processes. Although its plenum of 1939 obliged organisations within it to continuously collect the party member fee, sell the LCP (B)-published literature and otherwise reinforce its financial status, nothing helped. Local organisations had to find funds not only for delivery of publications, but also for sustenance of local workers, if required. Local party organisations were obliged continuously provide fiscal reports to the Secretariat. However, all used measures were fruitless.

At the end of 1939 the situation within the LCP (B) was truly complicated because only 5 out of the former 14 executive members of the LCP (B) CC, mainly I. Meskupas (Adomas), Antanas Petrauskas (Simas), Jonas Krastinas (Rapolas), Juozas Stimburys (Mikas), and Kutka (Petras) remained out of prison. The following national composition prevailed within the LCP (B) in December 1939: 9 Lithuanians, 4 Jews, and 1 Latvian.

Considering the activity of the LCP (B) over the period of 1938–1939, it would seem the latter was a political group rather than a political party.

## **Conclusions**

1. The present scientific research has proven that the Lithuanian Communist Party (Bolshevik) (LCP (B)) that illegally operated in the 1920s and 1930s was not an independent political organisation. It would substantially operate as a secret “hand of Moscow”. Besides spreading propaganda and agitation, some of its members also performed tasks designated by the USSR special services.

2. The authorities of the Comintern’s Lithuanian Division who worked in Moscow had no major influence on decisions to be made by the Comintern nor did they belong to the circle of the influential representatives of the international Communist movement.

3. The Soviet-time LCP (B) Historiography provides purportedly that the authorities of the LCP (B) were united in their political-moral views, which, as proven above by evidence, is a myth. The competition and conflicts that began between Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas and Zigmantas Aleksa-Angarietis, the two most influential activists

of the LCP (B), already in the 1910s also continued later on. From the end of the 1920s Zigmas Aleksa-Angarietis tried his best to take over the role of the leader of the LCP (B) from his rival Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas. To do so, Angarietis would concentrate the most influential personnel of the LCP (B) around him. However, he failed in his attempts to become the only leader of the LCP (B), including the period after the death of Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas in 1935. Due to reasons still undisclosed, in the period beginning at the end of 1935 till beginning of 1936, Zigmas Aleksa-Angarietis was dismissed from the authorities of the Comintern's Lithuanian Division, following the decision by the higher-ranking governing bodies of the Comintern.

4. Almost all political personnel of the LCP (B) would be trained and educated in Moscow, mainly at the following two educational institutions that were at least formally subordinates to the Comintern: the Western National Minority Communist University (1921–1936) and the International Lenin School (1927–1936). Both schools included a Lithuanian Division each.

5. Applying their network of intelligencers and agents, the special services of the Republic of Lithuania had considerable amount of information on members of the LCP (B), the scope of their organisational agitation and propaganda, and could substantially control it. The said services, however, did not know about sources and contents of relations of the LCP (B) with Moscow. That was so because the latter relations were held by a separate branch of secret intelligence specialists who were secretly trained separately in Moscow, all members of the LCP (B). The latter, of course, kept that part of their activity secret from other party comrades as well.

6. Since a considerable part of members of the LCP (B) included the Jews, and the Jews, in their turn, including the rich Jews as well as Jew-supported organisations, provided support to the Communist activity, the Lithuanian special services could easily form the public image of the LCP (B) as the organisation supported by both anti-national forces and the Jews.

7. In the period 1930–1938 the LCP (B) Feldjaeger (Messenger) Service was included into the common network of the Comintern Executive Committee's IRD. Via that network the LCP (B) would be provided with literature, instruction and reports, also, money. The CEC IRD, in its turn, would be also controlled and used respectively



by the following USSR special services: Defence Staff Intelligence, People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD), Navy, State Political Directorate (GPU), Department of Foreign Affairs, etc. Thus, that network would also contribute to transfer of various secret intelligence information, including weapons, aimed, in fact, at other states than Lithuania.

8. From the beginning of the 1930s the communications would be by far transferred via the Comintern IRD signals station-Stockholm in Sweden. Simultaneously, secret radio connection was installed and applied. In Lithuania such a signals (radio) station was introduced in 1934 and operated till 1938. In general, part of information would be also transferred in enciphered form.

9. Almost over the entire period of the 1930s, while performing tasks designated by the USSR special services, the LCP (B) would use the following means of communication: Feldjaeger (Messenger) Service, radio communications, and regular mail. Also, combined means of communication (transportation) would be used, including those by sea and land.

10. The LCP (B) would be financed not only directly from Moscow. In 1930-1935 and at the beginning of 1938 part of its funds would be granted by the USA-based Communist and Communist-related organisations; later, from 1938, the Jewish fellowships based in New York also began providing financial support to the Jewish cultural activities in Lithuania. In 1937-1938 the LCP (B) would also receive some funds, not in great amounts, to be honest, from Spain. It is quite possible that part of funds sent to the LCP (B) from the Western countries were money of the said Moscow again.

11. Due to undisclosed reasons yet in autumn of 1938 the activity of the Comintern's Lithuanian Division Secretariat that was headed by Moskvina at that time was suspended. Majority of members of the LCP (B) who worked for the Comintern apparatus were arrested. The underground Communists of Lithuania actually lost both their channels of communication and financial support. Nominally, however, the LCP (B) seemed to escape annulment, even though not much could be done by it any more once it had lost its relations with Moscow and financing respectively.

12. It is supposed that the situation of the LCP (B), however, changed at the end of 1939, i.e. once Lithuania finally was under influence of the USSR, after the well-known

secret agreements between Stalin and Hitler, and once Lithuania was forced to sign a bilateral agreement with Moscow on mutual assistance. Following it, the USSR military units were deployed in Lithuania, in number reaching those of the Lithuanian Armed Forces. That was the time when Moscow needed the LCP (B) once again. That is the evidence that could be used to explain why the LCP (B) CC Secretary I. Meskupas-Adomas was instructed to arrive in Moscow in December 1939 to provide the Comintern's Secretary General G. Dimitrov with the LCP (B) Report on Activity for 1938-1939.

## Santrauka

Komunistinis arba III Internacionalas, sutrumpintai dar vadinamas Kominternu, buvo įkurtas 1919 m. kovo mėnesį. Maskvoje. Jo uždavinys – remti ir koordinuoti komunistinį judėjimą pasauliniu mastu. Nuo pat įkūrimo Kominternas savo veikloje ir organizacijoje vadovavosi vadinamuoju demokratinio centralizmo principu. Jį sudariusios atskirų šalių komunistų partijos veikė turėdamos Kominterno sekcijų statusą. Jei iš pradžių Kominternas dar išlaikė tam tikrą autonomiją komunistinės Rusijos, po to Sovietų Sąjungos, valdžios atžvilgiu, tai nuo trečiojo dešimtmečio pabaigos, kai SSRS įsitvirtino J. Stalino diktatūrinis režimas, jis praktiškai tapo J. Stalino valdžios kontroliuojamu įrankiu.

Lietuvos komunistų (bolševikų) partija, įkurta 1918 m. pabaigoje kaip nacionalinis teritorinis Rusijos komunistų partijos padalinys, nuo trečiojo dešimtmečio pradžios, Lietuvai esant nepriklausomai ir su SSRS gan draugiškus santykius palaikančiai valstybei, tapo atskira Kominterno sekcija ir tokį statusą išlaikė praktiškai iki 1938 m. rudens, kai nurodžius vadinamiesiems kompetentingiems organams buvo panaikintas sekcijos sekretoriatas.

Nors sovietmečiu LKP (b) istorija Lietuvoje buvo laikoma atskira istorijos mokslo šaka, ikisovietinio laikotarpio LKP (b) istorija, ypač jos organizaciniai aspektai, tyrinėta menkai. Nutylėjimų ir komunistinės propagandos šioje istoriografijoje gerokai daugiau nei faktų. LKP (b) kaip Kominterno sekcijos, veiklos nenorėta leisti išsamiau tyrinėti netgi komunistinės ideologijos požiūriu patikimiems istorikams. Tai neatitiko propagandinių sovietinės komunistinės valdžios tikslų. Buvo stengiamasi įteigti mintį, kad „lietuvių nacionalinės buržuazijos valdymo metais“ LKP (b) buvo pažangiausių ir drąsiausių Lietuvos žmonių organizacija, kovojusi už „Lietuvos darbo žmonių reikalus“ ir siekusi istoriškai pažangiausios komunistinės (socialistinės) santvarkos įvedimo Lietuvoje. Apie organizacinę LKP (b) veiklos pusę, jos sąsajas su Kominternu rašyta tik labai bendrais bruožais, nepateikiant konkretaus vaizdo.

Disertacijos darbo akcentu laikytas ne kiekybinių pasiekimų atskleidimas, bet bandyta iš vidaus pažvelgti į Kominterno ir LKP (b) gyvavimą bei jų veiklą 20 a. 4-ajame dešimtmetyje, pasekti Kominterne ir Lietuvos KP (b) vykusius pokyčius besikeičiančių sąlygų kontekste.

**Tyrimo objektas.** LKP (b), kaip Kominterno sekcijos, veiklos organizaciniai aspektai 20 a. ketvirtajame dešimtmetyje.

Ketvirtuoju dešimtmečiu šiame darbe apsiribojama dėl kelių priežasčių. Viena vertus, darbo apimtis ir archyvinės medžiagos gausa neleidžia aprėpti viso LKP (b) veiklos tarp dviejų pasaulinių karų laikotarpio. Antra vertus, pasirinktą tyrinėjimo laikotarpį Kominterno istorijos požiūriu galima laikyti atskiru periodu. Jo atskirumą lėmė bent dvi tarpusavyje susijusios aplinkybės: globalūs geopolitinės situacijos pokyčiai, ypač išryškėję atėjus į valdžią Vokietijoje A. Hitleriui, ir J. Stalino diktatūrinio režimo SSRS politika, kuri žymiu mastu buvo diktatoriaus, siekiančio beatodairiškai stiprinti savo valdžią, reakcija ir į tarptautinius pokyčius pasaulyje.

Šio **darbo tikslas.** Ištirti LKP (b), kaip Kominterno sekcijos, veikimo 20 a. ketvirtajame dešimtmetyje istoriją, pirmučiausia šio veikimo organizacinę pusę, atskleidžiant sąveikas tarp Kominterno Maskvos „centro“ ir Lietuvoje veikiančio pagrindinio mechanizmo.

Darbą sudaro įvadas, keturi į poskyrius išskaidyti skyriai bei išvados.

Pirmasis skyrius apima laikotarpį nuo VI iki VII Kominterno kongresų (1928 m. liepa – 1935 m. rugpjūtis). Pagrindinis dėmesys yra skiriamas Kominterno vadovavimo centralizacijos procesui, kuomet galutinai išryškėja glaudus ir nepertraukiamas ryšys su VKP (b) CK vadovybe. O vidiniame Lietuvos KP (b) gyvenime tuo metu išryškėjo kova dėl vadovaujančio posto. LKP (b) pagrindinę veiklą Lietuvoje kontroliavo ir didelę įtaką jai darė Lietuvos Respublikos žvalgybinės ir kontržvalgybinės institucijos.

Antrasis skyrius apima laikotarpį po Kominterno VII kongreso iki 1938 m., kuomet tiek Kominterne, tiek ir LKP (b) vykstantys procesai įgauna žaibišką pagreitį. Dėmesys koncentruojamas į sistemingą Kominterno, o kartu ir LKP (b), veiklos paralyžavimą. Dėl šios priežasties LKP (b) CK Politinis biuras iš Maskvos buvo perkeltas į Kauną. Tuo pačiu pasikeitė ir LKP (b) struktūra, o svorio centras pasistūmėjo į Lietuvą. Kompartijos pagrindinę veiklą Lietuvoje ir toliau kontroliavo LR žvalgybinės ir kontržvalgybinės institucijos.

Trečiasis skyrius nesiejamas su Kominterno kongresais ar plenumais. Pagal savo turinį tai specifinis skyrius. Jame bandoma apžvelgti LKP (b) „povandeninę veiklą“, kuomet SSRS žvalgybinės institucijos prisidengdamos Kominterno komunistų partijomis, tarp jų ir LKP (b), vykdė žvalgybos užduotis.

Ne mažiau svarbus ir paskutinis darbo skyrius, kuriame nagrinėjamas problematiškiausias 1938-1939 m. laikotarpis, kuomet Kominternas ir visiškai nutraukė, ir iš dalies atnaujino ryšius su LKP (b). Taip pat neatsiejamas nuo šio laikotarpio – Z. Angariečio baudžiamasis procesas, kai NKVD organai suėmė, tardė ir kalino maskvietiškąją LKP (b) vadovybę. Pagrindinis dėmesys koncentruojamas į vidinius, kartais nematomus, Kominterne vykusius procesus, kurie tiesiogiai darė įtaką LKP (b) veiklai.

Pagrindinė disertacijoje panaudotų **šaltinių** bazė – neskelbta archyvinė medžiaga. Buvo peržiūrėtos Lietuvos ypatingajame archyve Lietuvos komunistų partijos dokumentų skyriuje saugomuose Lietuvos KP Centro Komiteto (F. 77, 1918–1940 m.), Zigmo Aleksos - Angariečio (F. 5420, 1912–1938 m.), Antano Sniečkaus (F. 16895, 1921–1974 m.), Romo Šarmaičio - Romaičio (F. 17635, 1927–1995 m.), fonduose esančios bylos. Jose rastos asmeninės LKP (b) narių charakteristikos, ataskaitos apie pagrindinę veiklą Lietuvoje, epizodiškas Lietuvos KP (b) CK Sekretoriato susirašinėjimas su maskvietiška Lietuvos KP (b) vadovybe, įvairaus pobūdžio LR VRM pranešimai, susiję su komunistine veikla Lietuvoje, kaltinamosios LR teismų išvados, paskelbtos LKP (b) nariams, LR VSD pažymos apie Lietuvos KP struktūrą, veiklą ir tautinę LKP (b) sudėtį. Taip pat rasta Z. Angariečio susirašinėjimo su Juozu Jurginiu, JAV darbininkų dienraščio „Laisvė“ redaktoriumi Antanu Bimba, ir kt. Medžiaga. Lietuvos KP (b) narių asmens bylose apie pagrindinę veiklą Lietuvoje aptikta nemažai tokių atsiminimų, kuriems net ir sovietmečiu nebuvo lemta išvysti dienos šviesos.

Likusi archyvinė, tyrimui reikalinga medžiaga buvo surinkta Lietuvos centriniame valstybės archyve saugomuose Lietuvos Respublikos valstybės saugumo departamento (F. 378, 1919-1940 m.), Lietuvos Respublikos užsienio reikalų ministerijos (F. 383, 1919-1940 m.), Lietuvos Respublikos ministrų kabineto (F. 923, 1918-1940 m.) fonduose esančiose bylose. Lietuvos centriniame valstybės archyve saugoma medžiaga, padėjusi atskleisti Lietuvos ir SSRS apsikeitimo politiniais kaliniais 1933 m. ir 1935 m. aplinkybes. Taip pat minėtose bylose rastos LR VSD Agentūros skyriaus rengtos apžvalgos apie politinių partijų ir organizacijų veiklą Lietuvoje iki 1940 m. birželio 13 d.

Archyvų saugomuose fonduose pavyko aptikti bylų, kuriose atsispindi tik kai kurie Lietuvos KP (b) veiklos fragmentai, medžiaga nėra vientisa, chronologiškai ne visada pavyksta atkurti ištisinę įvykių seką.

Nors 1991 m. rugpjūčio 24 d. tuometinio Rusijos Federacijos prezidento B. Jelcino įsaku buvo leista naudotis archyviniais Kominterno dokumentais, ne visi dokumentai buvo išslaptinti. Šiuo metu Rusijos valstybiniame socialinės politikos istorijos archyvo saugomame KIVK (F. 495, 1919–1943 m.) fonde Tarptautinių ryšių skyriaus (Ap. 23, 1920–1942 m.; Ap. 138, 1922–1934 m.; Ap. 151, 1931–1937 m.) bei KIVK kriptografinio susirašinėjimo su kompartijomis (Ap. 184, 193–1943 m.) apyrašuose esančios bylos nėra išslaptintos, todėl analizuoti ir apžvelgti LKP (b) žvalgybinę veiklą buvo daug sunkiau.

**Kita šaltinių grupę** sudaro memuarinė literatūra, kuri jau ir sovietmečiu nebuvo perdėm gausi, juo labiau nepagausėjo Lietuvai atgavus nepriklausomybę. Kalbant apie sovietmečiu pasirodžiusią memuarinę literatūrą,<sup>14</sup> visų pirma, joje epizodiškai užsimenama ne tik apie 20 a. 4-ojo dešimtmečio Lietuvos KP (b) pagrindinę veiklą, bet ir apie ankstesnius veiklos dešimtmečius. Joje taip pat neliečiami procesai bei įvykiai, kurie leistų pažvelgti į vidinį kompartijos gyvenimą liudininkų akimis. Nors taip norėtusi, kad ji alsuotų tiriamojo laikotarpio įvykių liudininkų dvasia, paremta asmenine patirtimi. Net ir po nepriklausomybės atgavimo pasirodžiusi vienintelė atsiminimų knyga,<sup>15</sup> kuri tarytum užvertė paskutinį LKP (b) istorijos puslapį, buvo skirta ilgamečio LKP (b) pirmojo sekretoriaus A. Sniečkaus gyvenimui ir politinei veiklai. Joje surinkti bendražygių, bendraminčių bei jį artimiau pažinojusiųjų žmonių atsiminimai, kurie daugiausia nukreipti į politinės veiklos sferą nuo 20 a. 5-ojo dešimtmečio vidurio iki 8-ojo dešimtmečio vidurio.

**Istoriografija.** Pasaulinė istoriografija, pradedant enciklopedijomis, monografijomis<sup>16</sup> ir baigiant atskirais straipsniais, vienokiu ar kitokiu aspektu tyrinėjanti

---

<sup>14</sup> Bordonaitė M. Draugas Matas: Antaną Sniečkų prisiminus. Vilnius. 1983; Chodosaitė M. Audrose brendusi jaunystė. Vilnius. 1981; Meškauskienė M. Tolimi artimi metai. Vilnius. 1979.

<sup>15</sup> Kazakevičius V., Mališauskas R. Sniečkaus fenomenas: prisiminimai ir pamąstymai. Vilnius. 2003.

<sup>16</sup> Я. С., Бабиченко Л. Г., Ширина К. К. Коминтерн и идея мировой революции. Москва. 1999.; Комолова Н. П., Корчагина М. Б., Ширина К. К. Коминтерн и фашизм. Москва. 1999.; Лебедева Н. С., Наринский М. М. Коминтерн и вторая мировая война. Часть 1. До 22 июня 1941 г.. Москва. 1994.; и Часть 2. После 22 июня 1941 г. Москва. 1998.; Калмыков Н. П., Янчук И. И., Ермакович Л. М., Казаков В. П., Кораблева Л. Ю., Щелчков А. А. Латинская Америка и Коминтерн. Москва. 1998.; Пожарская С. П., Саплин А. И. Коминтерн и гражданская война в Испании. Тома

Kominterno (1919-1943) istoriją, yra gausi tiek geografiniu, tiek ir kalbiniu požiūriu. Kominterno istorijos tyrinėtojams iki 20 a. dešimtojo dešimtmečio pirmosios pusės imtinai archyvinė medžiaga dėl visiems puikiai žinomų priežasčių praktiškai buvo neprieinama. Sovietmečiu pasirodė vos kelios rimtesnės monografijos, „nagrinėjančios“ Kominterno istoriją.<sup>17</sup> Taip pat nereikėtų pamiršti, kad SSRS Centrinio partijos archyvo dokumentai nuo 20 a. 6-ojo dešimtmečio vidurio reguliariai buvo spausdinami ir specializuotuose leidiniuose.<sup>18</sup> Taip pat ir Perestroikos laikotarpiu archyviniai dokumentai buvo publikuoti viename iš leidinių.<sup>19</sup> Padėtis iš dalies pasikeitė, kuomet 1991 m. rugpjūčio 24 d. tuometinio Rusijos Federacijos prezidento B. Jelcino įsaku buvo leista naudotis archyviniais Kominterno dokumentais. Tačiau nereikėtų pamiršti, kad Kominterno tyrinėtojams Kominterno archyvinė medžiaga tapo prieinama tik iš dalies, nes ne visi dokumentai buvo išslaptinti. Šiuo metu Rusijos valstybiniame socialinės politikos istorijos archyve saugoma Kominterno medžiaga sugrupuota į 76 fondus, aprašyta 527 apyrašuose ir iš viso apima 237 tūkstančius bylų.

Lietuvių kalba pasirodė veikalai, susiję su disertacijos tyrimų objektu, pirmiausia gali būti skirstomi chronologiniu požiūriu, t.y. į sovietinę ir paskutiniojo dešimtmečio historiografiją. Šis sąlyginis skirstymas pagal darbų pasirodymo laiką yra taip pat vienijamas atitinkamo pristatomo požiūrio į istorinį reiškinį. Sovietinė lietuvių komunistų partijos historiografija, pradedant enciklopedijomis,<sup>20</sup> sovietmečiu parašytomis disertacijomis,<sup>21</sup> monografijomis ir baigiant atskirais straipsniais, vienokiu ar kitokiu aspektu tyrinėjanti LKP (b) istoriją iki 1940 m., nėra gausi skaičiumi, taip pat niekam, išskyrus lietuvius ir rusus, ši tema nesukėlė labai didelio susidomėjimo. Tik 20 a. 6-ojo

---

документов. Москва. 2001.; Городнов В. П., Давидсон А. Б. Коминтерн и Африка. С.-Петербург. 2002.

<sup>17</sup> Коминтерн, КИМ и молодежное движение. (1919- 1943). Сб. в двух томах. Москва. 1977.; Самсонова А. Г., Соснович Е. Н. Деятели Коминтерна. Москва. 1990.

<sup>18</sup> Исторический архив (1955 - 1962 гг.), Вопросы истории КПСС (1958 - 1991).

<sup>19</sup> Известия ЦК КПСС (1989 - 1991).

<sup>20</sup> Mažoji Lietuviškoji Tarybinė enciklopedija T. 1-4. Vilnius. 1966-1971; Lietuviškoji tarybinė enciklopedija T. 4. Vilnius. 1978; Lietuviškoji tarybinė enciklopedija T. 5. Vilnius. 1979; Lietuviškoji tarybinė enciklopedija T. 6. Vilnius. 1980; Lietuviškoji tarybinė enciklopedija T. 8. Vilnius. 1981; Tarybų Lietuvos enciklopedija T. 2. Vilnius. 1986.

<sup>21</sup> Atamukas S. Lietuvos KP kova prieš fašizmą, už Tarybų valdžią Lietuvoje 1935–1940. Daktaro disertacija. Vilnius. 1958; Jankūnas S. Lietuvos KP atsišaukimų reikšmė, plečiant partijos įtaką masėse fašistinės diktatūros metais (1927–1940 m.). Daktaro disertacija. Vilnius. 1970; Navickas K. Tarybų Sąjungos vaidmuo ginant Lietuvių tautos gyvybinius nacionalinius interesus (1917–1940 m.). Daktaro disertacija. Vilnius. 1965; Petkevičienė L. Pažangiųjų JAV Lietuvių visuomeninė – kultūrinė veikla 1933–1940 metais. Daktaro disertacija. Vilnius. 1966; Žeimantas V. Lietuvos KP pagrindinės spaustuvės (1918– 1940 m.). Daktaro disertacija. Vilnius. 1970 ir kt.

dešimtmečio pabaigoje (1957 m.), pirmą kartą buvo pamėginta pateikti susistemintą LKP (b) istoriją iki 1944 m. Tai buvo Partijos istorijos instituto prie Lietuvos KP (b) CK parengtas straipsnių rinkinys<sup>22</sup> bei 1959–1960 m. „Komunisto“ žurnale paskelbti straipsniai, kurie 1961 m. buvo išleisti knygoje „Lietuvos komunistų partijos istorijos klausimai“.<sup>23</sup> Šios ir vėliau pasirodžiusios monografijos iki Lietuvos nepriklausomybės atgavimo<sup>24</sup> yra neabejotinas įnašas į istoriografiją, tačiau išliekamosios vertės neturi, nes tyrinėjant komunistinę pagrindį Lietuvoje laikytasi sovietinės istoriografijos koncepcijų ir ryškus ideologinis užsakymas. Kitaip sakant, knygose medžiaga pateikiama iš „proletarinių klasinių pozicijų“. Nesunku atsekti sąsajas tarp pastarųjų darbų ir daugelio straipsnių, pasirodžiusių periodinėje Tarybų Lietuvos spaudoje. Kadangi nagrinėti sovietmečiu suformuluotas ideologines paradigmas bei analizuoti komunistinių idėjų prigimtį, raidos etapus, vidinę sąveiką nėra šio darbo tikslas, todėl, siekiant supažindinti su Kominternu organizacine struktūra ir sprendimų priėmimo mechanizmu bei atskleisti LKP (b) svarbą Kominterne, buvo naudojamos prieinamais antriniais šaltiniais ir istoriografija.<sup>25</sup>

Kalbant apie šiuolaikinę Lietuvos istoriografiją, šiandien nėra nei vieno svaresnio darbo, kuriame LKP (b) veikla būtų apžvelgta, išanalizuota bei įvertinta „nauju“ požiūriu. Nors per pastarąjį dešimtmetį pasirodė keletas darbų, tačiau jie apsiriboja tik žymesnių LKP (b) veikėjų biografijomis.<sup>26</sup> O dar ir šiandien neužmiršto „žydo bolševiko“ ar „žydo enkavadisto“ stereotipą, bandoma jei ne paneigti, tai bent sušvelninti darbais,<sup>27</sup> kuriuose nagrinėjama 19–20 a. Lietuvos žydų istorija. Žydų

---

<sup>22</sup> Revoliucinis judėjimas Lietuvoje (Straipsnių rinkinys). Vilnius. 1957.

<sup>23</sup> Lietuvos Komunistų partijos istorijos klausimai. Vilnius. 1961.

<sup>24</sup> Lempertas I. Fašistinis režimas Lietuvoje. Vilnius. 1975; Lietuvos komunistų partijos istorijos apybraiža 1920-1940. T.2. Vilnius. 1978; Merkys V., Vyšniauskas A., Eidintas A. Mintys apie Lietuvos komunistų partijos kelią. Vilnius. 1989; Mintys apie Lietuvos komunistų partijos kelią. Vilnius. 1989; Šarmaitis R. Lietuvos komunistų partija liaudies revoliucinės kovos ir socialinės statybos priešakyje // Spalio revoliucija ir visuomeniniai mokslai Lietuvoje. Vilnius. 1967; Šarmaitis R. Lietuvos revoliucionieriai. Vilnius. 1988; Tomanas B. 1940 m. revoliucijų Pabaltijyje istoriografija // 1940 m. socialistinės revoliucijos Lietuvoje, Latvijoje ir Estijoje. Maskva. 1978. P.11-61 ir kt.

<sup>25</sup> Адиебеков Г. М., Шахназарова Э. Н., Шириня К. К.. Организационная структура Коминтерна. 1919–1943. Москва. 1997.; Чубарьян А. О., Лебедева Н. С. История Коммунистического Интернационала 1919 - 1943. Москва. 2002.; Лебедева Н. С., Рентола К., Саарела Т. М. Коминтерн и Финляндия. 1919-1943 (Документы). Москва. 2003.

<sup>26</sup> Tininis V. Sniečkus 33 metai valdžioje. Vilnius. 1995; Tininis V. Sovietinė Lietuva ir jos veikėjai. Vilnius. 1994.

<sup>27</sup> Atamukas S. Lietuvos žydų kelias. Vilnius. 2001; Levin D. Trumpa žydų istorija Lietuvoje. Vilnius. 2000.



tautybės asmenų priklausomybės LKP (b) iki 1940 m. klausimą bandoma apeiti, neišitraukiant į polemiką.

Reikia paminėti naujausias publikacijas,<sup>28</sup> kuriose disertacijos objektas specialiai nėra tyrinėtas, tačiau atskiri klausimai ar aspektai yra paliesti. Pastarųjų informacija ar išvalgomis, rašant disertaciją, taip pat buvo naudotasi.

Lietuvių išėivijos spaudoje LKP (b) veikla beveik nenagrinėjama, išskyrus pavienius atvejus, kuomet apie komunistinį pagrindį Lietuvoje ir jo sudėtį dažniausiai buvo sprendžiama iš amžininkų atsiminimų ir Kauno miesto komunistų pavyzdžio.

**Tyrimų rezultatų apibendrinimas.** Tyrimas patvirtino, kad 20 a. 3-4 dešimtmečiais nelegaliai veikusi Lietuvos komunistų partija nebuvo savarankiška politinė organizacija. Ji iš esmės veikė kaip slapta „Maskvos ranka“. Be propagandinio ir agitacinio darbo kai kurie jos nariai atliko ir SSRS specialiųjų tarnybų užduotis.

Kominterno Lietuvos sekcijos vadovybė, dirbusi Maskvoje, didesnės įtakos Kominterno priimamiems sprendimams neturėjo, nepriklausė įtakingesnių tarptautinio komunistinio judėjimo veikėjų ratui.

Sovietinio laikotarpio LKP (b) istoriografijoje įtvirtinta mintis, neva LKP (b) vadovybė buvo vieninga politiniu moraliniu požiūriu, yra mitas. Dar 20 a. 2-ajame dešimtmetyje prasidėjusi konkurencija ir trintis tarp dviejų įtakingiausių LKP (b) veikėjų – V. Mickevičiaus - Kapsuko ir Z. Aleksos-Angariečio – tęsėsi ir vėliau. Nuo trečiojo dešimtmečio pabaigos Z. Aleksa - Angarietis dėjo visas pastangas norėdamas perimti LKP (b) lyderio vaidmenį iš V. Mickevičiaus - Kapsuko. Jis tai mėgino daryti telkdamas apie save įtakingesnius LKP (b) kadrus. Tačiau tapti vieninteliu LKP (b) lyderiu jam nepavyko ir po to, kai 1935 m. V. Mickevičius - Kapsukas mirė. Dėl kol kas neišaiškintų priežasčių 1935 m. pabaigoje - 1936 m. pradžioje Z. Aleksa-Angarietis aukštesnių Kominterno organų sprendimu buvo pašalintas iš Kominterno Lietuvos sekcijos vadovybės.

Beveik visi LKP (b) politiniai kadrai buvo rengiami ir mokomi Maskvoje, Kominternui bent formaliai pavaldžiose mokymo įstaigose: Vakarų tautinių mažumų komunistiniame universitete (1921–1936) ir Tarptautinėje Lenino mokykloje (1927–1936). Abiejose šiose institucijose veikė lietuvių sektoriai.

---

<sup>28</sup> Kriščiūnas E. Komunisto revoliucionieriaus Z. Angariečio asmenybės ir veiklos bruožai // Istorija. T. 64. 2006. P. 33-39; Urbonaitė A. Antano Sniečkaus mitas // Ekstra. 2002 m. sausio 6 d. Nr.1 (213). P. 26-29.

Lietuvos Respublikos specialiosios tarnybos per savo informatorių ir agentų tinklą turėjo pakankamai informacijos apie LKP (b) priklausiusius asmenis, jų organizacinę agitacinę ir propagandinę veiklą ir iš esmės ją kontroliavo, tačiau šioms tarnyboms nebuvo žinomi LKP (b) ryšių su Maskva kanalai ir ryšių turinys. Mat šiuos ryšius palaikė Maskvoje specialiai žvalgybinio darbo metodų apmokyti LKP (b) nariai, kurie, suprantama, šią savo veiklos pusę slėpė ir nuo partijos bendražygių.

Kadangi didelę dalį LKP (b) narių sudarė žydų tautybės asmenys, o žydai, net ir turtingi, taip pat ir kai kurios jų organizacijos rėmė komunistinę veiklą, Lietuvos specialiosioms tarnyboms nebuvo sunku formuoti visuomenėje LKP (b), kaip antinacionalinės jėgos ir žydiškos organizacijos, įvaizdį.

1930–1938 m. LKP (b) kurjerių (feldjėgerių) tarnyba buvo įtraukta į bendrą Kominternio Vykdomojo komiteto Tarptautinių ryšių skyriaus tinklą. Per šį tinklą LKP (b) buvo aprūpinama literatūra, gaudavo įvairius nurodymus ir pranešimus, taip pat pinigus. Savo ruožtu Kominternio Vykdomojo komiteto Tarptautinių ryšių skyrių (Ryšių skyrius) kontroliavo ir savo reikmėms naudojo ir specialiosios SSRS tarnybos: Gynybos štabo žvalgyba, NKVD, Karinės jūrų pajėgos, GPU, Užsienio reikalų žinyba ir kt. Tad per šį tinklą ėjo ir įvairaus pobūdžio žvalgybinė informacija, net ir ginklai, tiesa, skirti ne Lietuvai.

Nuo 4-ojo dešimtmečio pradžios ryšiai daugiausia buvo palaikomi per Kominternio Stokholme (Švedija) įsteigtą ryšių punktą. Kartu buvo pradėtas naudoti ir specialus slaptas radijo ryšys. Lietuvoje tokio radijo ryšio punktas buvo įsteigtas 1934 m. ir veikė iki 1938 m. Apskritai, dalis informacijos veikiančiais ryšių kanalais buvo perduodama šifruota forma.

Beveik visą 20 a. 4-tą dešimtmetį Lietuvos KP (b), vykdydama SSRS spec. tarnybų užduotis, pasitelkdavo: kurjerių (feljėgerių) tarnybą, radijo ryšį ir paštą. Taip pat buvo naudojamas ir kombinuotas susisiekimo būdas (jūra ir sausuma).

LKP (b) buvo finansuojama ne tik tiesiogiai iš Maskvos. Dalį lėšų 1930–1935 m. ir 1938 m. pradžioje ji gaudavo iš JAV veikusių komunistinių ir komunistuojančių organizacijų, nuo 1938 m. taip pat ir iš Niujorke sukurtos žydų draugijos, teikusios finansinę paramą Lietuvos žydų kultūrinei veiklai. 1937–1938 m. šiek tiek lėšų, tiesa, nedaug, LKP (b) gaudavo iš Ispanijos. Visai įmanoma, kad dalis lėšų, siunčiamų LKP (b) iš Vakarų šalių, buvo tos pačios Maskvos pinigai.

Dėl kol kas iki galo neišaiškintų priežasčių 1938 m. rudenį Kominterno Lietuvos sekcijos Sekretoriato, kuriam tuo metu vadovavo M. Moskvinas, veikla buvo sustabdyta. Dauguma Kominterno struktūroje dirbusių LKP (b) narių areštuoti. Lietuvoje pagrindžio sąlygomis veikę komunistai faktiškai prarado ir ryšių kanalus, ir finansinę paramą. Tačiau formaliai LKP (b), atrodo, nebuvo likviduota, nors, netekusi ryšių su Maskva ir finansavimo, ne kažin ką galėjo veikti.

LKP (b) situacija, atrodo, pasikeitė baigiantis 1939 m., t.y. po to, kai Lietuva po žinomų slaptų J. Stalino ir A. Hitlerio sandėrių galų gale atsidūrė SSRS įtakos sferoje ir buvo priversta pasirašyti su Maskva Savitarpio pagalbos sutartį, pagal kurią Lietuvoje buvo dislokuoti SSRS kariniai daliniai, savo skaičiumi prilygę Lietuvos kariuomenei. Tuomet Maskvai LKP (b) vėl tapo reikalinga. Būtent tuo galima paaiškinti, kodėl 1939 m. gruodžio mėnesį į Maskvą buvo iškvieistas LKP CK sekretorius I. Meskupas - Adomas, turėjęs pateikti Kominterno generaliniam sekretoriui G. Dimitrovui 1938–1939 m. LKP (b) veiklos ataskaitą.

**Publications on the Topic of This Doctoral Thesis:**

Švilpa, J. 'Kaunas under Influence of Links of the Comintern's Intelligence'—In *Kaunas Historical Chronicle*, Vol. 8.—Kaunas: Vytautas Magnus University PH, 2007, pp 229-236.

Švilpa, J. 'Vatican—Kaunas—Moscow (USSR): Exchanging Political Prisoners in 1933 and 1935'—In *History*, Vol. 67.—Vilnius: Vilnius Pedagogical University PH, 2007.

## About the author

Name Jonas Švilpa  
Education Vilnius University, Faculty of History, Bachelor's Degree (1999).  
Vilnius University, Faculty of History, Master's Degree (2003).

Phone: +370 601 061 52  
E-mail: [j.svilpa@hmf.vdu.lt](mailto:j.svilpa@hmf.vdu.lt)