## The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands

ALEXANDER STATIEV

University of Waterloo, Ontario



## Contents

Lis	st of Figures	page ix
Lis	st of Tables	xi
Ac	knowledgments	xiii
Gle	ossary	xv
Int	roduction	I
I	Origins of Soviet Counterinsurgency	13
2	The Borderland Societies in the Interwar Period: The First Soviet Occupation and the Emergence of Nationalist Resistance	35
3	The Borderlands under German Occupation (1941–1944): Social Context of the Soviet Reconquest	53
	3.1 The Borderlands during the German Onslaught	54
	3.2 The German Occupation Policies	61
	3.3 German and Soviet Collaborators during	67
	the German Occupation 3.4 The Nationalists during the German Occupation	67 79
4		97
4	4.1 The Social Basis of the Resistance	97 97
	4.2 Anti-Soviet Resistance after the Soviet Reoccupation	21
	of the Borderlands	105
	4.3 Local Civilians as the Primary Victims of Anti-Soviet	
	Resistance	123
5	Soviet Agrarian Policy as a Pacification Tool	139
6	Deportations, "Repatriations," and Other Types of Forced Migration as Aspects of Security Policy	164
7	Amnesties	•
7	Red <i>Rurales:</i> The Destruction Battalions	195
8	Red Rurales: The Destruction Battanons	209

9 Police Tactics: Actions of NKVD Security Units, Intelligence	
Gathering, Covert Operations, and Intimidation	230
9.1 Tactics of the Regular Security Units	230
9.2 Informer Network and Undercover Agents	233
9.3 Covert Operations	238
9.4 Investigation Procedures	<b>2</b> 47
9.5 Intimidation	249
10 The Church in Soviet Security Policy	253
11 Violations of Official Policy and Their Impact on Pacification 11.1 Escalation of Unauthorized Violence from the First	272
to the Second Soviet Occupation	273
11.2 Common Crimes	277
11.3 Crimes Committed During Counterinsurgency Operations	285
11.4 Crimes and Harassment by Civilian Administrators	293
11.5 Government Reaction to the Crimes Committed	
by its Representatives	295
11.6 Causes for the Failure to Thwart Unauthorized Violence	297
12 Conclusion: Nationalist Resistance and Soviet	
Counterinsurgency in the Global Context	310
Appendix A: Note on Used Terms and Geographic	
and Personal Names	339
Appendix B: Note on Primary Sources	
Bibliography	
Index	
	361

•

## List of Figures

I.r	The western borderlands. Based on a map appearing in Thurston and Bonwestsch. <i>The People's War: Popular Responses to World</i>		
	War II in the Soviet Union (2000).	page	3
I.2	Nested and simple identities in Galicia, western Ukraine.		4
6.1	Compounded death rate among Latvians deported in 1949 from Aizputes, Aluksnes, Bauskas, Cesu, Daugavpils, and Gulbenes		
6.2	provinces, 1949–1959. Annual death rate among Latvians deported in 1949 from Aizputes, Aluksnes, Bauskas, Cesu, Daugavpils, and Gulbenes	I	92
	provinces, 1949–1953.	I	92