

... Russia without any prejudice recognizes the self-rule and independence of the State of Lithuania with all the juridical consequences . . . and for all times renounces with good will all the sovereignty rights of Russia, which it has had in regard to the Lithuanian nation or territory.

Peace Treaty with Russia
Moscow, July 12, 1920

Lietuvos
nacionalinė
M. Mažvydo
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President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill:
1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;
2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;
3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Atlantic Charter
August 14, 1941

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LITHUANIA AND MOSCOW

By THOMAS G. CHASE

There is no difference between Nazism and Russian Imperialism

Competition and rivalry, governed by the principles of justice and honesty, have always provided men with strong incentives, urging them on to ever greater achievements for the benefit of the human race. When the spirit of competition and rivalry, however, is allowed to degenerate into a bloodthirsty desire to destroy and to annihilate, there can be no lasting peace, no real order, and no true progress. Unfortunately, it has been quite often forgotten that competition and rivalry of various kinds and degrees have existed between Lithuania and Moscow for over six hundred years. This fact actually affects political conditions even today.

Lithuania and Moscow: 1300-1699

During the fourteenth century and the early years of the fifteenth, in order to protect herself and the rest of the European continent from the ravaging Mongolian hordes, who had easily enough reduced Moscow to a state of abject vassalage, Lithuania pushed the frontiers of her own Grand Duchy as far eastward as the Ugra, Oka and Donets rivers. In this manner, she not only became the guardian of a vast expanse of eastern Slav or Ruthenian territories, but she also bestowed upon these beleaguered peoples a guarantee of safety from future Tartar invasions. Furthermore, she attempted neither to rob these peoples of their social and religious treasures, nor to deprive them of their language and chosen form of government. Consequently, she won the favor of the Ruthenes and the confidence of the weak Slav principalities in the north, namely, Pskov, Novgorod, and Tver. Finally, Lithuania's ability to stem the advance of the Mongols contributed a great deal to the ultimate collapse of these warlike nomads, and gave Moscow the opportunity to shake herself free from their yoke, to con-

solidate her domains, and to emerge as a truly independent political entity during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

Ivan III (1462-1505), however, intent upon amassing power and glory by any and every conceivable means, inaugurated the unprincipled imperialistic policy, which has ever since dominated all Muscovite politics. Bent upon the conquest of Lithuania, he rejected all expressions of goodwill from Alexander, the Lithuanian Grand Duke (1492-1506). Violating the treaty of 1494, by which he had solemnly pledged himself to the maintenance of a perpetual peace with Lithuania and her subjects, he invaded the Grand Duchy in 1499. This was merely the beginning of a struggle which has continued to this very day.

Some seventy years after Ivan's act of aggression, the Lithuanians, finding themselves hard pressed by the Muscovites, accepted the promise of Polish aid under the most onerous conditions. At Lublin in 1569, they agreed to the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic, a dual state guided by a common ruler and a common Diet. On that occasion, they unwillingly ceded the palatinates of Volhynia, Bratslav, Kiev and Podlesia to Poland and even consented to share the government of Livonia, which had sought Lithuanian protection in 1556. In spite of the great price paid by Lithuania, Poland was able to offer her very little valuable assistance against Muscovy. In fact, Poland herself lost Kiev and the areas east of the Dnieper within one hundred years. Instead of fostering the newly born movement for national independence among the Ukrainians and thereby gaining a loyal partner in the south, Poland sought to frustrate the hopes of these peoples, and being unable to protect them, she was compelled to abandon them to Muscovy by the treaty of Andrussovo in 1667.

Lithuania and Moscow: 1699-1795

During the eighteenth century disregarding all justice and honesty, Russia resorted to methods which are only too well known today. Attempting to foment internal discord, foisting herself upon others as the protectress of human rights, and veiling her actions with a thin veneer of legality, Moscow sought to gain complete control of the affairs of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic.

The Great Northern War (1699-1721), during which Lithuania and Poland were overrun by the Swedish armies of Charles XII, provided Tsar Peter I with a very convenient combination of circumstances, and allowed him to formulate a rather definite plan for the total subjugation of both countries. He promised Frederick Augustus II, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, assistance against the Swedish invaders. Yet, once his troops entered Lithuania and Poland, Peter refused to withdraw them, although Charles XII had met with utter defeat. The subsequent protests of Lithuanians and Poles (1714-15) against this violation of sovereign rights was ruthlessly quelled by intimidation. As a result, the Diet of 1717 was surrounded by Muscovite soldiers; the Tsar's delegate, Dolgoruki, directed all proceedings; and when the Lithuanian and Polish deputies stubbornly refused to accede to his demands, among which was the order to reduce the extensive Republic's military power to the ridiculous number of 24,000 men, St. Petersburg simply decided upon an easy solution, namely, the silence of the Diet was to be accepted as an expression of full consent.

All the constitutional rights of Poland-Lithuania were once again outraged by Russia at the Election Diet of 1733. Stanislas Leszczynski had been validly selected as the successor of Frederick Augustus II by the Lithuanian and Polish electors. He was compelled, however, to flee before the Muscovite troops to Danzig. A phantom Polish-Lithuanian Diet was then summoned in October of that year by Tsarina Anne's General Lacey. Only a very small minority of the qualified deputies responded to this call. And in accordance with the wishes of Prussia and Russia these men proclaimed Frederick Augustus III as the new Polish-Lithuanian ruler.

In the year 1764 a very similar scene was enacted. Frederick II of Prussia and Catherine II of Russia formally agreed to permit only an individual approved by them to ascend the Polish and Lithuanian thrones. Consequently, due to the pressure brought to bear by Kayserling and Repnin, the representatives from Moscow, by the Russian forces within the countries, and by Prussian troops poised on the border, the Lithuanian and Polish gentry had little choice, but to acquiesce to the desires of these foreign powers and elect Stanislas Poniatowski.

In 1767, through the assistance of Charles Radvila, a Lithuanian, who was at odds with the King and the leading politicians of the Republic,

the Lithuanian family of the Czartoryskis, Repnin succeeded in assembling a large group of the Lithuanian and Polish gentry at Radom. His motive in doing so, he said, was to consider ways and means of protecting the exaggerated notions of liberty and democracy which the Poles had fostered, and which the Lithuanians had inherited at Lublin in 1569. But events at Radom recorded an entirely different story: surrounded by Muscovite armies, this body was compelled by threat of force to invoke Catherine II as the protectress of the Republic. And when the Lithuanian and Polish deputies refused to sanction this act of Radom at the General Diet of Warsaw, four were arrested and deported to Kaluga by Repnin's command! This bold and thoroughly unjustifiable interference by Russia was followed by a violent war, desperately carried on by the Lithuanian and Polish gentry for four years. It ended, however, with the First Partitions of Poland-Lithuania (1772).

Although Moscow was unquestionably anxious to annex all of Poland-Lithuania, nevertheless, various circumstances prevented her from doing so with any "grace". Consequently, to Frederick II of Prussia may be ascribed the dubious honor of playing the pivotal role in the political maneuvers, which immediately preceded the First Partitions. In 1769 Frederick had already proposed to Panin, the Russian minister, a plan of partition in return for aid against the Turks. Although an ally of Russia, Frederick manifested his willingness by his two conferences with Joseph II, Maria Theresa's son to consider the views of Vienna, which sought to prevent the expansion of the Tsarist domains, along the lower Danube at the expense of the Turks. This spurred Catherine to make a strenuous effort to reassure herself of Prussia's friendship. She extended an invitation to Frederick's brother, Prince Henry, to visit St. Petersburg in July, 1770. And some months after Henry's prolonged stay, Catherine agreed to abandon her previous pretensions to the territories of Wallachia and Moldavia and thus avoid a clash with Austria. Thereupon, in February 1772, Prussia and Russia signed the first treaty of the partitioning of Poland-Lithuania. Six months later the compact was completed with the admission of Austria, as the third partner.

As a result of these agreements, Russia occupied the palatinates of Polock, Vitebsk, and Mstislavl, the eastern border areas of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, as well as the palatinate of Livonia (Latgale); Austria took possession of Galicia, the southern portion of Poland up to the Vistula; and Prussia acquired Polish West Prussia (with the exception of Thorn and Danzig,) which lands served as a uniting link between Frederick's governed Kingdom of East Prussia and Brandenburg.

In April, 1773, a General Diet of the Republic was summoned by King Stanislas upon the demand of the partitioning powers, who anxiously

awaited the "ratification" of their deeds by the governing body of Poland-Lithuania. Many of the deputies from the district dietines refused to have any part in this undertaking and simply absented themselves. Russian and Prussian representatives once more resorted to bribery and intimidation on a grandiose scale. They threatened the Republic with seizure of other Lithuanian and Polish lands. Stackelberg, Catherine's ambassador and Repnin's successor, was the directing force of the entire procedure. Furthermore, only a committee of thirty deputies and senators were permitted to function under a semblance of legality, while the rest were called together simply to approve the measures "Adopted". The Lithuanian deputy from Naugardukas (Nowogrodek), Tadas Reitanas (Thaddeus Reytan), became a kind of national hero by reason of his violent protests against the Russian tactics. And in this manner was a "ratification" of the First Partitions of Poland-Lithuania wrested from an oppressed people.

Russia alone attempted to control the internal affairs of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic in the years that followed. Neither the King nor the Permanent Council were free to act unless they first gained Stackelberg's consent. The latter's approval was also necessary when higher offices were to be bestowed upon any particular individual. As a result, a few nobles of the Republic, bent upon advancing their own personal interests either catered to Stackelberg himself or journeyed to St. Petersburg to win Catherine's intercession in their behalf. In fine, although Poland-Lithuania remained nominally independent, in reality they had been deprived by Russian intrigues of the sovereignty which naturally belongs to an independent state.

Poland-Lithuania, however, soon found an excellent opportunity to liberate themselves from Russian Imperialism. Frederick William II, successor of Frederick the Great, had abandoned the Prussian alliance with Russia. In 1787 and in 1788 Turkey and Sweden declared war on Russia. And in October, 1786, the General Diet of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic assembled at Warsaw. It continued in session for four years. It proceeded to abolish the use of the principle of unanimity (*liberum veto*), the free election of kings, and the gentry's right to form confederations in opposition to the King. In fine, it did away with those exaggerated Polish notions of liberty, all of which had served as convenient means for Russia to encroach upon the sovereignty of both Poland and Lithuania. Furthermore, this **Four Year Diet** issued a series of positive reforms and proposed to organize an army of some 100,000 men, an act strictly forbidden by the Tsarina.

This effort of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic to free itself from foreign domination, however, was not permitted to bear fruit. In July, 1791, two months after the adaption of the new constitution, Austria and Prussia entered into an

agreement to safeguard its inviolability. This act was certainly not inspired by altruistic motives, but rather by the desire of each party to strengthen its position against Russia.

Having concluded peace with Turkey in January, 1792, Russia found herself again quite capable of dealing with the Polish-Lithuanian state, which had totally disregarded the Tsarina's wishes and had ignored the terms she had imposed in 1775. It is then that a group of Polish nobles, abetted by the Court of St. Petersburg created the **Confederation of Targowica**, and under Russian auspices issued a formal petition for Russian "protection" (May, 1792). A similar Confederation appeared at Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, soon afterwards and allied itself with the rebels of Targowica. Catherine immediately sent the Russian armies into Lithuania and Poland. The opposition offered by the loyal Lithuanian and Polish gentry against the Russian invaders was futile. They resisted heroically for two months and were finally subdued by Russian arms.

A half-year elapsed before, at the suggestion of Prussia anxious to share in the spoils, the treaty arranging the details of the **Second Partitioning of Poland-Lithuania** was completed (January 23, 1793). Austria, who sought to retain Prussian support in her struggle against France, was gracefully eliminated from participating in the division of Polish-Lithuanian territory by the political maneuvers of the Prussian representative, Haugwitz. And as a result, Russia annexed the eastern areas of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with Minsk, Pinsk as well as the eastern sections of Poland, including western Ukraine, parts of Podolia and Volhynia. Prussia acquired Polish Danzig, Thorn, Great Poland, and a part of Mazovia.

Some time later the comedy of 1773 was re-enacted. The partitioning powers ordered the Confederates of Targowica to summon a General Diet of Poland-Lithuania and "ratify" the seizures of Russia and Prussia. The revolutionists, deceived by Tsarina Catherine, flatly refused. Russia then convoked the Diet at Gardinas, Lithuania. (Every third General Diet of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic met at Gardinas since 1673). Only those territories which had not been seized in January were represented. Russian influence was extended to the utmost at the district dietines, in order to insure the choice of deputies suitable to the Russian-Prussian cause. Catherine's ambassador, Sievers, assumed the role of the leading and the most powerful figure at the Diet. Buchholz, represented Prussian interests, but depended almost entirely upon Sievers.

Only after the sessions of the Parliament had continued for more than three months, only after actual violence had been employed on the persons and properties of several deputies, and only after threats to expose the entire mutilated Republic to the depredations of Russian troops and to obliterate completely its remaining nominal so-

sovereignty had been re-iterated, was Sievers able to extort from the Diet, once more surrounded by Russian soldiers, the treaties which "approved" the Second Partitions. The military strength of Poland-Lithuania was on this occasion limited to 15,000 men and a so-called mutual assistance pact was signed between the Republic of Poland-Lithuania and Russia.

Four months later, March, 1794, the Polish-Lithuanian Republic rose in rebellion against its oppressors. And for eight months the Polish and Lithuanian forces under the leadership of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a Lithuanian, struggled valiantly, and in vain against the numerically larger Russian armies.

After various diplomatic maneuvers and intense wrangling, especially between Prussia and Russia, Poland-Lithuania were subjected to the **Third and Final Partitions**. By the treaty of October 24, 1795, Russia took possession of the Polish-Lithuanian fief of Courland, all that remained of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy at the time east of the Nemunas River up to Brest, as well as Polish Volhynia. Prussia occupied the Suvalkai area of Lithuania west of the Nemunas together with Polish western Mazovia and western Galicia, and a strip of Lithuanian territory, southwest of Brest. A month later Stanislas Poniatowski formally abdicated. And at the moment the imperialistic dreams of Russia seemed to be accomplished at last!

Lithuania and Moscow: 1795-1915

The history of Lithuania under the Tsarist regime, a period of one-hundred-twenty years (1795-1915), is merely one prolonged series of tragic events and inhuman crimes. The nation sought to overthrow the unwanted Russian rule by four major revolutions: in 1812, 1831, 1863 (in conjunction with the Poles), 1905. And during that time, she was mercilessly exposed to **another method of oppression adopted by Russian Imperialism, namely, denationalization of conquered peoples.**

While Napoleon threatened Russia's own sovereignty Tsar Alexander permitted the Lithuanian leaders to entertain at least vague hopes of the possible restoration of an autonomous Lithuanian Grand Duchy. After the Napoleonic epic, however, Lithuania found herself not only a devastated and depopulated country, but destined by the Congress of Vienna and by the Holy Alliance for complete oblivion and perpetual incorporation in the Russian Empire. Yet, as long as Alexander sought to win the good-will of the Poles, he allowed the latter to engage in an unbridled campaign of **Polonization** in the very center of the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius. He thereby closed every source of spiritual and cultural progress to the Lithuanians, unless they were willing to abandon their native language and learn the foreign Polish tongue. However, when it became evident that the Poles would

never consent to become obedient subjects of St. Petersburg, Lithuania was then submitted to a concentrated process of **Russianization.**

The University of Vilnius was closed in 1832 and its library and wealth transferred to Kiev. For almost a century "disloyal" Lithuanians were regularly exiled to the Caucasus and to Siberia. Their properties were confiscated and bestowed upon Russian colonists and Russian officers. The very name of Lithuania was officially abolished, the rather indefinite expression "Northwestern Provinces of Russia" being substituted. The ancient Lithuanian Statute, containing the code of laws which had governed the Grand Duchy of Lithuania since 1529, was abrogated (1840). Schools were closed. Even the religious rights of the people were abused in a most shameful manner, **Russian Orthodoxy being employed as a means of Russianization.** Catechisms were published, which instead of propounding religious doctrines, attempted to infiltrate the minds of the young with teachings of loyalty to the Tsar and to Russia. They claimed that the Tsarist Empire was really the native land of the Lithuanians. Karamzin, as a "historian", tried to convince the world that Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, were original Russian possessions! whereas they were territories seized by Russia during the Partitions either by force or by threat of force. Furthermore, national costumes were strictly forbidden, and a system of espionage, rivalling the Nazi Gestapo of the twentieth century, was extensively developed in all centers of Lithuania. In addition to this murderous raping of the country, the Lithuanian people were deprived of the use of their language for a period of forty years (1864-1904). In other words a book written in Lithuanian and its proper Latin characters was considered to be a major crime! Countless numbers of those engaged in the traffic of this "contraband" literature lost their lives and their health by reason of the exile, the imprisonment and the floggings to which they were condemned. The massacres at Kęstaičiai (1886) and Kražiai (1893), where the people refused to tolerate the closing of their churches by the Russians, approached perhaps the lowest depths of brutality and criminal behavior that Russian Imperialism was capable of attaining at the time.

One-hundred-twenty years of the cruelest kind of repression (a kind hardly experienced by any other nation on the face of the earth) failed to denationalize or destroy Lithuania. From this uneven, unjust, and dishonest struggle, she emerged the victor. She had heroically preserved her culture, her religion, and her language. With the assistance of the great democracies, she appeared after World War I as a battered, scourged, but living and free nation. Yet, even then Russian Imperialism had not perished: the Bolsheviks proceeded to send their forces against Lithuania, just as they did against Estonia, Latvia, and Poland!

Lithuania and Moscow: 1939-1944

In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries Russia had been determined upon achieving the conquest of Lithuania. In the 19th century, Russia decreed upon the denationalization of Lithuania. In the 20th century, however, having failed in all her previous endeavors, Russia is unquestionably bent upon the total annihilation and extermination of the Lithuanian nation.

All the criminal principles which played important parts in the tragedies of the Partitions of Poland-Lithuania during the eighteenth century and in the intensification of the sufferings of the Lithuanian people during the nineteenth century, have been brought into action today (1939-1944). As in the distant past, so in recent years the Germans and the Russians have plotted the destruction of Europe! This is a fact which can hardly be forgotten.

By threat of force, the Germans seized Lithuania's only seaport, Klaipėda (Memel), in March, 1939. Distrusting one another as they did in the 18th century, the Germans and the Russians became partners in crime shortly afterwards. They signed a pact of non-aggression at Moscow on August 23rd. Germany invaded Poland from the west on September 1st. Russia invaded Poland from the east on September 17th. And eleven days later, Russia and Germany signed another treaty determining the exact division of spoils in Poland and their respective spheres of influence on the Baltic shores. On October 10th, Moscow forced Lithuania by threat of dire penalties to enter a so-called mutual assistance pact which permitted the Soviets to establish air bases and maintain garrisons of Russian soldiers in Lithuania. (Similar events had taken place in Latvia and Estonia previously.) As a sign of "friendship", she returned one-third of the Vilnius territory, which she had unlawfully annexed in 1795, which she was forced to relinquish in 1920, and to which she never had any right based on justice. This "mutual assistance pact" was the gift of a modern Trojan horse, resembling rather closely the "gift" Peter I bestowed upon Frederick Augustus II during the Great Northern War.

Some eight months after these events, on May 25, 1940, Moscow accused the Lithuanian government of conniving at the kidnapping of Soviet soldiers stationed in Lithuania. Moscow made no efforts to substantiate these naive claims, which were soon altered into claims still more naive, namely, that the tiny Baltic Republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia had formed a secret military alliance among themselves against the U.S.S.R. Again, no effort was made to prove this statement. During the subsequent Soviet-Lithuanian parleys, the Russian Foreign Commissar Molotov, presented the Lithuanian Foreign Minister Joseph Urbšys at Moscow a few minutes before midnight on June 14, 1940, with an ultimatum, expiring within nine hours, that is, at nine o'clock in the morning, June 15th. The terms of the ul-

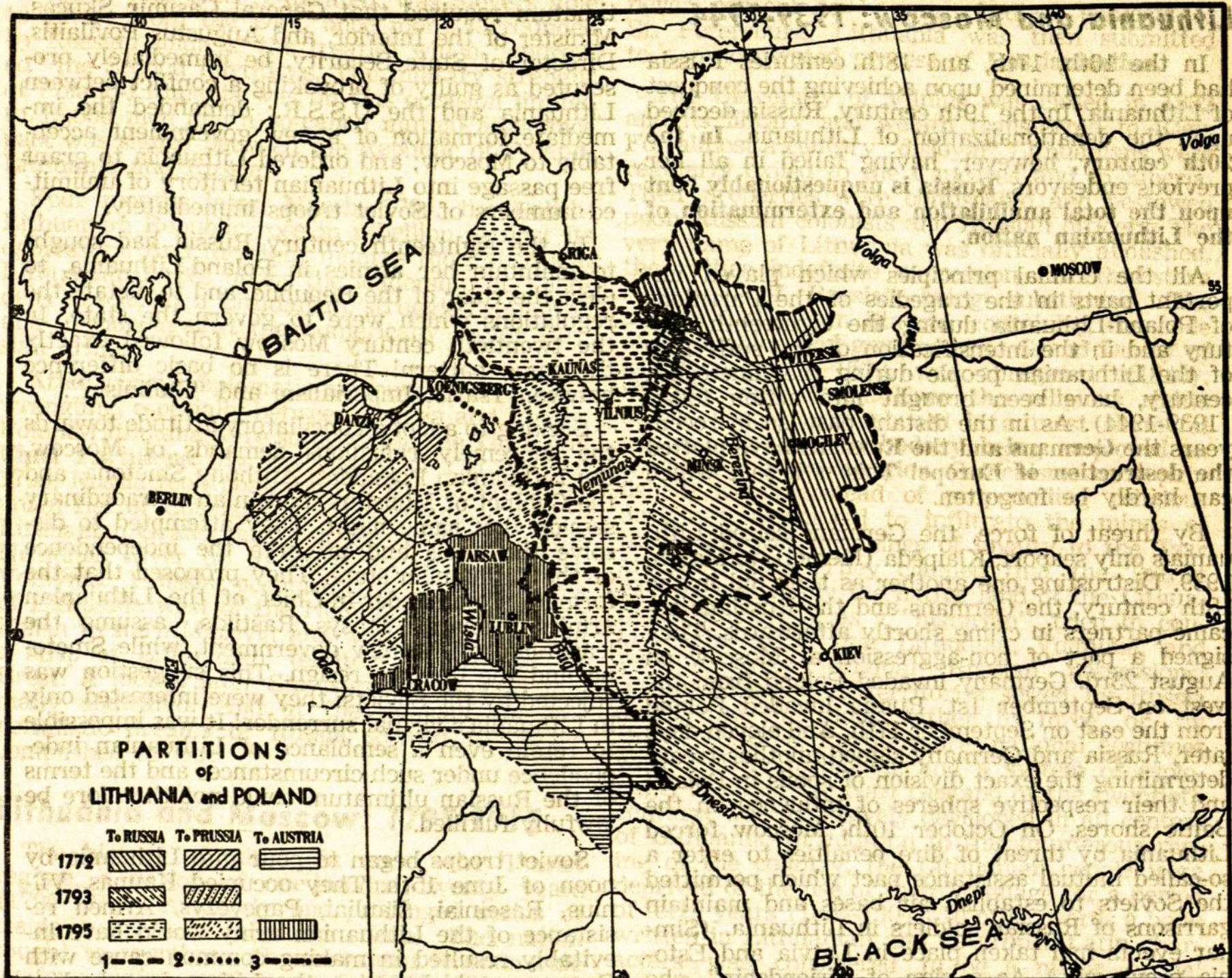
timatum required that General Casimir Skučas, Minister of the Interior, and Augustus Povilaitis, Director of State Security, be immediately prosecuted as guilty of provoking a conflict between Lithuania and the U.S.S.R.; demanded the immediate formation of a new government acceptable to Moscow; and ordered Lithuania to grant free passage into Lithuanian territory of unlimited numbers of Soviet troops immediately.

In the eighteenth century Russia had sought to maintain her armies in Poland-Lithuania, to elect the ruler of the Republic, and to dictate the regulations which were to govern the state. In the twentieth century Moscow followed exactly the same pattern! There is no basic difference between Tsarist Imperialism and "Stalinism".

Seeking to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards the supremely ridiculous demands of Moscow, the Lithuanian President, Anthony Smetona, and the Cabinet of Ministers, met in an extraordinary session that same night. They attempted to dissolve the crisis and preserve the independence of the Lithuanian state. They proposed that the former Commander-in-Chief of the Lithuanian armies, General Stasys Raštikis, assume the leadership of the new government, while Smetona and the Cabinet resign. This suggestion was rejected by the Soviets: they were interested only in Lithuania's virtual surrender! It was impossible to retain even a semblance of Lithuanian independence under such circumstances and the terms of the Russian ultimatum could not therefore be lawfully fulfilled.

Soviet troops began to pour into Lithuania by noon of June 15th. They occupied Kaunas, Vilnius, Raseiniai, Šiauliai, Panevėžys. Armed resistance of the Lithuanian army would have inevitably resulted in making common cause with Germany, which action the Lithuanians had at all times sought to avoid at any price. That same day Vice-Commissar Dekanozov, accompanied by the U. S. S. R. envoy to Lithuania, Pozdniakov, arrived at Kaunas. They proceeded to re-enact modern version of that tragi-comedy of which Russia had been so fond in the eighteenth century.

Justin Paleckis, a petty journalist, was named by the Soviets as the prime minister of the Lithuanian Republic on June 17th. His assistants consisted of a Cabinet of radicals, escaped convicts, and the criminal elements which exist in every country. Events followed in rapid succession and Lithuania was quickly prepared for another murderous raping. All organizations and political parties of Lithuania were outlawed. A communist party, which never had had a membership larger than 2,000, was re-organized and provided with necessary means for action. The Lithuanian Seimas or Diet was dissolved. Elections for a new Parliament were ordered. And while mass arrests of all persons suspected of antipathy towards the Soviet form of government were taking place, one list of candidates was drawn up by the Russian authorities for the Diet elections. The only individuals eligible for can-



1. Boundaries of independent Lithuania from 1569 to 1772; embracing an area of 170,000 square miles (present population about 15 mil.)
2. The linguistic boundaries of the Lithuanian Nation in the 18th Century. Present territorial demands of Lithuania coincide with this 18th century linguistic line. The linguistic-ethnographic area covers about 34,000 square miles including over 4 million inhabitants.
3. Eastern limits of Western civilization as based on Western Christianity (Catholicism and Protestantism) and Western ways of life. All of Estonia, Latvia and ethnographic Lithuania belong to Western culture and civilization. But Slavonic Eastern regions of historical Lithuania have been affected only by superficial Western influence. The region of Vitebsk, Mogilev, Minsk, Pinsk and Brest Litovsk remain fundamentally oriental (Byzantine) in religion and civilization. These cultural and religious as well as linguistic differences were partially responsible for the partition of historical Lithuania in the 18th Century. Today, even more so, they oppose the union of Lithuanian Western civilization with unacceptable standards of the Russian oriental ways of life.

didacy were those nominated and appointed by the communist operated "Working Peoples Union". Consequently, Moscow had assured itself of a 100% victory in these "mock" elections well beforehand, no matter how the voters chose to behave.

The so-called elections were scheduled for July 14th. Voting was compulsory, even though a choice between parties or principles was impos-

sible. Inhabitants were warned that failure to obtain the balloting stamp on their passports would be considered as sabotage.

Many voters appeared at the polls only to deposit an empty ballot as a sign of their protest. In general, the "elections" were disorderly, since no proper registration of eligible voters had been arranged. Instances have been recorded where even foreign citizens had been induced to go

to the polls and where no attempt whatsoever was made to count the ballots. Subsequently, the Soviet invaders announced that the Soviets had achieved a 99.19% victory in Lithuania. Even this ridiculous statement was obviously false, simply because it should have been a 100% pro-Soviet vote, since it was absolutely impossible to vote in any other conceivable manner! And in this way seventy-nine persons were made deputies to the new Seimas of Lithuania. (Similar events occurred in Latvia and Estonia). It is interesting to note that the results of these "elections" had been announced by "Tass", the Russian Telegraph Agency, twenty-four hours before the actual closing of the polls. This lack of coordination in Soviet machinery was due to the fact that local Soviet authorities in Lithuania, without consulting Moscow, had decided on the evening of July 14th to prolong the elections for another day!

The new Diet met at Kaunas on July 21st. As in the eighteenth century, so also on this occasion, the Russian ambassador Dekanozov, was the directing force of all proceedings. Strangely enough, some of the deputies opposed the Moscow fostered notion, that Lithuania be incorporated into the U.S.S.R. Nevertheless, it was announced that the Diet unanimously (although no balloting took place) decreed to petition Moscow for the acceptance of their country into the ranks of the Soviet Republics. These events merely revived the Diets of Ratification which followed the First and Second Partitions of Poland-Lithuania as well as the "Dumb Diet" of 1717 in a modernistic manner. All these scenes were painfully re-enacted by Moscow for one purpose: to cover Russian aggression with a thin veneer of legality and to deceive the world into thinking that the Lithuanians by their own choice had suddenly in some mysterious way been converted into Communists.

Subsequent history demonstrates most clearly how the "benevolent" Soviet regime of Moscow was accepted in Lithuania and her sister Republics. Moscow found it necessary to inaugurate a reign of terror, to crowd some sixty thousand Lithuanian citizens into cattle cars and deport them to Siberia, to the Arctic regions, and other sections of the Russian interior. She found it necessary to attempt to break the spirit of the Lithuanians by separating families, by denying them Red Cross assistance, by executing thousands of former government officials, professionals, and other prominent individuals, who had ever manifested any disapproval of Russian policies. She found it necessary to draw up the most detailed plans arranging for a mass transplantation of the Baltic peoples into Russia. (Read "An Appeal to Fellow Americans on Behalf of The Baltic States," published by The Lithuanian American Information Center, 233 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.)

On June 22, 1941, Russia and Germany finally ruptured their abominable alliance. Lithuania, after a short-lived revolt, was subjected to three years of Nazi occupation. Berlin, too, resorted to all of the vicious practices of the Reds: executions, deportations, establishment of concentration camps, devastation of the entire country. At the point of a gun they sent more than 200,000 Lithuanians into Germany. In the meantime, however, Moscow has been depicting the U.S.S.R. as martyr for freedom, a martyr for democracy, a martyr for inalienable human rights. And during those three years Moscow has incessantly attempted to pose as the conqueror of Nazism, as the destroyer of slavery, and as the protector of human dignity. But thus far Moscow has not proved that there is any fundamental difference between Nazism and Russian Imperialism.

Re-occupying the eastern sections of Lithuania, Moscow has continued with a wholesale extermination and annihilation of the remaining Lithuanian population. As a result, the towns of Siauliai, Utena, Vilkaviškis, in the very heart of Lithuania, are now entirely depopulated. Once again executions, deportations, and terror, sponsored by Moscow, are sweeping over Lithuanian territories. Is that the kind of liberation Moscow brings? Does that prove that Moscow has changed her policies since she has ruptured the intimate relationship with Nazi Germany? Does that indicate that Russian Imperialism has been abandoned?

If it is true that Moscow has finally cast aside the old imperialistic policy of Russia, she must immediately relinquish her ridiculous claims and abandon her policy of extermination in the Baltic States. The first time Russian rule reached ethnographically Lithuanian territories was in 1795, after a series of criminal acts. The second time Moscow erected her government in Lithuania was in 1940, again after a series of criminal acts.

World War II, we are told and we still believe, is a war against crime and criminals! Remember: only those are real friends, who think of us in their moments of triumph as well as in their moments of trial and tribulation. Moscow has thought of the United States and of Great Britain exclusively in her moments of trial and tribulation. Furthermore, her interference with the formation of the Polish government, her baseless claims on Finland (after a war she herself had provoked), her attitude towards the Balkans, her conspicuous absence at the Churchill-Roosevelt conferences, her questionable relations with the rebels of Warsaw, her campaign to exterminate the Baltic peoples, brand the U.S.S.R. as the twentieth century incarnated continuation of the old Russian Imperialism!

I do not think the policy that you propose is wise one. I think if you consider your experience



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AN HONEST OPINION:

(Excerpts from the Manchester Guardian, September 29, 1944 as published by Estonian Monthly Meie Tee, November 1944).

The following correspondence has taken place between M. E. Sabline, former Imperial Chargé d'Affaires for Russia in Great Britain, and the Bishop of Gloucester.

Letter of M. Sabline:

August 9, 1944.

My Lord Bishop—I beg to refer you to your letter in *The Times* of August 7, 1944, "The Baltic States." I wonder if it will interest your lordship to peruse the enclosed copy of a letter addressed by me to the Editor of the *Whitehall News* on July 10, 1944. You will see stated in it my point of view on the problem raised in your above-mentioned letter, a point of view shared, to the best of my knowledge and belief, by every Russian of whatever political opinion.

I beg to remain, My Lord Bishop,

Your obedient servant,

E. Sabline.

The following is an extract from M. Sabline's letter to the *Whitehall News*:

But, Sir, without distorting facts, and not being a publicist, let me remind you that whilst Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are not Great Powers, U.S.S.R. is a Great Power (193 million)—for very many obvious geographical, political, economic and military reasons, a very Great Power indeed, whether one likes it or not. *J'y suis et j'y reste* could say the Russia of to-day with regard to Baltic shores. And perhaps now, more than ever, having learned many lessons by bitter experience. And just from this point of view, from this mere fact, the inclusion or shall I say, incorporation—of the territories of the three mentioned countries into the U.S.S.R. is absolutely essential for her to remain a Great Power, with designation the Soviet Union is far from being willing to drop.

Letter of the Bishop of Gloucester:

August 12, 1944.

Dear M. Sabline—Thank you for your courtesy in sending me a copy of your letter to the *Whitehall Review*. I would venture to make some comments on it.

When you succeeded in freeing your country, which had been overrun and brutally trampled on by the Germans, you rejoiced, and we rejoiced with you. We had done all in our power to help you to attain your freedom. Do you not realize that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania would rejoice equally in attaining their freedom?

I do not think the policy that you propose is a wise one. I think if you consider your experience

you will see that: In 1939 you made a pact with Germany which "Liberated and encouraged Hitler to light the first flames of world-war in Europe." You had treaties with Poland, with the Baltic States and with Finland; but you allowed yourselves to be tempted and deluded by Hitler. If you had stood by Poland there would have been no war then, or, if there had been, the Germans would not have been able to destroy that country. As it was, you assisted in the destruction of the country which should have been your ally and your greatest protector. You alienated the little Baltic States. By a quite unjustified aggression on Finland you drove that country into the arms of Germany, and exposed yourself to a long and difficult war.

The result of this was that Hitler, with his usual perfidy, repudiated his treaty with you, and invaded your country, and you suffered terribly.

This should be a warning for the future. If you give freedom and justice to all the countries on your western frontier: to Finland, to Estonia, to Lithuania, to the Balkan peoples, you will have a strong barrier of friendly peoples who will be your allies and your defense against Germany. You will be able to make advantageous treaties with them, which will give you such advantages in the Baltic as are necessary for you. You can do all this easily because you are a great Power, with vast territories of your own, and great armies. If you do this, you will help to inaugurate a regime of peace and justice.

If you adopt another policy, strong though you are, you may suffer again, as you have suffered.

The Atlantic Charter is not meaningless.

I hope that you will pardon the freedom with which I have written. I have done so because I have always had a great affection for Russia and the Russian people, and because I desire the peace and wellbeing of the peoples of the world.

Believe me, Yours most faithfully,

A. C. Gloucester.

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