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. . . 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

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

LITHUANIAN BULLETIN

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No. 2

THE FIGHT FOR LITHUANIA'S FREEDOM-- A FIGHT FOR DECENCY!

(Sidelights on the recent observance of the 28th Anniversary of the Independence of Lithuania)

ON FEBRUARY 16TH Lithuanians throughout the world solemnly observed the resurrection of the ancient homeland of their ancestors in Europe.

Twenty-eight years ago in Vilnius, amid the wreck, ruin and gunfire of the first World War which still engulfed their country, a small group of undaunted and courageous Lithuanian patriots met and proclaimed that

"This Taryba of Lithuania, as the sole representative of the Lithuanian people, in conformity with the recognized right to national self-determination, does hereby proclaim the restitution of the independent state of Lithuania, founded on democratic principles, with Vilnius as its capitol, and declares the rupture of all ties which formerly bound this state to other nations."

It was the first resurrection of Lithuania after more than a century of almost complete oblivion under a foreign yoke. At that time, Lithuania showed the world that she had the right to be independent and that the 120 years of Moscow rule was forced upon her fraudulently.

This year Lithuanian Americans again observed the anniversary of that first independence remembering that it was also the sixth consecutive year that the country of their fathers was again under the heel of a ruthless oppressor.

Interest in the land of one's forebears is but human, and Dwight H. Green, the Governor of Illinois, very aptly described this innate feeling before a recent Lithuanian forum in Chicago, Ill.—

"I have no sympathy with the attitude of some Americans, who have enjoyed the blessings of our freedom so long that they have forgotten that the ancestors of all of us once were immigrants, who sometimes doubt if a man can be loyal both to the land of his birth or his father's and to the country of his adoption. To me it is as simple as for a man to be loyal to his father and mother and still be a good husband and father at his own fireside."

The ideals of this country, as set forth in our Declaration of Independence, are well-known—that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are *Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness*.

These fundamental principles constitute what may be called the *conscience of America* and they could be applied not only to men, but to *states and nations as well*. These fundamental principles have never been violated by our Nation and, we fervently believe, never will be.

The Honorable Cordell Hull on March 21st,

1944 reiterated these principles when he said—

“The principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, irrespective of size and strength as partners in a future system of general security will be the foundation stone upon which the future international organization will be constructed.”

The Honorable Claire Booth Luce in her statement to the Lithuanians (1944) expressed the same idea—

“No people, however geographically remote or strategically secure can remain indifferent to oppression or to the use of superior might against any other people.

“All I can do is join those who hope fervently that the hideous structure of another World War will not be built from the ruins of this one. With you, I hope and pray that the future of the Baltic States and all small nations will be determined on a normal and honorable basis, in keeping with provision two of the Atlantic Charter which states that the signatory United Nations “desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.” A sham and corrupt plebiscite, incidentally, is not a free expression of the wishes of the people.”

When the Soviet army brutally forced its way into the Baltic States, in the Summer of 1940, this Government condemned that act of aggression in no uncertain terms, mentioning “devious processes,” “annihilation of independence” and “predatory activities.” (The Department of State Bulletin issue of July 27th, 1940)

The more influential American newspapers criticized this Moscow aggression in a similar way.

As a matter of fact, the United States Government has never deviated from this course, even during the darkest war hours, when Moscow threatened a separate agreement with Hitler.

To this day, Washington adheres to its expressed policy. For it is quite obvious that what was “predatory” in 1940, cannot be “decent” and “good neighborly” on some later date.

Unfortunately, in this case the leading press of the country does not follow the policy-line of the government. For some reason it still considers the “Baltic question” as a “dangerous topic.” They feel that it would displease the Moscow regime to bring the Baltic question out in the open, that it would disrupt the well established tendency of appeasement.

It appears that the last editorial mention of an independence anniversary of any of the three Baltic States was made in the *New York Times*, February 16, 1942:

“Lithuanian Independence

In many parts of the world today Lithuanians are observing the twenty-fourth anniversary of their coun-

try's declaration of independence. It is a gesture of faith made in sorrow, for Lithuania is now helpless under the heel of Hitler. Twice since the war began, the nation has been ravaged by invasion, first by Russia and then by Germany. The fruits of two decades of peaceful development in which an indomitable people, long oppressed, pulled themselves from one century into another have been almost entirely dissipated. Nevertheless, Lithuanians believe their independence will be restored. If Hitler is the final victor, they know it is lost, perhaps forever. But Russia's present adherence to the liberal program of the United Nations gives some hope that they will be allowed to exist once more as a self-governing state. It is in that hope that they continue to live.”

On one point, the *New York Times* expectations did not materialize: “Russia's present adherence to the liberal program of the United Nations gives some hope that the Baltic States will be allowed to exist once more as self-governing states.” It is true that just at that time 26 nations had signed the “Declaration by the United Nations,” solemnly subscribing to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration known as the Atlantic Charter. Soviet Russia is still not inclined to allow the Baltic States to resume their independent life.

Then followed Moscow's Three Power Declaration (October 1943), the Teheran Conference (December, 1943), the Dumbarton Oaks Preliminaries (October 1944), the Yalta Conference (February 1945) and finally the San Francisco and the Potsdam Conferences.

After each conference more noble-sounding and solemn statements were issued, nevertheless practical application of the principles of the sovereign rights of nations became dimmer and dimmer. Very soon, no mention whatsoever of the Baltic States was made in the press.

In his message to the recent Lithuanian American Congress, Governor Green of Illinois analyzed the present situation in the following manner:

“The United States Government still recognizes the Lithuanian Minister to the United States. It has never approved the puppet government set up by force by the Soviet Union. Yet it has failed to make any effective protest against the crushing of liberty, the mass executions, the exiles to Siberia, the interference with Lithuanian churchmen, and the manifold indignities and sufferings inflicted upon the men and women of Lithuania.”

In spite of everything, the independence of Lithuania, also of her Baltic neighbors, has not disappeared from the international scene. It cannot, because it is *the test case* upon which rests the foundation of the United Nations. From an international point of view, the Baltic

case is crystal clear.

Should the annexation of the Baltic States follow, or should an attempt be made to sidestep the issue in an "ostrich like" way, the very foundation upon which America attempts to erect a new international order would go up in smoke. It would mean, too, that the millions of lives sacrificed in mankind's struggle against the evil forces of totalitarian enslavement—had been sacrificed in vain. Such an eventuality would simply signalize a return to the primitive "law of the jungle" in international relations, where might is always right.

It may appear that, judging solely by material standards, the Baltic problem is not a vital one. There are no gold mines nor oil fields in the Baltic States. They are not a Gibraltar nor a Suez. Likewise, a solution of the Baltic problem will not influence, one way or another, the cost of living in America nor will it change our way of life.

The importance of the Baltic problem lies in quite a different field and in some respects it is more important and more significant than gold, oil or the cost of living. It offers the proof of what can happen to any small nation in the world.

The Honorable Claire Booth Luce, a staunch defender of the rights of small nations, upon the occasion of the anniversary of Lithuania's independence already answered this question—

"Should the decision in regard to the Baltic States be anything but moral and honorable and in accord with the wishes of the people of that region, I shudder for the future—not alone for the future of the Estonians, the Latvians and the Lithuanians, but for that of all mankind."

People change, principles remain, for the concepts of moral ethics and innate justice are immortal and universal.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt, the famous humanitarian and statesman, founder of UN, departed before completing his great task, the reins of our Government were taken over by his successor, Harry S. Truman. As President of the world's greatest and mightiest nation he automatically became the country's standard bearer responsible for a better world order—a trustee for the implementation of international morality.

Significantly enough, one of the most important public acts of the new President was his Navy Day address October 6th, which constituted a rededication of the high ideals of the Atlantic Charter.

On the first anniversary of President Tru-

man's administration it can be said that, in the field of international morals, ethics and justice, the United States Government still adheres to the course piloted by the late F. D. Roosevelt. That is a guarantee to all oppressed peoples that the principle of sovereign equality for all peace-loving nations remains the goal toward which the U. S. Foreign Policy is striving and will continue to strive.

The following excerpt from a letter dated April 23, 1946, from Francis H. Russell, Chief, Division of Public Liaison of the State Department, to Mr. Leonard Simutis, President of the Lithuanian American Council speaks for itself:

The United States has repeatedly renounced all intention of splitting the world into factions or regions controlled exclusively by one power or a combination of powers. The United States has repeatedly expressed its support for the United Nations Organization.

Speaking the other day following Mr. Churchill's address, President Truman said of the Charter of the United Nations:

"The United States expects to support the Charter. It expects to defend the Charter. It expects to expand and perfect that Charter. And we are confident that all the other United Nations expect to do the same."

On February 28, 1946, Secretary Byrnes said of our Government's policy:

"... we will gang up against no state. We will do nothing to break the world into exclusive blocs or spheres of influence. In this atomic age we will not seek to divide a world which is one and indivisible."

In the same speech, Mr. Byrnes reiterated the support of the United States for the United Nations Organization saying

"... we have pinned our hopes to the banner of the United Nations. And we are not content merely to take our place in that organization. We realize that although the dreams of the world are lodged in it, the United Nations will fail unless its members give it life by their confidence and by their determination to make it work in concrete cases and in everyday affairs."

On March 16, 1946, Secretary Byrnes stated this Government's policy—

"I cannot emphasize too strongly that the United States looks to the United Nations as the path to enduring peace.

"We do not propose to seek security in an alliance with the Soviet Union against Great Britain or in alliance with Great Britain against the Soviet Union.

"We propose to stand with the United Nations in our efforts to secure equal justice for all nations and special privilege for no nation.

As you well know, this Government continues to recognize the representatives of the Baltic States that are duly accredited to it.

Thank you for your courtesy in making available the views of your Council; I assure you that they have been noted by the appropriate officers of the Department."

* * *

Unfortunately, the present trend of political

events does not point the same way as our concept of international morality and the expectations of the American people would warrant.

President Truman, in his V-E Day Anniversary Statement, among other things, fully admitted that

"The year that has passed has made us realize with greater awareness the nature of their gift, those who gave their lives to this and succeeding generations.

"They give us not justice, but the opportunity to achieve it; not security, but the opportunity to win it; not peace, but the opportunity to make it. Let each

of us judge for himself how well in the past year we have used what came to us at such great price.

"These opportunities will not be ours forever. Unless we take advantage of them fully, quickly and selflessly, they will slip from our grasp."

There is so little time indeed and the deadline approaches faster than many people realize. However, there is gratification in the fact that the policy makers of this country fully understand the issues challenging our present generation. This understanding provides an opportunity to make this world a really decent one.

THE LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL

In Defense of the Human Rights of Political Refugees

DURING JANUARY political refugees of various nationalities segregated by the American occupying authorities in Western Germany in the Assembly Centers for displaced persons were made an easy target for a ruthless smear campaign by various news agencies in this country and abroad, as shown by the following interchange of letters.

The timely intervention of the Lithuanian American Council presented an opportunity to clear up the entire matter of displaced persons with the appropriate Governmental agencies in Washington, D.C., thus dissipating the painful impression made on Americans of Baltic extraction and the refugees themselves by the publication of these reports of the large scale smear campaign.

For purposes of clarity the letters sent by the Lithuanian American Council to the State Department are given first and the appropriate responses follow.

The letter from the War Department concludes the case.

The First Letter

February 8, 1946.

The Honorable
JAMES F. BYRNES
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Re: Citizenship Status Baltic Displaced Persons

Sir:

On January 25th and 26th, our representative, Mr. Constantine R. Jurgéla, Director of the Lithuanian American Information Center in New York, conferred with the officials of the Eastern European Division,

and with certain officers at the War Department. He reported some disquieting views professed by the officials concerned. He states that the spokesmen at both Departments admit that there have been, and that there may be, some infractions and violations, by local military officials in Germany and elsewhere, of official policy directives channeled down to them. The officials reaffirmed that the policies for the guidance of our military officials in Germany provide that no force be used in effecting the repatriation of people who refuse to return home for reasons of their religious or political beliefs. In so far as the matter of Soviet citizenship is concerned, the policy is that only those freely claiming Soviet citizenship and/or those who were living in the Soviet Union and were citizens of that country on or before September 1, 1939, should be classified as citizens of the Soviet Union, as per arrangements affected by the Yalta Conference.

Furthermore, Mr. Jurgéla was of the impression that, while none except the Soviet citizens of the above category are subject to the Yalta repatriation agreement, certain additional classes of people are to be denied the aid and protection inherent to those in the status of DPs: (1) persons captured in the uniform of the German armed forces; (2) proved collaborators and war criminals; (3) natives of the Klaipėda-Memel district, seized by Germany from Lithuania in March, 1939; and (4) "Volksdeutschen" or persons who had volunteered for repatriation to Germany from the Baltic States in 1940 or 1941. Concerning the latter category, Mr. Jurgéla was told that the primary and decisive consideration is to be given to the fact of repatriation, regardless of the reasons that had prompted the people concerned to claim German ancestry or kinship with persons of German ancestry.

Col. Lewis of the War Department cited a letter sent by the Department to Mr. S. Shumeyko of the Ukrainian American Congress, wherein an additional exception was referred to, namely: the persons who had served in the Red Army at any time on or after June 22, 1941, and were not properly discharged

therefrom. It was Col. Lewis' *personal interpretation* that this exception was qualified by the basic provision with respect to Soviet citizenship (i.e., Soviet citizenship as of September 1, 1939), and that the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians forcibly mobilized into the Red Army and deserting therefrom would not be included within the category of persons subject to forcible repatriation of Soviet citizens under the Yalta arrangement.

In view of these various provisions, we would appreciate an authoritative statement of the policy to be followed with respect to the citizens of the Baltic States residing within areas of American military occupation.

It is our basic view that the question of "collaboration with the enemy" by the citizens of the "neutral" Baltic States, and the determination of "war criminal" guilt, are matters remaining for the proper authorities of the sovereign Republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to pass upon, unless this question comes into the scope of the International Military Tribunal.

We submit that all Balts, captured in German military or labor force uniforms, should be given an opportunity to prove the circumstances under which they were enrolled into the service concerned; and that all persons *forcibly* mobilized by the German occupational authorities should be released from prisoner-of-war camps and admitted as displaced persons into DP centers. Nevertheless, they should not be "repatriated" to the USSR.

A blanket imposition of German citizenship upon the natives of the Klaipėda-Memel district, thus removing the entire bloc of individuals from the status of DPs, would likewise cause injustice to many innocent people. While some of them were members or sympathizers of the Nazi movement and worked against their country, Lithuania; a large part of them were either opposed to Nazism or remained colorless. We believe that a blanket imposition of German citizenship upon all Memellanders would mean an indirect post-factum legalization of Hitler's aggression against Lithuania. As far as we know, the principle of *collective responsibility* is not being applied to the German people as a whole. In fact, some Germans are considered to have been "anti-Nazi" and are thus benefiting by special treatment. Why could not this principle be applied in considering the status of Memellanders? It is our understanding that the Lithuanian natives of the Klaipėda-Memel district are treated as Lithuanian citizens in the British occupational zone.

As one possible solution, we respectfully submit for your consideration the establishment of a *Committee of Trustees*, made up from the available displaced Lithuanians, whose task would be to review the cases of the Memellanders claiming the status of DPs. Their recommendations should bear some weight with the Military Government.

Furthermore, a blanket imposition of the German nationality upon all persons who, in the hour of distress, had claimed kinship with persons of German ancestry, would work an injustice and hardships to many non-German victims of German-Russian conspiracy, and would, in effect, violate our country's condemnation of the "devious processes and predatory activities" of the Soviet Union (Department of State,

July 23rd, 1940). It is a fact of general public knowledge that the repatriation of "Germans" from Lithuania in 1941 was arranged by a German-Soviet pact after the Russian occupation of Lithuania. It is also a generally known fact that approximately 55,000 persons claimed German ancestry or kinship with persons of German ancestry, or with Protestant families (all Protestants were deemed to be "Germans") in Lithuania. The majority of these people were, in fact, of Lithuanian ancestry, and they seized this opportunity to escape extermination by claiming a relationship with the Germans or Protestants, in order to survive and eventually to return to an independent Lithuania.

We submit that this German-Soviet arrangement, made after the occupation of Lithuania by the Russians in connivance with the Nazis, should be considered null and void, inasmuch as the original act of connivance and aggression, only six months earlier, was characterized by the United States as marked by "devious processes" and "predatory activities." We respectfully submit that all citizens of Lithuania should be treated as Lithuanian nationals eligible, in principle, for admission into DP centers, with the exception of the persons who, previous to June 15, 1940, had belonged to the German, Nazi-inspired organizations, viz., "Kulturverband" and "Mannschaft."

Finally, the interpretation given by Col. Lewis should, we believe, receive official approval in the case of Baltic citizens forcibly drafted into military service by the occupying Russian authorities at any time after the occupation of Lithuania (June 15, 1940), Latvia and Estonia, and even the deserters from the Red Army, subsequent to their forcible induction into the armed services of the USSR, should be made eligible for admission into civilian DP centers.

Respectfully yours,

THE LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL
Leonard Simutis, *President*
Dr. Pius Grigaitis, *Secretary*
Michael Vaidyla, *Treasurer*

Answer by the Department of State

Mar. 1, 1946.

My dear Mr. Simutis:

I have received your letter of February 6, 1946, signed also by Dr. Pius Grigaitis and Mr. Michael Vaidyla, requesting a statement of the policy of the United States Government with respect to the care and repatriation of Baltic displaced persons in the United States zone of occupation in Germany.

For your information it may be stated that Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians are not repatriated to their countries of origin against their will. Such persons are not included under the directives concerning repatriation applicable to Soviet citizens under the provisions of the Yalta Agreement.

It is the policy of the United States Government to repatriate to the Soviet Union only those persons who fall within the terms of the agreement reached with the Soviet Government in February 1945 at Yalta providing for the mutual repatriation of all Soviet citizens liberated by the American armed forces

and of all American citizens liberated by the Soviet armed forces. The United States Government considers that only those persons are covered by the above-mentioned agreement who were both citizens of and actually within the Soviet Union on September 1, 1939 and who come within the following categories:

- (1) were captured in German uniforms;
- (2) were members of Soviet armed forces on or after June 22, 1941 and were not subsequently discharged therefrom;
- (3) on the basis of reasonable evidence have been found to be collaborators with the enemy, having voluntarily rendered aid and comfort to the enemy.

Other persons of Russian origin are not being repatriated unless they so desire.

This Government is cognizant of and has given thorough consideration to the situation of enemy prisoners of war of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian nationality. Prisoners of war held by this Government are released from internment only upon the request of an Allied government certifying that each individual prisoner of war is a subject of that government and requesting his release for purpose of serving in its armed forces. In the circumstances, therefore, prisoners of war of Lithuanian, Estonian, and Latvian nationality cannot be released at present. You may be assured that such prisoners of war have been and shall continue to be treated in accordance with the Treaty of the Geneva Convention, to which this Government is a party.

For your further information, those persons formerly resident in the Baltic States, who accepted transfer in 1939, 1940, and 1941 to Germany or German-occupied territory pursuant to agreements with the German Government are thereby considered as German citizens.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE L. WARREN
*Adviser on Refugees and
Displaced Persons*

Mr. Leonard Simutis, *President*,
The Lithuanian American Council, Incorporated,
1739 South Halsted Street,
Chicago 8, Illinois.

The Second Letter

February 11th, 1946.

The Honorable
JAMES F. BYRNES,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

*Re: Smear Campaign Against the Baltic
Refugees in American-occupied Germany.*

Sir:

There is in Western Europe, particularly in the American-occupied zones of Germany and Austria, an indeterminate number of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian nationals, classified at the present time as "unrepatriable displaced persons." These people remain under the direct supervision of the USFET, ex-

cept that the administration of the camps, or assembly centers, had been turned over to the UNRRA personnel. The situation of these people, as of October 1945, has been surveyed by the Social Service Bureau of this office and the findings were published in the memoranda submitted to the Department of State, the UNRRA office at Washington, and in the press (see the *Lithuanian Bulletin*, No. 5, vol. III, attached hereto).

While there has been a general improvement in the standards of food, clothing, living quarters and cultural facilities, there developed simultaneously, we regret to note, an obscure campaign directed against the Baltic refugees as such. This campaign emanates from two sources: (a) individual *newspaper correspondents' dispatches*, uniformly citing a nameless "informed source" at the Frankfort Headquarters or the nameless "authorities here," and (b) various *press agencies* here, including a German language service *DANA* obviously from *Washington* and presumably connected with some *Government Department*.

This campaign strives to depict the Baltic refugees as Nazis or pro-Nazis, war criminals, fascists, sometimes as common criminals, etc. The campaign may be traced back to mid-October 1945, when *The New York Times* and *The New York Post* published their correspondents' dispatches from Frankfort, quite identical in contents and attributing to the Balts a membership in a fascist organization "Saulis," allegedly formed by the Germans "for the conquest of the Baltic States." Percentages of the Nazi sympathizers were quoted a priori, a "Gestapo" organized by the Balts was attributed to the police formations of the assembly centers, and an investigation was said to be proceeding at the time. Thereafter, *PM* and similar papers took up the cudgel.

Soon thereafter, representatives of the American Military Government visited several Baltic DP camps. In some instances, all the males aged 15 to 75 were ordered to line up and disrobe, in search of SS marks on the arms and armpits. On October 18, 1945, at Wunsiedel, 22 Lithuanians were evicted from the camp either as alleged "German citizens" by reason of their birth within the Klaipėda-Memel district of Lithuania, or by reason of their former membership in the self-defense units of General Plechavičius (whose troops revolted against the German attempt to incorporate them into the German armed forces in May 1944). On October 30, 1945, at Eichstaedt, following a visit by two truckloads of Russian "repatriation officials," 30 Lithuanians were detained—and released three days later without any investigation. Some Estonians and Latvians were detained and released at the same time, except for 8 Latvians moved to an unknown destination.

On January 2, 1946, the *Associated Press* published a prophecy blamed on the unnamed "diplomatic sources" at Washington, alleging that the United States and Great Britain might recognize the Soviet claim to the Baltic States some time this year. This dispatch was repeated in *The Stars and Stripes*, minus the sentences more favorable to the Balts, simultaneously with an *AP* dispatch from Frankfort, dated the same day, "*U. S. Uncovers Baltic Nazis In DP Camps.*" The next day, from Washington came a dispatch by *DANA*, making the same allegations for the benefit of

the German readers of the American-controlled newspapers in the American zones of occupation. (See the attached excerpt from *Die Neue Zeitung*.)

The DANA dispatch from Washington, dated January 3rd, quoted "an official communique of the American Military Government" to the effect that "most of the refugees from the Baltic States had fled to Germany voluntarily and to this day are not cured of their national socialist sympathies," "the selfsame Baltic refugees are guilty of the greater part of the acts of lawlessness, formerly blamed on the deportees of other nationalities," and that, consequently, "hereafter their camps shall be guarded by armed guards in order that no one could any longer leave them without a permission."

These high-sounding falsehoods, attributed to the American Military Government and emanating from a Washington bureau supplying the news for the German population of the American-occupied zones of Germany, are causing bewilderment, demoralization, fear and uncertainty among the DPs, and a bewildered concern among the Americans of Baltic ancestry, particularly among those having relatives and friends in the DP centers. As one of the refugees wrote to us, "these grave accusations were published a few days after an inspection of our camp, during which we had heard some highly commendatory remarks on our record of behavior and our cultural-educational activities and standards."

As American citizens, we have every reason to suppose that our policy-making departments, and our Army officials, are well informed on the general and particular background of the recent political events. Likewise, we have every right to assume that the press dispatches, such as *DANA*, officially and publicly admitted into the occupation zones, bear the responsibility of the "clearing" authorities.

In view of the preposterous statements attributed to "the authorities" at the USFET Headquarters and spread by DANA from Washington, we feel justified in submitting for every possible use and purpose *some of the basic information* concerning the nationals of the Baltic States:

Concerning the fictional "*Saulis*" organization,—our Military Government investigators are entitled to be informed that in each of the Baltic States, since the very day of their rise as independent Republics, there had been the *National Guard* adjuncts of the regular armed forces, to wit: *Lietuvos Šaulių Sąjunga* (The Rifleman's Association of Lithuania) in Lithuania, the *Aizsargi* (The Home Guards) in Latvia, and *Kaitseleit* in Estonia.

These organizations were strictly non-political, non-sectarian and non-partisan. Membership therein was open to every man and woman of good moral character. Military training was given their members, alongside the courses in first aid, sports, theatricals, air raid warning, etc. All three of these organizations were regularly listed in the Military Annuaire of the League of Nations as pre-military training organizations. These organizations were born during the Wars of Independence, in 1919. Specifically, the Lithuanian *Šaulių Sąjunga* (an individual member is called *Šaulys*) was born in the fall of 1919 during the fighting against the marauding German bands of Gen-

eral von der Goltz. Later on, this organization had taken upon itself the whole burden, for many years, of the Nazi onslaught in the Klaipėda-Memel District.

As every American is proud to be a member of the *National Guard*, so every Lithuanian was, and remains, proud of his or her membership in the *Šaulių Sąjunga*.

Of course, being a patriotic and nationally educational organization, the *Šaulių Sąjunga* is considered by the Moscow Government to be as highly potentially dangerous to the maintenance of a foreign occupational Soviet regime as, in similar circumstances, would be our own *National Guard*. For this reason, the *Šaulių Sąjunga* was and is on the index of "socially alien and anti-Soviet elements" prepared by NKVD-NKGB, and was likewise banned by the Nazi occupational regime.

The latest dispatches from some of the DP assembly centers in U.S.-occupied Germany bear out the fact that in some questionnaires distributed and collected by our Military Government officials, there is a "Yes or No" question specifically as to a membership in "*Saulis*".

Bearing in mind the unexplained slander campaign, presently under way, against the Baltic refugees, we are wondering if a "Yes" might automatically, and unjustly, place a displaced Lithuanian in the category of the "fascists" or "pro-Nazis" on the files of the "authorities" feeding the newspaper correspondents at Frankfurt with baseless rumors?

On February 4, 1946, *The Lincoln Journal*, Lincoln, Neb., carried a *NANA* (North American Newspaper Alliance) dispatch by L. S. B. Shapiro from Weisbaden, Germany, including the following:

"Practically 100 percent of these DP's are anti-Russian by education and behavior and the longer they remain in exile the more anti-Russian they become. Some are incurably anti-Soviet and they would doubtless become troublesome elements in their home communities if they returned. The majority, however, are peasants who normally are non-political by nature who have been victimized by Nazi propaganda and influenced by their more articulate comrades. With a proper program of education they might be reclaimed from their present hopeless official classification as "probably non-repatriable." No one argues their right to hope for national independence but their simple-minded notion that all Russians are cold-blooded killers requires correction."

This article was entitled "*Balts who won't go home are UNO problem.*" Its general thesis is that a correspondent who had never lived under a totalitarian terror knows better than the hundreds of thousands of "peasants who normally are non-political by nature" but who had the misfortune of experience under both the German and Russian terroristic regimes and seek a haven in the British and American zones of occupation.

We would greatly appreciate some indication of the measures taken, or being taken, to remedy the situation referred to hereinabove, and to correct the biased news "angle" on the Baltic refugees in the

propaganda materials emanating from our own Government bureaus in Washington.

Respectfully yours,

Constantine R. Jurgėla
Director

Lithuanian American Information Center
233 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

Answer by the Department of State

March 1, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jurgėla:

I have received your letter of February 11, 1946 with respect to various news reports emanating from Frankfort and Washington describing Baltic displaced persons as Nazis, pro-Nazis, or war criminals. The information presented in your letter and the expression of your views are appreciated.

Obviously, the Department of State cannot assume responsibility for news reports emanating from sources outside of its control, such as unnamed diplomatic sources at Washington and sources at the Frankfort headquarters of the military, described as "well informed" or "unnamed authorities" at Frankfort. The policies of the United States Government with respect to Baltic displaced persons have been made known on many occasions and have been summarized particularly in a recent reply to a letter from the Lithuanian American Council, Incorporated, a copy of which is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE L. WARREN
*Adviser on Refugees and
Displaced Persons*

Enclosure:

Letter to the
Lithuanian American
Council, Incorporated.

The Third Letter

February 26th, 1946.

The Honorable
JAMES F. BYRNES,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

*Re: Smear Campaign against the Baltic
Refugees in American-occupied Germany.*

Sir:

On February 11th this office addressed to you a communication dealing, in some detail, with the campaign emanating from the offices associated with the Government and directed against the political refugees from the Baltic States.

Meanwhile, we have received two additional items of information showing that this campaign is still continuing. (See the Exhibits "A" and "B" attached hereto.)

Furthermore, the Washington Bureau of "The Chicago Sun" reported that the State Department is allegedly in receipt of a communication from Gen.

McNarney to the effect that the American Military Government decided to place all members of the "Saulis" organization and former members of the German armed and labor forces in special Prisoners of War Camps.

This decision, if true, would cause injustice to a host of innocent men and women, active in the underground anti-Nazi movement during the German occupation, who disclose their membership in the Lithuanian National Guard (Lietuvos Šaulių Sąjunga) in the happy days of national freedom and independence.

No one could legitimately object to the process of screening in order to weed out former collaborationists, if any. However, in view of the continuing misinformation and hostility of certain officials connected with such screening, we respectfully suggest that representatives of the Lithuanian DP committees be admitted to participate in the investigation conducted by AMG officers in the respective DP camps.

The character of the Lietuvos Šaulių Sąjunga was amply discussed in the before-mentioned letter of February 12th. A copy of this letter is being simultaneously mailed to Gen. John H. Hilldring, Director, Civil Affairs Division, War Department.

Respectfully yours,

CONSTANTINE R. JURGELA
Director

Exhibit "B"

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
Broadcast Sunday night, February 17, 1946

"In Germany, the U. S. Army is reported to be centering its attention on Baltic nationals. A high official of the U. S. Headquarters said the Army expects to launch an intensive program to screen some 90,000 Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians within the next few weeks.

"This official said sample screening already indicates that there is a very high average of former collaborationists amongst these Baltic nationals in the American occupation zone.

"At present they are given preferential treatment as displaced persons. But the official revealing the plans for the investigation says that "if we have to send them back by force we will do it, but we will not keep pro-Nazis in camps with legitimate displaced persons who suffered under the Nazi regime."

Answer by the Department of State

April 2, 1946.

My dear Mr. Jurgėla:

I have received your letter of February 26, 1946, in supplement to your previous communication of February 11, 1946, regarding a campaign directed against Baltic States political refugees.

The truth of the statements over the radio and in newspapers concerning the return of Baltic nationals to their homelands by force if necessary when these nationals are unable to pass a rigid loyalty investiga-

tion was unequivocally denied by General McNarney on February 22, 1946.

General McNarney said that inasmuch as such action had never been planned, he was at a loss to understand how such completely false information could be published as emanating from the highest United States military sources in Germany.

He further stated that some 75,000 Baltic nationals are receiving care and treatment from the United States Government, on the basis of having been brought into Germany for forced labor, at United Nations displaced persons centers in the American zone; that it is likely that some such nationals did enter Germany voluntarily, and doubtless some of this number are of German descent; that should individual Baltic national, or any other United Nations nationals, be proved to have been a Nazi collaborator, such will be denied United Nations displaced persons treatment and promptly discharged from the centers; also that no consideration has ever been given to deporting Baltic nationals forcibly to their native lands. However, any person who may be properly charged as a war criminal will be held and treated in the same manner as other war criminals.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE L. WARREN
*Adviser on Refugees and
Displaced Persons*

Acknowledgment by the War Department

March 1, 1946.

Mr. Constantine R. Jurgėla, *Director*
Lithuanian American Information Center
233 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Jurgėla:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letters of 11, 12, and 26 February 1946, with which you inclosed copies of letters to the Secretary of State dated 8, 11 and 26 February 1946, and other material on the subject of Baltic displaced persons in Germany.

The War Department has given careful consideration to this correspondence and has discussed with the Department of State the various problems raised therein. I understand that you will shortly receive a reply from the Department of State setting forth the views of this Government on the various matters discussed in this correspondence.

Sincerely yours,

GEO. F. SCHULGEN
Brigadier General, U.S.A.
Deputy Director, Civil Affairs Division

LITHUANIA TODAY

What Befell the American Gifts in Lithuania

THE SHIPMENT of clothing and footwear collected in the United States and sent to Lithuania by the United Lithuanian Relief, Inc., a member agency of the National War Fund of America, reached Vilnius via Moscow. The local press barely mentioned the fact.

Even though an agency called the Red Cross, whose purposes and duties are unknown, functions in Lithuania, the shipment was not consigned to it. The entire shipment was taken over by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Something happened to the shipment in Moscow, because when it reached Lithuania, much of it bore labels of Russian firms and a part consisted of war production products.

This shipment of relief supplies from the Lithuanian Americans is being distributed through the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and so the commissars, their wives, high party officials and Russians brought into Lithuania for all sorts of purposes, have

first choice. As a matter of fact, Commissar Gregorauskas' wife, the dramatic actress Kymantaite, received two fur coats. Russian government agents confiscated the best gifts. Considering that these people do not need help, it is reasonable to suppose that their share finds its way to the "free market" (equivalent to the black market in America). The University in Kaunas received some men's and boys' coats, several suits, knitted goods, shoes, stockings and underwear for distribution to the students. The shoes appeared to be either of Russian or Lithuanian make, the underwear and clothing were substituted and bore Vilnius labels.

These gifts from America and the method of their distribution caused much discussion in Lithuania. The Lithuanians are of the opinion that their American friends and relatives should refrain from sending any further aid, at least for the time being, until they are guaranteed that goods would be fairly distributed and reach the needy people.

Arrests and Deportations

Mass deportations are not being effected on the scale comparable to those of 1941. Instead, people are imprisoned individually or in small groups and then taken to Russia. The transports to Russia start from Kaunas and Vilnius and usually take 3,000 or 3,500 people monthly, mostly farmers and workers. Everything, including clothing, is taken from them. They are forced to don rags. They are driven to the railroad station in columns. The majority are taken to Siberia or the Arctic regions; men for forest work, women for heavy fishery jobs. The work is extremely harsh and food is extremely bad. Only the strong survive, the weaker die in a short time. A recent letter from a deportee prays for a speedy end of their misery by the atomic bomb. Some prisoners are given a perfunctory trial, others disappear without a trial. An insignificant number was returned from Eastern Germany where they were "liberated" from slave labor camps. The younger ones are inducted into the army, the older ones were forced into Soviet compulsory labor battalions without seeing Lithuania.

Russification

The deported Lithuanians and expatriated Poles from the Vilnius region are partly replaced by imported Russians. There are about 40,000 such colonists in Vilnius and half as many in Kaunas. Some colonists appeared even in Šiauliai, Panevėžys and other cities. It is more difficult to colonize the smaller towns because of the underground activity. The settlers are mostly discharged soldiers. They receive all sorts of privileges. Their names are Lithuanianized and on their identification cards they are listed as Lithuanians. In this manner, the number of "Lithuanians" is steadily increasing. Many heads of institutions are Russians although their names sound Lithuanian. Already some of the peoples' commissars are "Lithuanianized" Russians. All commissars of Lithuanian origin are assisted by Russian deputies who are actual chiefs. Commissar Vaišnora has been forced out and arrested. His colleague, Girdzijauskas, has also been removed and a similar fate seemingly awaits the Commissar of Education Žiugžda who is trying to win Moscow favor.

Living Conditions — Country and Town

Farming is vegetating. One third of the tillable land is going to waste. The farms are

forced to give the same quota levies as they had given earlier to the Germans.

A land "reform" similar to the one in 1940 has already taken place. However, few people are willing to accept the land. Little mention is made of the kolkhozes, but within a few years the farmers will be compelled to join the kolkhozes, because private farming is subject to unbearably heavy duties and levies.

The Vilnius radio substantiates the fact that the farms are using home made torches for lighting purposes. There is no electricity even in cities. In Kaunas, for example, only the party headquarters and homes of high officials have electricity. No wonder that opportunities for robbery are excellent everywhere. It is dangerous to walk on the streets of Kaunas at night. Homes are also broken into quite often.

So far there is no starvation but it is extremely difficult to subsist on ration cards, especially for workers whose ration cards are the lowest. Black markets flourish. No one prosecutes them. Unfortunately, people have no money with which to buy. Whatever they can, they exchange (barter).

Underground Resistance

Although several Russian divisions searched forests in their hunt for underground fighters, very few were caught. According to Soviet estimates there are about 25,000 partisans in Lithuania. Their main foes are the NKVD—NKGB detachments and the "exterminators." The latter are special formations composed mostly of diehard communists whose task is to combat the partisans. They have become a plague to the farmers. They often break into the farms searching for partisans . . . in the wardrobes and pocketbooks. Upon their departure the homes are left bare.

The government proclaimed an amnesty to those who would return to their homes. They even demanded that the bishops issue a letter to their flock encouraging their return. But the bishops did not agree.

Soviet Elections

The Soviets call a single ticket manifestation by which Communist party designated delegates are publicly confirmed for some representative function an "election." On last February 10th such a campaign recruited delegates to the Supreme Soviet.

The Soviets usually attach great importance to these "manifestations" as they make it pos-

sible to advertise Soviet achievements and the leading men of the Soviet apparatus.

The pre-election campaign in Lithuania was very intensive. Much attention was focused on the Klaipėda district, because it was participat-

ing in this kind of Soviet manifestation for the first time. 53 teams of campaigners consisting of 450 persons each were dispatched there. Even artists, actors and singers were forced to join the "electioneering."

EDUCATION IN LITHUANIA UNDER THE SOVIET OCCUPATION

(An Eye-Witness Report)

THE SOVIETS introduced no important cultural changes following the second occupation of Lithuania by the Red Army. The basic feature in educational supervision remains, as it was in 1940-41, a *purely propagandistic consideration*. The principal aim of all Soviet cultural institutions is the *inculcation of the communist ideology*. The government demands unquestioning blind discipline in spreading the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine. All schools and so-called "cultural institutions" must propagate the ideas of communism and the spirit of "service to the Soviet State."

With this objective, the Red Masters are organizing and directing all educational and cultural life in Lithuania. Even in technical, medical and other schools only those students can hope to graduate who have a thorough understanding of the bolshevik world outlook, and exhibit an unquestioning loyalty to the occupational communist regime. This is a *conditio sine qua non*.

As may be expected, the school system is greatly hampered by lack of facilities and teaching material. The occupational authorities unswervingly follow the typical policy of a dictatorial order. Intolerance, partiality, total subjection of all educational and cultural life to bolshevik ideology, and servility to regime—are characteristic tendencies.

Looking on the surface, a stranger, not acquainted with the Soviet machine, might gain an impression of vast improvement and ramification. The number of schools gives an impression of expansion since 1940 and 1941. For instance, there are two universities, one at Vilnius and the other at Kaunas. There is a Veterinarian and Agricultural Academy at Kaunas (the latter was transferred from Dotnuva, where the Germans had blown up nearly all the build-

ings), a Pedagogical Institute at Vilnius, State Conservatories of Music at Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda, several commercial schools (in Vilnius, Kaunas and Marijampolė), several schools of finance, several courses to train the lower medical-sanitation personnel, trade schools, in addition to the gymnasia (junior colleges), progymnasia (high schools), normal schools and elementary schools.

A Lithuanian Academy of Sciences was formed in Vilnius. A "Marxist-Leninist University" with evening classes was set up in Kaunas, together with several "People's Universities." All university students and many pupils of the secondary schools receive scholarships and live in state-owned dormitories and eat in state-operated mess-halls, etc. In the fall of 1945, approximately 1,000 new students were admitted to the University of Vytautas the Great in Kaunas and nearly as many to the University of Vilnius. Over 5,000 students are enrolled in the secondary schools. Professors and "emeriti of cultural activities" are regularly honored by the bestowal upon them of titles of "meritorious activists of the Republic."

Thus, an alien, or one unfamiliar with the actual conditions under the Soviet order, can easily gain a false picture from reading these formidable Russian statistics. However, the other side of the picture betrays the Soviet fiction based on the "paper plans" of the display of propaganda agencies intended for persons or nations unacquainted with the actual operations of the bolshevik order.

To begin with, there is an extreme scarcity of native professional teachers. The majority of professors and teachers fled to Western Europe from the onrushing Red terror. A great number of the remaining personnel were either imprisoned or deported to Russia. And many of

the qualified teachers were not accepted in the Soviet institutions because of their suspected disloyalty to the Soviets and for other reasons.

In schools teaching so-called "humanitarian sciences," where ideologies and independent thinking abilities of students are formed and expanded, the qualifications of teachers are not based on their training and experience, but on their servility to "service to the Soviet order." Many teachers may also teach in several schools at one time, and it is impossible for them to prepare their subjects properly. As a consequence, and very often, young and unqualified persons are appointed to responsible duties.

Thus students and graduates are ill-fitted to be leaders or to fulfill any assignment they may get after graduation.

For instance, the present arrangement permits physicians and surgeons to practice medicine and surgery without first serving as internes, under the supervision of expert physicians and surgeons. This observer had occasion to speak to several young doctors at the end of 1945, and they bitterly regretted their lack of necessary training. This does not interest Soviet planners and propagandists. They are only interested in fulfilling the plan "on schedule." For instance, in the autumn of 1945, the University of Kaunas had to graduate 40 physicians. 40 physicians *would* graduate regardless of their qualifications the poor patients would supply the necessary training. And the press boasts that doctors and technicians are manufactured at a stepped-up "stakhanovite" tempo.

The same is true of other fields. Publicized figures look well on paper, but the facts are different. However, there is one basic requirement for any graduation—the knowledge of the "Marxist-Leninist Doctrine." The officials demand that this requirement be strictly met. No one can write a graduation thesis, no one can receive a diploma, nor graduate from a high school, without first passing this basic test. Quotations from the works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin overshadow scientific theories, philosophic dissertations, engineering tests, medical essays, etc.

The teaching programs in print are on a par with the programs of Western European countries. In practice, the programs are followed only in part, many confidential circulars and instructions replace subjects in the curriculum. It is regrettable that people cannot see what really goes on behind the iron curtain clamped down by the Soviet Union.

There is great lack of teaching facilities. No original textbooks in the Lithuanian language are printed. This is also true in Estonia and Latvia. All textbooks must be translated from approved Russian schoolbooks, unless the pupil can study directly in Russian. All other scientific books are published only with the permission of the communist party. The authorities confiscated all text books which survived the war, especially those relating to philosophy, economics, law, etc.

No teaching aids, chemicals, etc. are imported from Russia. The schools must be content with the facilities left by the Germans. The Vilnius and Kaunas University laboratories and technical installations are in deplorable condition. Numerous requests were dispatched to Moscow, but nothing changed by the end of 1945.

Regarding school programs, the Soviet Government introduced several compulsory subjects in high schools and junior colleges: the ethnology of the different nationalities comprising the Soviet Union (the Uzbeks, Mordvins, Penzi, Kirghiz, Kazakhs, etc.), Russian literature, Russian history, and the inescapable "Marxist-Leninist doctrine." Very few lectures deal with Western European history and literature. On the other hand, the above mentioned topics, together with the study of "The Stalin Constitution" are of first importance. All these subjects, requiring many hours, have but one purpose: the indoctrination of communistic propaganda, with very little time for really useful subjects.

The much advertised system of "scholarship subsidies" is also fiction. Much is printed in Lithuania about these "scholarships" and the names of beneficiaries are given. The largest scholarship is 170 rubles a month. This does not mean very much when one considers that a pair of shoes on the "free market" costs 1,000 rubles and a kilogram of bacon 200 rubles. . . .

Much publicity is also given to the students' dormitories. In Kaunas, for instance, several large buildings have been turned over for that purpose but, before their re-assignment, they had been used by the Red Army. When the Army surrendered these, their condition was beyond description. Through the efforts of the students and the labor of German war prisoners these buildings were cleaned. However, no repairs could be made because there was no lumber, glass or other necessities. These dormitories may be put in tenantable condition sometime in 1946. However, the fact still stands

that the buildings were turned over for the use of students "according to plan" despite the fact that they are unusable.

The Soviets like to boast of their many benevolences to institutions of learning. In October 1945, the Central Committee of the Communist Party announced a gift of 6,000 cubic meters of firewood and 800 tons of vegetables for the University of Kaunas. Much was made of these gifts. However, the gifts did not arrive in Kaunas by the end of 1945. There were no transport facilities and it would take considerable time for the students, themselves, to tote these to the University.

There is an acute lack of fuel and electricity. During the winter of 1944-45 the Universities of Vilnius and Kaunas were closed because of it. The same was partly true in the winter of 1945-46. This fact was not mentioned in the press.

In 1944-45 it was decided to restore electrical facilities in the homes of the teaching personnel, but the professors are still waiting for the fulfillment of this promise. There are many other material difficulties which the Soviet regime could not alleviate during the year and a half of the occupation of the country. All these factors do not raise the educational standards of the country.

The spirit of insecurity overshadows everything. "Tomorrow" is beyond everyone's grasp. The unending process of deportations and arrests casts a pall over all inhabitants and it touches the classrooms. The teachers and pupils alike feel that there is just today. Thus it is most difficult to praise the achievements of the "Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine" or to expect any improvement.

As already mentioned, the study of the communist dogma, the Stalin Constitution, and the party's history is compulsory and therefore an integral part of the teaching institutions program. In universities, the study of those subjects is being made compulsory through four semesters. The lower faculty members must attend the compulsory seminar. All professors and lecturers must attend the weekly indoctrination courses. During the opening of the fall semester (1945) of the University of Kaunas, puppet president Paleckis stressed in his inaugural address the fact that "our intellectuals must undergo the process of ameliorating their brains." Little, so far, has been gained. Students attend lectures simply to avoid punishment for non-attendance.

In the beginning of 1945, efforts were taken to make Russian the teaching language in the higher institutions of learning. Even the usually servile Lithuanian communists objected to this, so the project was deferred. But the compulsory teaching of the Russian language in secondary schools and universities goes on apace, and certain communist high officials express belief that the use of Russian will become universal in the near future.

With the exception of these innovations there are few signs of russification on the academic level. This probably is due to lack of Russian teachers. It is for this reason that the government appoints Lithuanians who know the Russian language to teach in the Russian high schools and elementary schools.

Enrollment in universities and other specialized institutions requires particular qualifications. For instance, children of farmers who own or owned more than 25 ha (approx. 60 acres) of land are refused admission, also students who in high school or junior college were active in students' fraternities or other civic organizations. The "partorgi" (party organizers), officials appointed by the all powerful Party in all teaching institutions, are more powerful than the rectors, deans, directors or superintendents. These "partorgs" are paid from the appropriations for educational institutions, and they control the employment and dismissal of professors and are in charge of the "plan" to inculcate the communist ideology and propaganda.

Students of the Humanitarian Sciences who passed examinations before certain professors in the pre-communistic era, are deprived of credits. They must again take the examinations.

Comrade Žiugžda, Commissar for Public Instruction, is in charge of all educational institutions. He receives his instructions from the Secretary for Cultural and Educational Affairs of the Communist Party CK (Central Committee). He enjoys no independence whatsoever.

As far as school organization is concerned, the occupational regime reverted to the antiquated system abolished in Lithuania about ten years ago: the four-year elementary schools and eight-year (class) secondary schools.

In the universities the occupational regime restored the faculties that had functioned there in 1941, just before the Russian retreat. Following the party line, all changes effected during the German occupation were eliminated.

Public Cultural Life

Everyday cultural life is also impeded by the same conditions of oppression, bigotry and servility.

There is no freedom of expression, no spiritual freedom, no opportunity for creative cultural activities and there can be no other way under the Soviets. The Soviet Government defines "cultural life" as the continual propagation of communist ideology and the complete submission to bolshevik policies.

A stranger visiting the occupied country for the first time could be just as misled about the cultural life here as he was regarding educational facilities.

At the moment, there is no literary or scientific magazine in the Lithuanian language. Scant mention of anything literary or scientific is made in the daily press. There is no mention of any cultural manifestation in the press and only several literary works appeared during the Soviet occupation—Venclova's poetry, some poetry by the late Salomeja Neris, short works of Janonis, a collection of vulgar poetry by Liūdas Gira, and a new translated edition of Sholokhov's first volume "So Quietly Flows the Don." A dozen or so verses of original or translated poetry and several articles on literary themes published in the daily press, can be added to this. . . .

The official press condemns this lack of creative inspiration. A writers' convention was called in Vilnius in October 1945, when the commissars censured the writers for their lack of production. Official propaganda cannot sidestep this inertia, nor can Moscow change it, for the writers simply cannot produce "according to the plan." The country in the throes of severe oppression cannot evince enthusiasm for its enslavers or for the communist party.

All the writers are enrolled in the Association of Writers with headquarters in Vilnius.

The regime encourages the literary efforts of the writers. They are a privileged class and receive the most generous food rations. They are authorized to make their purchases in exclusive government stores, where cheap prices prevail rather than the expensive "free market" (black market). Even that is no incentive to create. . . .

On the other hand, very much political literature is printed. The various speeches of Stalin,

reports of Molotov, Paleckis, Sniečkus and other Lithuanian puppets are printed in mass quantity, and no shortage of paper or transport facilities hampers the distribution. The government published a short history of the VKPb (The All-Russian Communist Party-bolshevik) which is distributed only to persons licensed by the party.

The theatre must serve communistic propaganda too. In spite of the fact that many of the popular actors and singers fled westward, the government revived the Opera, Drama, Ballet, Operetta and Youth Theatres in Kaunas.

In Vilnius, due to war-time destruction, the government maintains only a Theatre, a Philharmonic Orchestra, a Folk Song and Dance Ensemble. Theatres exist in several provincial cities with more scheduled to open. The party encourages theatrical activities.

No new plays have been written, with the exception of the pro-Soviet "Nauja Vaga" (The New Furrow) by Dauguvietis. The directors carefully avoid the old repertory and plays written for the Western European audiences while the public is bored with propagandistic plays by Soviet writers.

The casts have no incentive nor animation and therefore performances are dull and lifeless.

Cinemas function at intervals because of lack of electricity. Soviet films are shown exclusively. The cinemas are half-filled. Two American films were shown in Kaunas. Because of the long queues the government cut short their engagement.

This is also true of plastic art. Painters and sculptors are frequently reprimanded for their lack of production, and the ignoring of Soviet themes. Only two small art exhibits were arranged during 1944-45.

An Art Academy is functioning in Vilnius, and the Applied Art Institute is open in Kaunas.

Summing up, efforts are made to subordinate the entire educational and cultural life to the interests of the communist party. But true culture and education cannot flourish and expand under a political dictatorship and oppression. This was proven in national socialist Germany and it is also true in communist dominated countries.

THE EXTERMINATION OF LITHUANIAN JEWS

I. The Bolshevik Occupation

BEFORE DESCRIBING the plight of Jews in Lithuania during the German occupation, some mention should be made of their condition and attitude during the preceding year, that is, during the first Bolshevik occupation in 1940-1941.

When the Russians invaded Lithuania, the entire population was immediately subjected to unbearably harsh conditions. Following the well-known communistic pattern, the majority of the population was classified outright as "anti-soviet and counter-revolutionary," and because of that were immediately dispossessed and slated for gradual elimination.

The wealthier Jews, together with their Christian neighbors, were labeled "sizeable manufacturers, merchants, and/or large house owners" and were dealt with accordingly. Living conditions became unbearable, all their property, medical offices and other means of existence were taken away.

During the dreadful and memorable manhunt of June 1941, many Jews were seized and deported to the Siberian wasteland. A purely Jewish group consisting of zionists, socialists and all those who 20 years earlier had actively contributed to the establishment of a free State of Lithuania, were labeled "counter revolutionaries" and the majority taken out of the country. Very few of the Jews deported by the Soviets in 1941 returned, just a few hundred. They do not remain in Lithuania but try to go westward. A few have reached the American or British zone of occupation.

II. The German Occupation

Later in 1941, when the Germans occupied Lithuania, the position of the Jews became tragic. They were now confronted with real extermination. Within a few days in all Lithuanian towns and villages the Jewish population was segregated. Inscriptions "Für Juden Eingang verboten" appeared on many buildings. Enthusiastic plundering of Jewish property began the very first day of the German occupation. The Brownshirts and Blackshirts lost no time and spared no effort in ferreting out and seizing anything belonging to Jews in the countryside, in small towns and on estates, all gold and other valuable objects. They martyred the Jews pitilessly. The plundering was completed

when the Jews were forced into ghettos and permitted to take only such small bundles as they could carry. Their best furniture was carted off by the Brownshirts and by the officials of German institutions. The rest was at first stored and then distributed among the German soldiery or sold to private bidders. The Germans then concentrated the Jews in ghettos where they were guarded by Gestapo-men. There the Brownshirts were free to do as they pleased. They began by cutting off the beards of the rabbis and of all elderly Jews. They forced them to break the strict rules of the Talmud, that is, to slaughter pigs or to catch them in the open. In the village of Papilė, Gestapo-men cut off the beard of a local rabbi despite his pitiful exhortations to spare him.

Every Jew was forced to wear a yellow star on his shoulder and breast. These people were forbidden to use the pavements in the town. They could not even talk to other people.

Existence in the ghettos was deplorable. There were no household articles whatsoever and no fuel, and food rations reduced the inhabitants to famine. But in time, thanks to their ingenuity and solidarity, they succeeded in making their lives more tolerable. In bigger ghettos, as in Kaunas, they arranged a coffee-room, a theatre, some shops and had a hospital with doctors and a surgical unit.

Armed Gestapo-men forced the Jews to trek to compulsory labor. Among the most ruthless, inhuman, immoral and drunken Gestapo-men, a certain German official of the Bajorai prison, shed much innocent blood. Fearing that he would be sent to the front, he tried to win the favor of his chiefs by excessively torturing his prisoners. His crimes were known in Klaipėda (Memel), Kretinga, Palanga and other adjacent places. He was the ringleader of many massacres.

When the Jews returned from their forced tasks they managed to smuggle into the ghetto little bundles of firewood, a few potatoes, etc. In the ghettos they had their own administration and police, but these were often shot by the Germans for all sorts of reasons. Among the many inhuman orders, one forbade child-bearing by the Jewesses. Women, who neglected to arrange an abortion in good time, were shot. The Jews established a connection with the

outside world by bribing the guards who were usually very avaricious.

A few weeks after their first internment, all the Jews were brought from the smaller ghettos to the bigger ones in Kaunas, Vilnius, Šiauliai, Radviliškis, Švenčionėliai, etc. There several streets were separated by barbed wire and the Jews were driven inside these enclosures. Every morning at 7 o'clock, groups of Jews under the guard of SS-men were brought for labor service. The old men, women and children among them, ragged, pale and exhausted were treated brutally. After a hard day's work, scarcely able to move because of extreme fatigue, they were driven back by their German torturers, who shouted at their victims and hit them when they moved too slowly.

III. The Extermination of the Jews

The number of ghetto prisoners grew smaller all the time, as the Germans took them in groups into the forests and shot them. At present Lithuania is strewn with cemeteries, which bear witness to the tragedy of the Jews—near Ukmergė, near Mažeikiai, in Vilnius (Paneriai), in Kaunas, Panevėžys, Šiauliai and other places. Here lie masses of Jews slaughtered by the Germans. Their total is incredibly high; in Vilnius 50,000 Jews are buried at Paneriai; in Kaunas about 40,000. Other Jewish cemeteries tell the same tale.

When German setbacks turned to disaster, the invaders took necessary steps to conceal all traces of their crimes. The surviving Jews were sent to dig up the corpses of their massacred race-brethren and to burn them.

In the spring of 1944, the Vilnius ghetto was totally liquidated. The inhabitants defended themselves desperately and therefore it took some days to shroud the ghetto in the silence of death. Finally, the Germans "conquered." They snatched the men away from the women and children, rushed them out of the town separately and massacred all of them. Only a few skilled specialists were left. Jews, taken to Lithuania from Poland, Hungary and other countries were also killed there. A small number of Jews survived in the Kaunas and Šiauliai ghettos until the end of the German occupation.

IV. The Shooting of the Jews

The Jews were brought from the ghettos to the place of execution by Gestapo-men. Usually they were taken to a forest, where graves had

already been dug by other Jews. They were undressed, forced to lie down in the grave and then shot by machine or sub-machine guns. A second group of living victims was compelled to lie on the layer of corpses which had just ceased pulsating with life, and then they were shot. A third, a fourth and more layers of corpses were dealt with in the same way. The horrible scenes of this wholesale bloodshed and frightful cries of the victims are indescribable. Women followed the men. The columns of those being driven to be massacred were dreadful; their sobs, their pitiful cries for help and pity rent the air and terrified the entire population. The women were disrobed. It is reported that old women and young girls were beaten in their last moments. Mothers pressed their children to their breasts that they might die together.

Finally, young boys of the 10-15 year age group were massacred in a separate group. Among them could be seen students of grammar-schools in their uniforms. The scenes of such manslaughter were so horrifying that even the Gestapo-men after their "work," lost their appetites and usually calmed their nerves by the consumption of great quantities of alcohol.

At the graveside, many terrible and touching scenes took place. There, little children, who did not understand why they had been brought to those pits, up to the last moment played and laughed at the very edge of their graves, then an SS-man pushed them into the graves and started shooting. In some cases the older children clasped the legs of their murderers and sobbingly implored them to spare them, repeating that they had not committed any crime.

V. Who Were the Executioners?

In the beginning, the Germans ordered Lithuanian policemen to guard the ghettos. But when the Lithuanians began to release the Jews, and facilitated the escapes, the Germans dismissed them from service and assigned their own men to watch the ghettos.

During the second year of the German occupation Jewish policemen were appointed for this service. They wore special caps and were mostly young Jews. They maltreated their prisoners severely, especially the well-to-do ones and the intellectuals. They did this mostly when they were watched. Jewish policemen searched the Jews on their return from compulsory labor; this examination was usually very rough. When they found anything they took it away, even striking the culprit. It was

strange to observe the cruelty of the Jewish police toward their own people. Disobedient Jews and those too weak to work were killed by the Germans. Mainly the executions were carried out by the Germans and by some representatives of Soviet Russia's national groups, including numerous Mongols, former prisoners of war now serving as volunteers in the Wehrmacht or Police formations. The Gestapo usually offered high payment to Lithuanians for their collaboration in this manslaughter. It is an established fact that for many Jewish massacres at Paneriai (near Vilnius) the Germans used the inmates of a criminal prison—life prisoners. With the exception of some 45 renegades and criminals, no self-respecting Lithuanian ever participated in these executions.

Those who were involved were boycotted and called "butchers of the Jews."

When the chief of the Gestapo in Lithuania ordered Lithuanian troops of the "self-defense" detachment (so called Savysauga) to massacre Jews, Lithuanian soldiers refused to obey. Their commanders had to bear the brunt of these refusals and they were all dubbed by the Germans "of Jewish blood."

It can be stated that the Jews were mostly massacred by drunken Gestapo-men.

VI. The Reaction of the Lithuanians

The ghastly fate of the Jews evoked the deepest compassion of the Lithuanian population which showed sincere and practical sympathy. When the Jews were segregated in ghettos, the Lithuanian farmers, systematically although in great secrecy, brought bread and milk for their children. In spite of the fact that the Germans had announced that those who protected Jews, who housed them or helped them to escape would be considered "of Jewish blood" and would be confined to the ghettos themselves. This order did not frighten the Lithuanians, nor even the Lithuanian policemen who had to guard the ghettos and allowed the Jews to receive the food brought by sympathetic Lithuanian neighbors. It was due to their Lithuanian friends that many Jews escaped from the ghettos. Usually farmers hid them. One farmer, near Skuodas, housed an entire Jewish family, hiding them on his farm for a year and a half. When this was discovered later, the Lithuanian farmer's family was shot together with the Jewish family.

Mr. Adomaitis, an official of Vilnius, hid another Jewish family until the German re-

treath (the Summer of 1944).

The Supreme Lithuanian Committee of Liberation, which directed all the underground activities of the Lithuanian people during the German occupation, did everything in its power to stop the Jewish extermination. Through the underground press they disclosed particularly the methods of extermination used against the Jewish population with whom the Lithuanian people had always lived in harmony.

Dr. K. Grinius, the former president of the Republic, the Rev. M. Krupavičius and Professor J. Aleksa, the two former Ministers of Agriculture, presented a written protest to the head of the German occupational administration on this matter. For which they were arrested and exiled.

Lithuanian Roman-Catholic priests did all they could during the entire time. The Roman-Catholics followed Christian principles in opposing the hideous persecution of the Jews and helped them by all possible means; they produced birth certificates for Jews, inscribing them under false sur-names, and many Jews are still alive because of these certificates. In their sermons the Roman-Catholic clergy condemned the theft of Jewish property, and spoke against the beating, killing, persecution and insulting of innocent people—Jew or otherwise—as contrary to the law of God.

In 1942, the Conference of the Lithuanian Roman-Catholic bishops specifically condemned the massacre of the Jews. In their pastoral letter they called upon faithful Catholics to show mercy and to fight against such infamous crimes. Many priests suffered for carrying out these episcopal instructions: Prelate Sužiedelis of Žiežmariai was imprisoned. Rev. A. Lipniūnas, Rev. S. Yla and others were kept in German concentration camps to the last day.

VII. The Extent of the Disaster

Basing estimates on the statistics gathered by the Lithuanian American Information Center, the number of Jews in pre-war Lithuania was ca. 150,000. With the recovery of the Vilnius territory in 1939, and including the approximately 11,000 Jews who fled to Lithuania from the Polish mainland during the eventful month of September, the total Jewish pre-war population was approximately 263,000.

June 22nd, 1941, in the wake of the German attack, the Soviets evacuated about 2,000 Jews. Most of these held Government positions in the

Soviet Administration during the first Soviet occupation.

Some of the Jews fled voluntarily. Others were deported earlier together with Lithuanians. Altogether some 8,000 to 10,000.

Thus at the beginning of the German occupation there were about 250,000 Jews in Lithuania.

It is confirmed that when the Soviets re-occupied Lithuania in 1944, only about 10,000 Jews were found.

Thus, during the three year German occupational period, the Nazis murdered from 230,000 to 240,000 Jews. Of course, the number of murdered Jews in Lithuania is much higher if one takes into account those of non-Lithuanian origin.

ECLIPSE OF BALTIC FREEDOM

Soviets "Liquidate" All People Of Independent Thought

By WATSON KIRKCONNELL

WHEN I was a boy, I once found a small frog, partly digested, but still slightly alive, in the gullet of a big black snake. That is the fate today of three small Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Their international status is anomalous. On the one hand, Moscow has proclaimed them Socialist Soviet Republics and member-states of the USSR. On the other hand, so scandalous were the brutality and the fraud by which they were taken over that Canada, Britain and the United States have not yet acquiesced in the murder of their independence, and still give recognition to the diplomatic and consular service of the original free states. The same is scarcely true, however, of the press of the English-speaking nations, which, almost without exception, *learned so well the surreptitious wartime ukase to breathe no criticism of Russia* that one could search Canadian newspapers for the past year without finding any hint of anything but rapture and roses in the Baltic states.

This may help to explain why the thousands who throng the Maple Leaf Gardens or Massey Hall on behalf of hyphenate Communists and the zealous committees that defend the just rights of Japanese-Canadians have never raised a mouse's whisper on behalf of any of the victims of the Soviets. One would hesitate to suggest that to Canadian humanitarians and "liberals" murder ceases to be murder when it is committed to the greater glory of Stalin.

It is important, however, that the plight of the Baltic states should be recalled, were it only to safeguard the lives and liberties of thousands of hapless fugitives from these countries who have found sanctuary in Sweden and in Western Europe; for the long arm of the Soviets is reaching out to violate the age-old international laws of asylum and drag these refugees back by force; and a strong public opinion is needed to keep the Allied authorities from surrendering to the Red pressure.

The first chapter came in 1940-41, fol-

Watson Kirkconnell

In the accompanying article Dr. Watson Kirkconnell turns the spotlight on the grim realities of Soviet occupation of the former free Baltic republics, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Prof. Kirkconnell, an outstanding Canadian author and commentator, is head of the English department at McMaster University, Hamilton. He has travelled extensively on the Continent and has had long and intimate association with new Canadian groups in the Dominion.

Here he calls public attention to the facts of the Red scourge that has swept over the peaceful little Baltic republics, and asks public understanding of the fate that awaits thousands of political refugees if Stalin is successful in forcing them to return.

It is interesting to note that at the recent UNO sessions in London, the thousands of fear-driven refugees found a champion in Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who argued successfully against the compulsory return of the fugitives to their persecuted homelands.

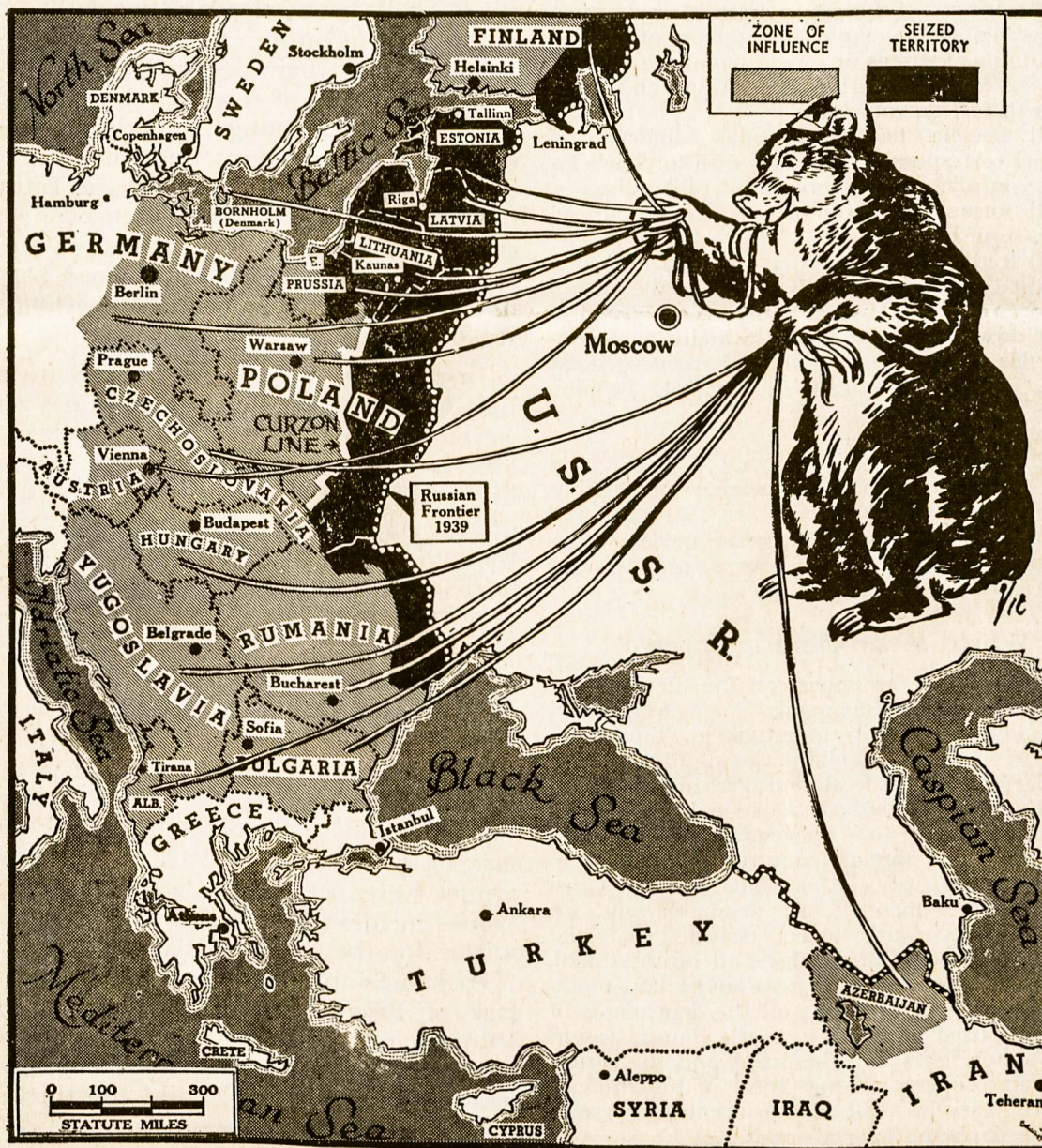
This article of Prof. Kirkconnell was originally published in the *Evening Telegram*, Toronto, February 16, 1946.

lowing a Soviet complaint that a defensive alliance among these small states (totalling 6 millions, largely rural) constituted a threat to the frontiers of the gigantic Soviet Union (with nearly 200 millions and a vast industrial system). That the alleged alliance was no more than an "entente" and had existed unchallenged since 1923 was conveniently forgotten in this re-enactment of the old fable of the hungry wolf and the very small lamb. On June 14, 1940, Soviet tanks came rolling in over the Baltic frontiers and occupied the Baltic cities and towns. By the end of June, all parties other than the tiny Communist party were declared illegal. On July 14 and 15 came elections, with no names on the ballot except those of the Com-

munist-front "Union of the Toiling People." The validity of the voting can be judged from the fact that the results were officially announced in London by the Soviet news agency Tass fully 24 hours before the closing of the polls! The puppet governments thus elected clamored for incorporation into the Soviet Union, and by the 8th of August this had been duly ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. "The sun of the Stalinist Constitution," exulted Pravda, "now casts its benevolent rays upon new territories, upon new peoples."

Liquidation Orders Given Political Police

The sequel was grim. The Soviet political police, who penetrate with a unified program



of terror into every part of the Soviet domain, proceeded systematically to exterminate all those elements in the Baltic populations that might offer effective resistance to Sovietization. Copies of the instructions issued by People's Commissar Guzevicius to the NKVD have been smuggled out and have been published in *New York by the Lithuanian-American Council*. (I have a copy on file). They show that the police were instructed to round up and "liquidate" the following categories of persons:

(1) All former members of all political parties except the Communists.

(2) All policemen.

(3) All army officers.

(4) All persons expelled from the Communist party for anti-party offenses.

(5) All deserters, political emigres, etc.

(6) All citizens of foreign countries, representatives of foreign firms, employes of offices of foreign countries, former citizens of foreign countries, former employes of legations, firms, concessions and stock companies of foreign countries.

(7) All persons having personal contacts and maintaining correspondence abroad with foreign legations and consulates, esperantists and philatelists.

(8) All former employes of the departments of ministries, from referents up.

(9) All Red Cross workers. (It is worth notice, as an individual case, that the chairman of the Lithuanian Red Cross, Dr. Antanas Garmus, was later reported as drowned in the Baltic Sea during an attempt to flee to Sweden, and that his relatives were thereupon sentenced to death in a "Soviet People's Court" in Vilnius.)

(10) All Polish refugees.

(11) All Protestant ministers, all Catholic and Orthodox priests, and all active members of religious groups and congregations.

(12) All former noblemen, estate owners, merchants, bankers, shop owners and owners of hotels and restaurants.

What It Would Mean Here in Toronto

One can imagine the impact on the life of a city like Toronto if the terror-squads of a newly-formed Canadian Soviet Republic undertook to "liquidate," according to the above standard Communist pattern, all members of the Federal and Provincial Houses (except the Communists), all active political leaders (except Communists) all policemen, all army officers, all citizens of foreign countries (except Communists, of course), all civil servants, all Red Cross workers, all clergymen of all denominations, all church officials (stewards, elders, deacons, etc.) and all active church-goers, all bankers, all business men, and all hotelkeepers. According to Soviet law, moreover (decree of June 3, 1934), all the dependents of any man who tried to escape from the country would be liable to ten years' imprisonment and the confiscation of all property if they knew of his attempt, and to five years in a Siberian concentration camp even if they knew nothing about it.

The purpose of these liquidations, in the case of the Baltic states and Eastern Poland, is clearly described by the ex-Communist Arthur Koestler, on page 200 of his book, *The Yogi and the Commissar*: "The aims of this policy were to deprive the newly absorbed regions of those elements which in Soviet terminology are called 'Activists'—meaning the politically conscious strata of Left and Right, the leaders and organizers of intellectual, economic and social life, the nuclei of independent thought and action. A nation thus deprived of her backbone and nervous centres becomes a kind of amorphous jelly, reduced to the degree of malleability necessary to adapt herself to the conditions of Soviet dictatorship. For one has to bear in mind that these millions of new citizens of the U.S.S.R. have to learn to live without parliament, without public criticism, under new laws which restrict their personal liberty of movement, of speech, of reading, of work, and confine their whole range of existence between hard and narrow limits undreamt-of even under the semi-dictatorial Polish or Lithuanian regimes. The greater the difference between the cultural levels (and standards of living), the more radical this softening process has to be, to make the conquered nation digestible by the Russian regime."

In the case of the three little Baltic republics, some 200,000 men, women and children were uprooted and deported in cattle-trucks to Siberia and Central Asia. In every known case, husbands were separated from wives and children from parents. The inhuman evacuation was still in full swing when the German attack on Russia in June, 1941, interrupted the liquidations, but opened a new chapter of terror.

Under the Nazis, there was further acute suffering. The Germans tried to mobilize Baltic manpower for war purposes, but were resisted with the utmost obstinacy by the three brave little nations, who wanted their independence as against both Nazi and Bolshevik. Atrocious reprisals followed, and these reached their climax in the summer of 1944, when the German armies were being forced to yield ground. A typical incident, reported by the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, runs: "German SS units on June 5th raided the village of Pirciupiai, near Valkininkai, in the Vilnius area, with all 120 of its inhabitants. During the executions, Mrs. Uzdavinys, who had just given birth to a child, was thrown with her baby into the flames."

With the second Soviet invasion, in 1944, horror reached its height. Tens of thousands fled in makeshift craft across the broad Baltic Sea towards Sweden, but the majority of these were sadistically bombed and machine-gunned to death by both German and Soviet aircraft and speedboats. In spite of the brutal treatment meted out by the Nazis during three years of occupation, a quarter of a million Lithuanian farmers and laborers fled into Germany to avoid the greater nightmare of the Russians.

Picture of Terrorism Given to Roosevelt

On September 12, 1944, a telegram from the *Lithuanian-American Council* read in part as follows:

"Latest information reaching us from Sweden presents horrible picture of terror, devastation and depletion of population of Lithuania at the hands of both Germans and Russians. Refugees arriving in Sweden from Lithuania call for immediate aid to unfortunate Baltic peoples, innocent victims of both Germans and Russians. Despite reiterated solemn pledges, Russian military authorities in occupied so-called liberated parts of Lithuania proceed with wholesale extermination of remaining population. Eyewitness refugees report executions, mass deportations, suicides. In consequence of Soviet reprisals, such cities as Vilkaviskis, Utena, Siauliai, Kursenai, etc., already are entirely devoid of Lithuanian population. Confirmed information reports drastic Soviet measures, reintroduction of Kolkhozes, wholesale expropriation of private property."

Similarly the Latvian minister in Stockholm reported such episodes as the following: (i) "Eyewitness, peasant Jazeps K., testifies that, having broken into Kalsnava, the Bolsheviks on July 12th murdered there all inhabitants, including women, children and old people. Eyewitness's own wife and children also murdered." (ii) "August 6th, Bolsheviks drove together on the field 630 inhabitants of Laudone and vicinity and killed them with machine-guns, no consideration given to children, old age, or sex."

Russians' Place With Fellow Sadists

Obviously the Russians' place at Nurnberg is not on the judges' bench but in the prisoners' dock, along with their fellow-sadists, the Nazis.

In these days when the cynical and the glib vie with one another in vouching for the integrity and trustworthiness of our Soviet allies, there is some antiseptic value in facing up to the truth that Stalin has always broken his promises, on every occasion and in every particular when there was the slightest advantage in breaking them. In the case of Latvia alone, the USSR has violated 32 specific treaties, pacts, agreements, declarations and solemn

promises, including the Peace Treaty of 1920, the Non-Aggression Treaty of 1932-34, the 1937 Treaty on Frontier Disputes, and the Atlantic Charter. It is probable that no government in history has had a longer and darker record of bad faith and broken pledges. It is significant, in the light of Britain's 20-year treaty of friendship and mutual aid with Russia, that Mr. Bevin today finds the Soviets undermining and slandering Britain in every country and corner of the earth. It is well to recall that on October 31, 1939, Mr. Molotov made a solemn declaration to the session of the Supreme Soviet that "the Soviet Union insists on the honorable and correct execution of the treaties which it has signed, on the basis of absolute reciprocity, and declares that all the talk of a Sovietization of the Baltic states is only of use to our enemies"; and that within ten months the Baltic states had been ruthlessly and violently Sovietized. One cannot too often stress the dictum of Lenin's close friend Preobrazhenski: "The worker's state . . . finds lying very necessary and useful in its foreign policy."

A current problem has to do with the presence of about 30,000 Baltic refugees in Sweden and of perhaps 500,000 in the Allied zones of occupation in Germany. The Soviets have been trying to get their hands on them all, in order to liquidate their damaging testimony as to Soviet murder, rape, deportation and tyranny. Sweden has so far resisted all pressure, except in the case of a few Balts who had been conscripted into the German army. A similar policy has been declared by the Allied governments; yet there are disquieting reports that officers in Europe are being humbugged by Soviet liaison commissions into surrendering large numbers of innocent unfortunates.

In Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the Soviet policy seems to have been one not merely of exterminating or deporting all politically and culturally conscious elements, but of replacing them with vast numbers of immigrants of other racial stocks, chiefly Russian. The prospects are that the Baltic peoples, in their original homelands, will cease to exist if they have not already done so. The refugees in Sweden and Western Europe constituted the sole free remnants of three murdered nations. The crucial problem today is to save them from liquidation at Soviet hands and to assure them of a permanent sanctuary and the means of survival, either in Europe or on the American continents.

HOW I BECAME A "VOLUNTEER"

By E. MATUKAS

(*Ed. note:* The following is an account of the events of May 15, 1944, when the recently created Lithuanian self-defense units clashed with German troops when they attempted to incorporate them into the Wehrmach).

3 A.M.! I had just returned from guard duty. The pre-dawn gray light was filtering through the barracks windows. My fellow soldiers were fast asleep in their bunks.

Two hours slipped by silently. Suddenly the quarter's sharp shrill whistle split the air. His alarmed yell "Company up! Com-pa-ny-y-y up!" echoed through the barracks hall. This was to be our last morning as soldiers, today we were scheduled to disperse and return to our own farms, in protest against the orders to turn our troops into Germany's stooges.

A German armored car was rolling by and raking the barracks with machine gun fire. I dropped to the floor. Window panes shattered, glass fell to the floor, plaster was falling from the ceiling. It was hard to understand the reason. A shout from the hallway—"The Germans have encircled us and are shooting!"

Pandemonium broke loose. A moment later we rushed into the yard. Someone yelled "Take cover in the sugar factory!" We practically flew across the open field. Two hundred meters to the bushgrown banks of the river and safety! My friend Vincent was a pace ahead of me. "Trrrrr . . . rat . . . tat . . . tat . . ." whined a machine gun directly in front of us. I stumbled and fell. Poor Vincent took a few steps, arms outstretched he pitched forward on his face, dropping on the soil we all had fought so desperately hard to defend.

I crawled toward the riverbank. The machine gun continued firing, followed in close succession by rifle shots and exploding hand grenades. The noise finally died down. I waded across a ditch, got up, raised my head and stared—straight into the leering face of an armed German, who in a guttural voice commanded "Hände hoch!" (Hands up!). Then in Lithuanian—"Duok ginklą!" (Surrender arms!). From his accent I gathered he was one of the "repatriates," a native "Volksdeutsche." He was set to kill. I told him I had no arms, because last night all arms were surrendered. "Back to

the barracks," he barked, motioning with his tommygun.

My comrades were all lined up in the barracks yard, hands upraised. They were encircled by SS troopers with fixed bayonets. They drove us into the riding rink. An armored car lumbered up to the door. An SS officer quietly stated: "Don't try to run away, you will be shot without warning!"

Hours passed. The afternoon wore away. Night came. Finally we slumped down on the grassy ground. The following morning we were driven in small groups to the girls' junior college grounds. We passed a physical examination. Metal tags were hung around our necks. We then received sheets of paper identifying us as members of the "Kamphelfer" auxiliary combatants). In the afternoon we were dressed in German Luftwaffe (Air Corps) uniforms. We saw crowds gathered outside. I glanced out—and there were my dear parents. We were permitted to speak to them but a moment, and only from a distance.

Heavy SS trucks arrived in the evening. There were 106 of us—the other half succeeded in escaping. We were called by numbers. Each man, whose number was called, picked up his belongings and was placed aboard the truck. My number was called and I took my bags and took my place in the truck. We were taken back to the same barracks, guarded by re-enforced sentries.

We retired for the night and tried to sleep. Despair engulfed all.

We were awakened at 4 A.M. Ordinary passenger automobiles were lined up in the yard, with SS sentries running back and forth. They were all swearing at "Ferflüchtes Volk" (The damned nation, or people), etc. We were loaded into the cars. In silence we passed the city of Marijampolė and turned northward, toward Kybartai. The direction was apparent—the "Greater Reich" . . .

The morning mist and our hopeless future depressed us. We looked with sad eyes on the blooming cherry orchards and the fields. "How nice to be free again. . . ."

The frontier of Germany. In bitter silence, we left our native land. The monotonous plains of East Prussia rolled by. We passed Gum-

binnen, Insterburg, and Koenigsberg. Where would we stop? On and on we went.

Marienburg and Elbing raced by. We turned toward Danzig. Another hour and we approached a forest. The cars stopped. We peered at the road sign: "Waldlager Stutthof" (The Forest Camp Stutthof). Our eyes were glued upon the city of barracks, surrounded by barbed wire fences and armed guards. The cars stopped again. We were met by armed guards of the Stutthof concentration camp, with bayonets pointing at us. The gate was swung open, and our cars entered funeral-like. We looked back at the curious glances of the lean, hungry inmates of the camp. On their coat sleeves they bore a painted red cross with a number. Suddenly from a barrack we heard a shout—"The Lithuanians!" We looked in the direction whence the cry came. I recognized the former "Counsellor" Germantas, the Reverend Lipniu-

nas, Lieut. Valentinas. There were many other Lithuanians whom I did not know.

We were lined up in front of a vacant barrack. Our heads were counted. The camp's commandant reminded us that any attempt to escape would end in failure and carried a death sentence. We entered the barracks.

Evening. 10 P.M. For the first time we had witnessed a sunset in a strange land, far from home. On every lip was a silent prayer—"Spare us, O Lord! Save us from this terrible camp!"

We stayed in this camp several days. Then one day we were transferred to a nearby barracks. We were all lined up. A fat German lieutenant made a speech informing us—"That from now on you are joining the struggle against all the enemies of the New Europe."

And so I, and my 105 comrades, were transformed into "volunteers" in the German armed forces. . . .

FACTS AND FIGURES

CONTINUING OUR SERIES of documents pertaining to the Soviet behavior in Lithuania during the first occupation (1940-1941), a facsimile of a "strictly secret, highly urgent and exclusively personal" instruction regarding the manner of effecting the deportation of the anti-Soviet element from Lithuania and supplementing the previously given instruction (see *The Lithuanian Bulletin*, No. 1, Vol. IV), follows.

Similar instructions were issued on the same day to "All operative Triumvirates of county branches and subdivisions of NKGB of Latvian and Estonian SSR." The Lithuanian instruction being signed by "People's Commissar of State Security of Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, senior Major of State Security Gladkov," a career officer of the Russian Secret Police assigned by Moscow's higher-ups to the duties in the newly proclaimed "Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic." The Lithuanian instruction

is dated June 6, 1941, preceding by several weeks the outbreak of German-Soviet hostilities.

As the published document shows, the entire system of the Soviet police apparatus in Lithuania was (and still is) based on the strictly subordinated hierarchy of "trios" beginning with the county, then the precinct and ending with the operative group, the "trio" being the surest combination of mutual control.

The entire technique of deportations seems to be well settled and in all details codified.

This is one of the "achievements" of more than two decades of Russian communist experience with its harrowing misery, suffering and human degradation.

By now the technique of deportation is being taught as one of the subjects in the NKVD-NKGB College whose significance and importance are comparable to a War College.

Сов.Секретно.

В.Срочно.

Только лично.

**ВСЕМ ОПЕРАТИВНЫМ ТРОЙКАМ УЕЗДНЫХ ОТДЕЛОВ И
ОТДЕЛЕНИИ НКГБ ЛИТОВСКОЙ ССР-**

Гор. _____

Тов. _____

Тов. _____

В дополнение к ранее данным указаниям о порядке проведения известной Вам операции, предлагаем проделать следующее:

1. Прилагаемыми при этом 3 экз. инструкции о порядке проведения операции снабдить всех членов тройки, для использования при инструктаже участников операции.

2. Продумайте и установите, где, в каком помещении будет происходить инструктаж состава оперативных групп, где будут сосредоточены транспортные средства, предназначенные для перевозки опер. групп к месту операции.

ПРИМЕЧАНИЕ: как правило, инструктаж опер. состава должен проводиться в том населенном пункте, где помещается участковая тройка и откуда участники операции будут раз'езжаться к местам назначения.

3. Заранее подготовить для раздачи старшим опергрупп дела, списки выселяемых и точные маршруты движения колонн до пунктов погрузки, с указанием мест первичных сборных пунктов, расстояний в километрах между каждым пунктами и другие необходимые документы.

4. Подготовить чистую бумагу, химические карандаши для снабжения старших групп.

STRICTLY SECRET

Highly Urgent

Exclusively Personal

TO ALL OPERATIVE TRIUMVIRATES OF COUNTY BRANCHES AND
SUBDIVISIONS OF NKGB OF LITHUANIAN SSR

City _____

Comrade _____

Comrade _____

Supplementing the earlier instruction regarding the manner of effecting the operation known to you, we submit that the following be effected:

1. Supply all members of the triumvirate with the enclosed 3 copies of the instruction regarding the manner of conducting the operation, for use in briefing the personnel taking part in the operation.

2. Think over and determine where, in what quarters the personnel of the operative groups shall receive briefing, where the means of transportation shall be concentrated for transporting the operative groups to the place of operation.

NOTE: as a rule, briefing of the operative personnel must proceed at that inhabited point where the precinct triumvirate is located and wherefrom the participants of the operation shall disperse to the points of designation.

3. Prepare in advance, for distribution to leaders of operative groups, the files, rosters of the deportees and the exact itineraries of movement of the columns towards the points of embarkation, indicating the places of initial gathering, distances in kilometers between each point and other necessary documents.

4. Prepare plain paper, chemical (ink) pencils for supplying the leaders of the groups.

5. Позаботиться подысканием необходимого оружия и патронов для вооружения совпартактива.

6. Инструктаж людей, отправляемых на операцию, начать с таким расчетом, чтобы люди успели заранее прибыть на места операции, особенно в отдаленные районы. Заранее сконцентрировать в намеченном месте необходимый для переброски опер.состава транспорт.

7. Совместно с первыми секретарями Уксов партии обсудите и разработайте план выезда под благовидным предлогом намеченных для участия в операции работников сов. партактива, предусмотрев пункты, где он сосредоточится и каким порядком вливается в опергруппу, чтобы преждевременно не расшифровать.

8. Не забудьте заняться вопросом организации питания оперсостава, выделенного на операцию.

9. Выделенный для участия в операции местный актив тщательно профильтруйте и неблагонадежных отсейте.

10. Обеспечьте для старших руководителей опергрупп возможность проехать в район своей операции для предварительного изучения обстановки, расположения домов выселяемых, дорог и проч.

11. Учтите, что находящийся в Вашем распоряжении оперсостав /работники НКГБ, НКВД, Милиции/ должен быть использован в качестве старших опергрупп, начальников резервных красноармейских групп и начальников пунктов погрузки.

12. Начальники колонн выселяемых, начальники сборных пунктов, старшие по селу, начальники транспорта в пунктах отправки опергрупп, лица ответственны за выдачу оружия и т.д., ввиду ограниченного количества имеющегося оперативного состава, назначаются из числа старших опергрупп,

5. Arrange to supply the necessary weapons and cartridges for arming sov(iet)part(y)active.

6. Briefing of men, being dispatched for the operation, is to begin with such calculations as to enable them to arrive ahead of time at the places of operation, especially in the remote regions. Transport necessary for transferring the operative personnel must be concentrated in advance at the designated places.

7. Together with first secretaries of Ukoms (County Committees) of the party, discuss and work out a plan for summoning, under plausible excuses, the workers of the sovietpart(y) active marked for participation in the operation, after pre-arranging the points for their concentration and the manner in which they will have been incorporated in the oper (ative) group, in order that the same be not decoded prematurely.

8. Do not forget to consider the problem of organization of the feeding the oper (ative) personnel, detached for the operation.

9. Thoroughly filter and weed out the unreliaables among the local active selected for participation in the operation.

10. Provide for the senior leaders of the oper(ative) groups an opportunity to visit personally the region of their operation for a preliminary study of the environment, location of homes of the deportees, the roads, etc.

11. Have in mind that the oper (ative) personnel at your disposal (workers of NKGB, NKVD, Militia) must be employed in the capacity of leaders of oper (ative) groups, commanders of Red Army reserve groups and chiefs of the points of embarkation.

12. Commanders of the columns of deportees, chiefs of the assembly points, leaders of the villages, chiefs of transport at the points of dispatch of the oper(ative)groups, persons responsible for issuing the weapons, etc., in view of the shortage of available operative personnel, are appointed from among the seniors of the operative group, directly

непосредственно проводящих операцию.

13. Красноармейцев войск НКВД и молодшик с учебных пунктов погранотрядов можете использовать в составе резервных групп, а также вводить их в качестве третьего члена в опергруппы, проводящие выселение.

14. Оперативная группа, проводящая выселение, комплектуется следующим образом:

а/ Старший группы обязательно оперативный работник НКГВ, НКВД или Милиции, или нач.ком.подитсостава войск НКВД. В отдельных случаях допускается назначение старшим опергруппы опытного работника из состава совпартактива.

б/ Работник совпартактива или младший командир войск.

в/ Красноармеец войск НКВД или погран. отряда, или местный милиционер и т.д.

г/ К ним придается от двух до четырех человек из местного сельхактива, проводящие перепись имущества и помогающие в проведении операции.

Разбить людей на опертройки необходимо заранее, по возможности с учетом их личных качеств.

15. Немедленно примите меры к обеспечению приема и размещения прибывающих в область и участки людей /опер.состав, войска НКВД/.

16. Направляемых к Бам оперативных работников и красноармейцев предупредите, чтобы они не болтались на улицах и не ходили большими группами, во избежание расконспирирования своего появления в маленьких уездных городах и местечках.

17. Начальникам пунктов погрузки, совместно с работниками ДТО и начальниками эшелонов, разработать с выездом на места конкретный порядок погрузки выселяемых в эше-

charged with carrying out the operation.

13. You may employ the Red Army men of the troops of NKVD and the recruits from the training units of frontier guard detachments, for the personnel of the reserve groups, you may also include them in the capacity of the third members of the oper(ative)groups, effecting the arrest (uprooting).

14. Operative group effecting the arrest (uprooting) is to be constituted in the following manner:

- a) Leader of the group, in any case must be an operative worker of NKGB, NKVD, or Militia, or an officer of the polit(ical) personnel of the troops of NKVD. In individual cases it is permissible to appoint as leader of the oper(ative) group an experienced worker from the personnel of sovpactive (soviet party active).
- b) A member of sovpactive or a junior commander of the troops.
- c) A Red Army man of the troops of NKVD or of a frontier detachment, or a local militiaman, etc.
- d) These are supplemented by two to four members from among the local village active, who conduct the listing of property and aid in carrying out the operation.

Men must be organized into operative trios in advance, if possible having in mind their personal qualities.

15. Immediately take means to provide for the reception and quartering of men arriving in the district and precincts /operative personnel, troops of NKVD/.

16. Caution the operative workers and Red Army men being dispatched to you that they must not loiter around the streets and must not walk in large groups, in order to avoid a disclosure of their presence in small county cities and towns.

17. Chiefs of the points of embarkation, together with the workers of DTO and commanders of the echelons, are to work out, on the spot, a concrete order of loading the deportees into the echelons, basing

лону, исходя из возможностей каждой станции погрузки.

18. Разработанные Вами планы проведения операции, а также посланную Вам инструкцию - о порядке ее проведения, доложите первым и вторым секретарям Укомов ВКП/б/ накануне операции.

Повторяем еще раз - задача очистки Литовской ССР от контрреволюционного элемента - сложная и ответственная задача. Нельзя к ней относиться поверхностно, полагаться на то, что все как-нибудь обойдется. Оперативная тройка персонально отвечает за успех проводимой операции.

Операция должна быть проведена четко, с умом, без шума и паники, в точном соответствии с указаниями Народного Комиссара Государственной Безопасности Союза ССР - товарища МЕРКУЛОВА.

НАРОДНЫЙ КОМИССАР ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ ЛССР
СТАРИЙ МАИОР ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ -

/Г Л А Д К О В/

6 июня 1941 года.

г. Каунас.
№ 1/1160

Верно:

М. С. Г. м.

themselves on the embarkation facilities of each and every station.

18. The plans, worked out by you, concerning the execution of the operation, also the instruction sent to you—regarding the manner of effecting the same, report to the first and second secretaries of Ukoms (county committees) of VKP /B/ (All-Russian Communist Party, Bolshevik) on the eve of the operation.

We repeat once more, the task of purging Lithuanian SSR of the counter-revolutionary element—is a complicated and responsible mission. It cannot be dealt with superficially, in reliance that somehow everything will work out. An operative triumvirate is personally responsible for the success of the operation being effected.

The operation must be executed with precision, intelligently, without noise or panic, in exact compliance with the instruction of the People's Commissar of State Security of the Union of SSR—comrade MERKULOV.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF STATE SECURITY OF LSSR
SENIOR MAJOR OF STATE SECURITY

/GLADKOV/

6TH JUNE, 1941

City of Kaunas
No. 1/1160

Correct: signature illegible.

A LETTER FROM LONDON

OUR BRITISH correspondent and a friend of long standing recently wrote us: "... Anyhow I am glad to see that the Lithuanian-American Congress Policy Declarations have not been slow in calling attention to the essential weakness of UN as a result of the presence of the Veto provision which is bound to cripple all really effective action against an aggressor who happens to be one of the Big Three.

"The Declarations also expose in suitable terms the appalling Russian record during her occupation of the Baltic States. I am sorry to say that over here it is next to impossible to have the facts properly ventilated in any daily paper. I have myself on repeated occasions sent letters to as many as six papers at a time on various phases of our problems, but not one has ever been printed. There is a veritable conspiracy of silence in many quarters as far as the Baltic States are concerned, and even when these matters are mentioned in the House of Commons the press reports rarely publish the debates. Not infrequently, one finds better and more comprehensive reports in the Polish daily published in London! Of course, it must be added that owing to the paper shortage our newspapers are so small that they cannot print full reports of parliamentary proceedings. Also the fact that the combined Baltic Committees have sent representations to UN on the true state of affairs in the Baltic States under Soviet occupation has so far been carefully suppressed either by the UN Secretariat itself, or correspondents fully aware of the truth.

"... Although it is all to the good that Churchill should have come out into the open as a critic of Soviet policy and methods of "diplomacy" objective onlookers cannot forget that he himself was a party to the Curzon Line arrangement, the effects of which he now deplures, and also that whilst he was Prime Minister he not infrequently insisted that no Government was more "scrupulous" in its observance of its pledges than the Soviet! It is difficult to believe that he could even then have been ignorant of the Russian record of broken pledges in the Baltic States, and on that assumption his effusive testimonial to Russian "honesty" seems to have been a bit overdone. All the same it is well that he has now been converted, if belatedly, to the true faith, and despite his political inconsistency I have a genuine admiration for his many splendid gifts and see no reason why we should not as far as possible make use of his advocacy, if it can be enlisted at any future time.

"Incidentally, when he made one of his announcements about Russia's "good faith," I sent a letter on the subject to half-a-dozen papers calmly enumerating the specific treaties callously infringed by Moscow, more especially with the three Baltic States, but needless to say, not a single paper accepted it. I have now given up the job in despair, as a sheer waste of time. Even if I were many years younger, I might very well tire of writing for the waste-paper basket."

THE RUSSIAN "ONE WORLD" IDEA

By Liūdas Dovydenas

Editor's Note: The author of the following article is a well known Lithuanian novelist and writer, now a refugee in Western Europe.

IT MAY BE recalled that Lithuania had been invaded on June 15, 1940 by the Red Army and the Russian communist party forces trained for carrying the "world revolution" into any country. In a well rehearsed and coordinated series of manoeuvres and decrees, within a

month the invaders staged, a "one ticket" communist mockery "election" simultaneously in all three of the Baltic States. Some well-known local people had to be included to provide "coloring," and a number of unwilling non-communists were forced to "accept the nominations to a People's Diet." Mr. Dovydenas was one of several such persons conscripted, under duress, to participate in the hideous farce of an

attempted legalization of Russian aggression against freedom loving peoples.

The following article is based upon the manuscript recently printed by "*Amerika*," a Lithuanian language weekly of Brooklyn, N. Y., in its May 17th, 1946 issue.

The author is reporting the so-called press conference given to the "initiated" by an important Soviet official. Mr. Dovydenas, a "Deputy of the People's Diet of Lithuanian SSR," was among the initiated. The press conference was given in April 1941, less than two months before the outbreak of Russo-German hostilities. The reception of Ribbentrop by Stalin, mentioned in this conference, had taken place at the Kremlin on August 22-23, 1939, following the signing of a Russo-German special agreement dividing Eastern Europe into spheres of influence. This agreement, in fact, gave the "Go" signal for the outbreak of hostilities of World War II.

Every informed student of contemporary events is acquainted with some of the ideas frankly exposed by a distinguished Muscovite official to a gathering of recent victims of Russo-German aggression. However, against the background of present day discussions of "One World," and of the uncompromising Russian stand in peace discussions, it is well to recall the aims of the Muscovite potentates as confirmed by one of the inner circle of Soviet politicians.

We hope that this article will contribute to a general understanding of the seemingly bewildering Soviet manoeuvres in postwar Europe and Asia.

The Guest from Moscow

In April 1941, we had a distinguished visitor from Moscow, comrade J. Petrushkevich, an editor from "*Gosizdat*" (the State Publishing Concern).

He came to Kaunas ostensibly to collect material for an almanac which the "*Gosizdat*" intended publishing to commemorate the first anniversary of the absorption of the three Baltic States by Russia.

Comrade Petrushkevich spent several weeks in Kaunas, establishing himself at the Hotel de Lithuanie where he enjoyed its fine cuisine and wide variety of domestic and imported liquors. Measured by our standards, his appetite seemed to be extraordinary and his thirst all consuming and unquenchable. Because of his frequent luncheons and conferences with Major Gladkov, the People's Commissar of State Security

of the new Lithuanian SSR and with groups of important NKVD-NKGB officers, we concluded that comrade Petrushkevich was an important figure in Moscow—the NKGB men do not associate with unimportant personages.

One evening a group of writers, artists, newsmen and actors received an invitation to a press conference by comrade Petrushkevich at the Writers' Club in Kaunas. The event took place the end of April, 1941. Already the smell of gunpowder was in the air. All high officials realized that a German-Russian war was inevitable, but no one dared prophecy which side would initiate the attack.

The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact

"Why had we concluded an agreement with the Germans, that is, with Hitler's Nazis?"

Editor Petrushkevich asked and answered that question.

"We would associate ourselves with the Devil himself if the Devil would feed our fire," continued the guest.

"Stalin and Molotov knew that Hitler's armies must fight, they were trained to fight. We, bolsheviks, were afraid of a British-German pact. The British and French had failed to find a common language with Hitler, although for a time Chamberlain was quite charmed with the piece of paper signed at Munich.

"Our Politbureau, especially comrade Stalin, fully realized that Germany, aroused to a fighting pitch, could not avoid a war. Therefore it was up to us to turn the avalanche of German armies in another direction—a direction most useful to us, toward the Western States: France, England, Belgium and the Netherlands. It is obvious that as long as the decadent democracies hold the reins in England and France, a serious obstacle hampers a World Revolution.

"Comrade Stalin knew that the Germans would like to attack the West, but first they must know what the East, that is, we, the bolsheviks, would do.

"Were we concerned with this German worry?

"No! We wanted Germany to destroy the two Western powers and at the same time sap her own energies.

"You can imagine the joy in our Embassy in Berlin when von Kleist, the Nazi Party's Chief for Eastern Division in the Party Bureau for Foreign Affairs, proposed a non-aggression pact to us.

"Shortly afterward Ribbentrop was received

by Stalin and Molotov, and an agreement was signed. There was much rejoicing in Moscow."

Petrushkevich described in minute detail the reception arranged for Ribbentrop in Moscow and the smooth operation of the negotiations which fitted the interests of both parties.

The Struggle for World Domination

"What did we gain by this agreement?"

"Very much, indeed.

"We turned the entire force of the German armed might toward the West. The Germans would smash the British and the French.

"If the Germans were forced to keep large forces facing us, the tide of war might favor the British and French, it might even force the Germans to seek an understanding with the West at our cost—against us!

"Furthermore, the battle tying the Germans in the West would make them amenable to our desires, and, in the final crucial struggle, they would not be able to withstand our charge.

"But, what is most important, without a battle, we gained the Baltic area, a large part of Poland, Bessarabia, and Bukovina. We began the active phase in the direction of a World Revolution. Aside from that, we showed that the bolsheviks are departing from a defensive war and entering an offensive phase.

"Yes, I know that some sources charge that we were associated with fascists and nazis and that we have occupied Poland and the Baltic States.

"That is quite true. We did not hide nor are we now attempting to hide the fact that, as far as our own ends are concerned, the Nazis and the Democrats are equal enemies of ours. So what difference does it make to side with the brown devil against the gray devil if both are our enemies?"

"Three powers are battling for the domination of the world; the bolsheviks, the nazis, and the decadent democracies. Is it not good that two are fighting each other, while we bide our time until we can grab both by the throat?"

"Unfortunately there has been a slight proofreading mistake: the Germans defeated France too soon, and England found herself once more protected by the Channel. And now the Germans are wavering once more—should they attack us or England?"

The speaker paused. Comrade Petrushkevich gulped a generous drink from his glass and emitted a loud sigh. And then he continued in a more modulated tone.

"We are waiting, and we are afraid to ask ourselves: "What next?" . . . and I, comrades, answer that question: if the Germans decide to attack us, we will seek help from England, America, China or in hell itself, until we shall have smashed the Germans.

"During this time the world will be so exhausted, it will have lost so much, that the World Revolution will catch fire by itself. That Revolution will wipe out England, France and the American plutocracy without a war.

"That is comrade Stalin's desire! This is the calculation of his great genius!"

Democracy—The Greatest Enemy

Jonas Šimkus, the editor of the official Lithuanian daily, "Tarybų Lietuva," asked the following question:

"What about seeking the friendship of the Western Democracies?"

Petrushkevich looked at Šimkus sadly and said:

"In time of war we may keep their friendship and will gladly accept any help from them. However, we, bolsheviks, cannot sincerely cooperate with them. Principles divide us and set us apart.

"This is the reason: during the past quarter of a century, since the October Revolution, we promoted and inculcated the greatest hatred against non-bolsheviks, regardless of who they may be.

"We especially attacked and are assailing democracy, because that is our greatest enemy. The Nazis, I must admit, are more convenient for us, because they are obvious and by their unconditional methods of ruling they cause a clear crystalization of their natural enemies.

"And the Democrats?"

"They are indefinite compilers and manoeuvrers.

"During long years, we created a legend of two worlds: the bolshevik one, the one we praised, loved and promoted, and the other one, regardless of its shape and tendencies, the one we cajoled, denounced and hated.

"So now, how could we say to a bolshevik that democrats are our friends? He would counter—if this is so, what was the reason for hating everything that is not bolshevistic—our principal tenet?"

"Furthermore, comrades, it is no secret that we, the bolsheviks, never discard any methods or means. We, with comrade Stalin, realize that bolshevism cannot be brought into the world

with silk gloves and tended by the delicate hands of nursemaids. Oh no! That end can be achieved only by war and unceasing struggle.

“Those who believe that we could cooperate with the Western Democracies in peacetime are doubly dangerous; they do not understand the ways of the struggle of ideals and they weaken the military so dear to us at all times.

“In the battle arena, in the political arena, it is very important, it is most vitally important to us to maintain the bolshevistic rhythm of attack. We must attack even in defense! That is important.

The Third World War

“If the end of the present World War should fail to ignite the World Revolution, we shall be obliged to activate underground activities to the maximum. The work of the Komintern, Profintern, and Mopr will have to become more intensified than the effort of the divisions on the field of battle. In the underground of each

State will be stored that gunpowder which will destroy the countries weakened by war.

“I, my friends, would like to warn you that the postwar political struggle, which must lead either toward a World Revolution or the Third Great War—is probably more important than that which we will suffer during the German-Red Army fighting. The Third Great War or the World Revolution must determine the fate of future generations and the boundary lines on the world map.”

At the end of his long speech,—conveniently termed a press conference for the initiated—comrade Petrushkevich developed a sullen mien, and, accentuating every word, he assured us, that

“You must retain a deep conviction that Democracy is as great an enemy of ours as fascism and nazism. We shall eventually deal with all of them. However, the matter of dealing will be considered by our master tacticians.”

THE FATE OF LITHUANIAN PATRIOTS OF THE KLAIPĖDA-MEMEL DISTRICT

J. Grigolaitis, a native of the Klaipėda-Memel Autonomous District of Lithuania, now a refugee in Western Germany, answers the pertinent question asked by many people as to what happened to Klaipėda Lithuanians after the forcible annexation of Klaipėda by Hitler in March 1939.

It may be recalled that Memel and its territory (consisting of 1100 square miles and 154,000 inhabitants), the principal port of Lithuania with modern wharves, warehouses and docking facilities, was the third consecutive victim of Hitlerite aggression closely following the occupation of Czechoslovakia.

Immediately after the seizure, the Gestapo inaugurated retaliation measures against all nations who in any way professed loyalty to the mother country—Lithuania. Grigolaitis was among the first to be arrested. A prisoner in many Nazi concentration camps he saw the inhuman suffering of his fellow countrymen under the Germans.

Many people are interested in the fate of the “Memellanders” under the Hitlerian regime and the number of victims claimed by the Nazis.

I can only write about persons whom I actually saw among fellow prisoners in Germany. I do not know the final fate of the prisoners whom I encountered in one concentration camp or another.

Jonas Purvinas, a teacher, and I lived at the Soldau “Konzlager” for twelve weeks. We became separated for a while, but four months later we met again at the Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen camp.

From Soldau I was transferred to Oranienburg, and on the way, in the Koenigsberg prison, in November 1941, I met Martynas Reizgys (Reisgies), the former President of the Klaipėda District Directorate. He did not know where he was going. It took us six weeks to reach Oranienburg.

A Polish prisoner at Oranienburg told us that there were many Lithuanian prisoners in the camp. Here I met Jonas Toleikis, the former police commissioner of the Klaipėda District, who had already spent several months in this hell hole, and Jonas Purvinas my acquaintance of the Soldau camp, also Vilius Mačiulaitis (Wilhelm Matschulatis), the former president of the Prussian Lithuanian Alliance.

Among other Lithuanians were Myklos Šlaža, the former counsellor of the Klaipėda Governor's Office and author of a dictionary; Artūras Voska, a blacksmith from the Nauja-

pieviai village in the Pagėgiai (Pogegen) County; Hermanas Vitešas (Herman Witesch), a farmer from the Vyžiai Parish. The latter two had spent two years in the camp before our arrival and were "old timers" in concentration camp life. They gave us much valuable advice.

M. Reizgys was transferred suddenly to the Maudhausen stone quarries and in the Spring of 1942 we learned that he was tortured to death.

In March 1942, Toleikis and Purvinas, weakened by hunger and scarcely able to move, were assigned to a squad in the stone quarries. They both died from hunger and exhaustion.

Molinas, a former stenographer of the Klaipėda District Diet and I were assigned to carry corpses of killed prisoners. One day upon leaving the building, he collapsed from hunger, a fellow prisoner and I carried him into the hospital where he died within a few days.

In the summer of 1942, Subaitis, a former security police official of the Pagėgiai county died in the camp; Eduardas Simaitis, the former President of the Klaipėda Directorate died of dysentery after a half year's imprisonment; Buntinas, a twenty-two year old Lithuanian from the Tilsit District died of tuberculosis. For a while we were both patients in the camp hospital.

In the spring of 1943, husky 43-year old Puodžius (Podszus), a farmer from Vanagai, was brought into the camp. He was assigned to the terrible "Klinker's Squad" working the stone quarries. In despair, after several weeks of hard labor, he flung himself against the electrically charged barbed wires and died.

Bonynas, a writer for Lithuanian papers in the Klaipėda District was arrested in the summer of 1939. He arrived in the camp a broken man and died shortly afterward, during my stay.

Alvinas Gailius, the former Chief of the Passport Division of the Governor's Office and later the Postmaster of Klaipėda, died from inhuman torture at the Dachau camp. Albertas Janušaitis (Januschat), a former member of the District Directorate, died at Stutthof. Many other patriots died in various other camps.

Among the survivors at the Oranienburg camp were Mykolas Šlaža, Hermanas Vitešas (who had spent six years in concentration camps), Vilius Mačiulaitis, Artūras Voska, A. Bruzdeilinas from Klaipėda, Skėrys from Rusnė (Russ) and O. Hofmanas from Smalininkai.

At the Dachau camp were Erdmanas Simonaitis (the former mayor of Klaipėda), Meir-

ūnas (a farmer from Skirvytelė) and Vilius Gailius. Mayor Simonaitis worked for a while in the Maudhausen stone quarries.

Mrs. Albrechtienė from Klaipėda was imprisoned in a women's concentration camp. Konstantinas Reižys, the former director of the "Sandėlis" concern was likewise imprisoned, but his fate is unknown to me.

There were several Lithuanians from Tilsit in the camp; Jokūbaitis, the former commander of the Lithuanian National Guardsmen at Tauragė; Vindžius, a merchant from Tilsit County (both survived); Klemas, a former counsellor of the Governor's Office, and Kalniškys, a teacher.

It may also be recalled that the entire Tilsit-born Jagomastas family was massacred by the Germans in Vilnius. Mr. Jagomastas was a prominent printer in Prussia during the national renaissance and very active in Tilsit. When the son enlisted in the Klaipėda Insurrection Forces, the father was treated shamefully. His home was constantly attacked and he was beaten on the streets. His soldier-student son could not go home, so eventually the family emigrated to Lithuania.

This is but a small list of victims of Nazi persecution. It is known that a great many farmers were imprisoned—allegedly for infractions of various economic regimentation rules, but in reality, for their pro-Lithuanian sympathies and their refusal to join Nazi gangs. In justice it must be said that many Germans remained loyal to the Lithuanian State and for that they suffered imprisonment and exile by the Nazis too.

The Second Issue of

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Subscription through the Lithuanian American Information Center, 233 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

Comparative Law, Ecclesiastical and Civil, in Lithuanian Concordat

161 pages. A study with historical notes by Rev. Dr. J. Prunskis. Published as a dissertation by the Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., 1945.

Russia's Foreign Trade and the Baltic Sea

A 51 page study by H. E. Ronimois recently published by Boreas Publishing Co., Ltd., London, dealing with the share of the Baltic Sea route in Russia's foreign trade.