

... 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

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The Tragic Anniversary

"HELSINKI, Finland, May 20, /1947/—Finnish fishermen here reported today that they had observed Russian fighter planes attack Estonian refugees who were trying to reach Sweden in small vessels across the Gulf of Finland.

"The fishermen maintained that they saw through their glasses Russian aircraft attack the refugees on Sunday morning and sink their boats."

/The New York Times, 21 May 1947, p. 2-L, col. 5./

The Hitler-Stalin Deal

History of the Soviet aggression against the Baltic States yields extraordinary material for illustrating the Soviet pattern of tactics and methods in achieving its political objectives. The more recent events in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary etc., are but a continuation of this story, staged in different "theaters."

The Soviet technique is ably disclosed in a well-documented book by Mr. August Rei, ex-President of Estonia and the Estonian Minister to the Kremlin in the crucial years 1939-1940. This work is entitled: "Have the Baltic Countries Voluntarily Renounced Their Freedom?" It appeared in Swedish in Stockholm on Christmas 1943, and in English in New York in the spring of 1944.

The abundant and convincing documentary proofs adduced by Mr. Rei show, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in the Soviet Union was an undisguised annexation, an act of violence directed against the will of the peoples concerned.

Their fate was determined in a secret deal between Stalin and Hitler, as a part of the so-called Russo-German "non-aggression and friendship pacts" signed in autumn 1939. Additional evidence is found in Hitler's declaration of war on Stalin and in the German Foreign Office's note of the same date (21 June 1941) to the Soviet Government.

According to these documents, "the spheres of interest were delineated between the partners": on 23 August 1939 Estonia and Latvia were "assigned" to the Soviet Union's sphere of influence, and a month later, on 28th September, Lithuania had to share the

same fate. The delivery of Lithuania to the Soviet Union was the first concession that the *Führer*, "with a heavy heart," had felt himself forced to make to the "endless exhortations" of the "Vozhd" of Russia. The secret report of the German Supreme Command, dated 11 June 1941 and released as a supplement to Hitler's proclamation to the German people, listed among the violations blamed on the Soviet Union the broken promise of Russia to employ not more than 70,000 men in the occupation of the Baltic States.

Stalin Takes Over

Having gained Hitler's permission and blessing for the annexation of the Baltic Republics, Stalin preferred to carry out his plan of predatory rapacity by a graduated series of complicated camouflage and stage setting. He calculated this procedure to be more profitable (witness his claims of "reparations" from the areas of Germany and Austria not occupied by the Red Army) than an outright forcible seizure attended by physical destruction of the wealth.

Immediately after the signing of the Russo-German pacts, Baltic Ministers of Foreign Affairs were summoned to the Kremlin at the end of September and in the early part of October 1939. Stalin tendered "mutual assistance pacts" to the three good neighbors of Russia who had proclaimed their neutrality in the German-initiated war with Poland and the Western Powers.

Stalin, Molotov and other spokesmen of the Kremlin Politburo solemnly promised the friendship of the Soviet Union in exchange for Russian naval and air bases at certain strategic points in the territories of the Baltic Republics, to be garrisoned and maintained by limited numbers of the Red Army troops. The rulers of Russia solemnly assured that the "mutual assistance pacts" were proposed in order to protect the neutrality of the Baltic States (wasn't Russia also a neutral—after taking her due share of the "non-existent Polish State?"), to avert by coordinated joint effort the common danger of being drawn into the

"imperialistic war waged by the Western capitalist powers." The Soviet Government undertook a "sacred obligation" to respect the independence, integrity and sovereignty of the Baltic States and their internal social and economic systems.

At the same time, the Russians made it unmistakably plain that a refusal would inevitably and promptly result in armed hostilities to be waged by the readied armed might of the Red Army, Navy and Air Force.

Because of the international situation in September and October 1939, the Baltic Governments had no choice in the matter. The crushing of a more powerful Poland was fresh in everybody's memory: an unequal war with the Russian giant would bring destruction and ruin for their peoples and countries.

The Baltic Governments yielded to the Russian threats softened by promises of friendship and non-intervention in internal affairs. The war in Central and Western Europe was bound to create new situations which would, eventually, enable the Baltic nations to regain their full freedom, provided that, meanwhile, they would escape physical destruction. The pacts were dutifully signed, and Russian garrisons and fleets moved in to the "leased" areas.

The Russian armed forces behaved rather well and kept to themselves—for a half year. Suddenly, in the middle of June 1940, simultaneously with the collapse of France, Russia served ultimatums: unresisted admittance of unlimited numbers of Soviet troops and the formation of "friendly governments" (a familiar phrase by June 1947?) was demanded, or . . .

The most important strategic points in all three of the Baltic States already were occupied by Russian garrisons, and armed resistance was impossible. Germany, the only large military power in the vicinity of Russia, was a staunch friend of Russia—the "fraternity" of Russian and German arms had been "cemented with blood" of the Poles, to cite Stalin.

A few hundred informed statesmen, including the President of Lithuania, fled abroad. The Russian avalanche of armed forces rolled in, bringing swarms of trained Communists,—Tito, Groza, Berman, Thorez, Pieck, Togliatti and Co. were obliged to mark time for a few more years. General Zhdanov, a member of the Politburo, took over the helm of Estonia. Deputy Commissars of Foreign Affairs, Vyshinsky and Dekanozov, arrived by planes to take charge of the liquidation of Latvia and Lithuania, respectively.

The Window Dressing

The occupation was over within a few days, by the time of the surrender of France and the fall of Paris. Puppet "governments" were formed. General elections were immediately announced, to be held on the same day in all three States. These were carried out in a manner which prompted the well informed American newspaper, *The New York Times*, to brand them "the filthiest and meanest of all elections," overshadowing by extreme cynicism even the notorious "folk's decisions" engineered by Hitler.

Only the candidates nominated by the Communist Party were allowed to be listed—one candidate for each constituency. All other candidates presented by petitions of the qualified voters, in compliance with the rigid election regulations in force at the time and acknowledged as legitimate by the hand-picked electoral commissions themselves, were disqualified at the last moment. All civil liberties were abrogated. All safeguards of honest voting and counting were summarily shorn away. Freedom of "electioneering" was confined to the only single-slate candidates, the Communists. Any counter-propaganda was made impossible—radio facilities were denied, all non-Communist press was suppressed. Threats were brazenly launched against those who might fail to "vote": their names would be entered in the lists of "public enemies," to be dealt with accordingly, and passports were to be rubber stamped "*Voted*" at the polls. Armed Communists, escorted by Red Army troops, raided homes to check the passports and the "*Voted*" stamps. Armed guards were posted at the polls. There was no secrecy of the ballot.

The Supervised Suicides

Not a single word was mentioned during the pre-election period that the new "People's Diets" would be ordered to proclaim Soviet Republics in the States concerned, and to request their incorporation in the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the most solemn declarations were made to the electorate by the "Premiers," "Commanders-in-Chief" and other quisling officials, citing the similar promises of Stalin and Molotov to the effect that the Baltic States would remain absolutely free, democratic, and independent.

Nevertheless, two days after the "elections," new slogans simultaneously appeared in the official press: "The bourgeois republics must be transformed into Soviet Republics and must join the Soviet Union."

Indeed, "Deputies of the People's Diets" received the texts of the "Parliamentary Resolutions" to that effect immediately after the sessions were called to order. The "deputies" had been forewarned that whoever dared to speak up against the resolution was to be summarily executed together with the members of his or her family.

That the described methods were applied presents undisputed evidence that the majority of the electors were opposed to both the sovietization and the incorporation, and that the Russian stage managers were well aware of that fact. The comedy of "elections" and "resolutions by acclamation" was arranged to present appearances to the gullible world opinion regarding the alleged voluntary surrender of their independence and freedom by the peoples of the Baltic States.

Fortunately, this attempt, the dress rehearsal before taking over Central and South-eastern Europe, was carried out in such a clumsy manner that the "voting percentages" of 99+ were prematurely announced by Moscow a full day ahead of the closing of the polls. Just like the Nazi criminals doomed at Nuremberg,

the Russians left intact the incriminating documentary evidence which enabled Mr. Rei to trace literally every step in the comedy of Soviet errors.

Furthermore, after the Russians were driven out in 1941, the official records left behind and testimony of the "deputies" and "election officials" established that not more than 16% of the intimidated qualified voters had actually cast their "ballots," and that the entire "results" were simply falsified in far-away Moscow.

International Verdict

A. de Lapradelle, authoritative expert on International Law, writing in a Swiss journal, *La Jeune Suisse* (19 February 1944), qualified these events in the following words:

"What can an election be under the conditions of a military occupation by a foreign power? Election Commissions, whose decisions were not appealable, had disqualified all the candidates with the exception of those named in the government slate, under the pretext of 'personal dishonesty' of the candidates or 'defectively formulated platforms.'

"The propaganda, the threats, and the military occupation do their work. Voting for the only list of candidates takes place. Safeguards of the integrity of the balloting and the honesty of the vote counting are removed. It is not difficult to conclude that these three parliaments were neither constitutional nor revolutionary—they only figured in consequence of the machinations of the occupying power.

"*Never before had an occupying power arranged general elections in an occupied country in order to create an elective parliament charged with the prescribed task of voting for the incorporation of their own country in the occupying one.* In order not to shock the world's opinion too severely, the Russian stage-management wanted that the Estonians, Latvians, and the Lithuanians should themselves go on record as petitioners for their admission into the Soviet Union.

"But if the elections, held under the conditions of a military occupation, were to have any validity from the internal political point of view, which obviously was not the case,—so they could lay no claim at all to having any validity, as an alleged plebiscite, from an international point of view. In order to attain such a label, the question of the surrender of the sovereignty and the proposal of incorporation in the Soviet Union should have been explicitly announced to the electorate before the elections. The platform of the government-sponsored party, however, did not suggest this eventuality by a single word.

"*The mode of action pursued by the Soviet Union bears the distinct mark of an infamous double-dealing. When it referred to the law in force and to keeping its forms, it offended the law even more flagrantly by prostituting its principles through violence. A silent annexation would have been a worthier undertaking.*"

In another passage, Mr. de Lapradelle characterized the Russian misdeed as "*a pliant and insidious manoeuvre, in which hypocrisy was brought to its utter limits.*"

It may be recalled that the Government of the United States likewise qualified the Russian actions as "predatory activities" by "devious processes" in a statement of policy dated 23 July 1940.

Forcible Pauperization and Terror

The behavior of the occupying authorities after the annexation was just as cynical—in a pattern becoming familiar after the recent events of "liberation" of Poland, Hungary, etc.

There was no longer any trace of individual or legal security. Every citizen each evening trembled for his safety and feared the night visitors, members of the NKVD, Russian political police. Once a person was led away into the darkness of night, his family was never able to ascertain the victim's fate or whereabouts. Mutilated corpses of the many persons who had vanished tracklessly, were later discovered in mass-graves at the places of execution. Within one year of Soviet rule, in Estonia 1,800, in Latvia 1,700, and in Lithuania about 3,000 men and women were executed in the most revolting manner. Dozens of freight cars found standing on the railroad sidings were crammed with bodies of hundreds of children who had been deliberately starved in locked cars—while their parents had been told that the children were taken for vacationing in summer camps. . . .

At the same time, Soviet radio broadcasts and the official press blatantly praised "the free and happy life" of the Baltic peoples under Soviet rule, which was lauded as one of the freest in the history of mankind.

In reality, however, workers and farmers became mute slaves. Their Communist masters were authorized, and did exercise the authority, to move this "human materiel" to new places of employment anywhere in Russia. 20 minutes' lateness in reporting for work was punished by terms of up to 8 years of "the loss of freedom" in labor gangs in Siberia, which meant certain death. Similar treatment was threatened to workers for "desertion of the job" or changing the kind of work without the government's permission. Trade unions were transformed into police organizations assigned the task of exhorting workers to an ever greater effort and supervising their political reliability.

There is small wonder that the Russian newcomers and native traitors were deeply hated by all. The spirit of opposition was keenest among the workers whose real wages and accustomed high living standards speedily sank. This lowering of the standards and of the purchasing power of workers' earnings was done purposely, in order to bring them down to the extremely low standards of Russia. However, the official propaganda blared forth the vainglorious praise of the great "achievements" of the Soviet government for

the benefit of workers. "Cultural missions" of semi-civilized Asiatic dependencies of Russia made frequent appearances in the Baltic States, and the official press boasted of bringing "culture" to the Baltic States—whose pre-war educational, agricultural, industrial and athletic standards were incomparably higher than in any part of Russia, and whose ratio of people with university education among the population was very high (Estonia was rated as possessing the highest per capita ratio in the world in relation to the numbers of its population).

Planned Extermination

The occupying authorities, particularly the NKVD, were aware of the nearly unanimous opposition of these cultured people, of all social classes, to the Russian conquerors. Therefore, they worked out plans for a systematic extermination of the indigenous population, for mass deportations—or "relocation."

According to the plan elaborated in the Kremlin in the autumn of 1940, nearly one-third (700,000 people) of the ethnic Lithuanian population was to be deported for dispersal in Siberia and the Arctic areas in June and July 1941, to be followed by deportations of another one-third of the population in the next stage. Beyond any doubt, the same lot was slated for the Latvians and Estonians: the infamous "Serov Order" was directed to the NKVD-NKGB branches in all three of the Baltic States and actual mass exiles were initiated simultaneously in all three countries, although no detailed plan of operations slated for the northern Baltics was found among the discarded files in Riga and Tallinn, where the Russians had more time to dispose of the secret files.

The plan was put into operation simultaneously in all three Baltic States, on the night of June 13 to 14, 1941, nine days before the Russo-German war. The scheme was effected on a large scale and at a forced tempo. About 61,000 Estonians, 34,000 Latvians, and 38,000 Lithuanians in all were exiled to prison camps in the wild and dismal Arctic districts of Russia.

The Insurrections

Life became unbearable under the Soviet yoke. A military conflict between Russia and Germany was hopefully, prayerfully anticipated as creating the only favorable situation for the Baltic nations to restore their liberty.

The latent spirit of insurrection, which had gained force and determination during the last week of the manhunts just before the Russo-German war broke out, burst into a series of open revolts. Although the men of the insurrection were short of arms, officer staffs and direction, they succeeded in saving many columns of prisoners and deportees and in driving away the Russians. In Lithuania, the capital cities of Vilnius and Kaunas were liberated by the insurrectionists two days before the arrival of the German vanguard forces.

Nazi Rule

The Germans came, posing as "liberators." The people were almost ready to forget their traditional ill feeling towards the Germans, but the Germans themselves discouraged the inhabitants. Quicker than snow melts under the spring sun, any feeling of relief and security with which the would-be "liberators" had been received, vanished. It gave place, in successive stages, to disappointment, contempt, and finally bitter hatred which increased, as German stupidity of attempting to instill "the fear" evolved.

It was clear that, in the event of a German victory, the Baltic peoples as other subjugated nations, would be transformed into rightless slaves, governed by Nazi overlords with the accustomed brutality of the "*Herrenvolk*."

The German Nazis were no less cruel, deceitful, and cynical than the Russian Communists. The people soon found out that there was no essential difference between German Nazism and Russian Communism: these were *twins of a different color*. Both were as tyrannical, as atrocious, as hostile to freedom, as brutal—in a word, as barbaric. The only "virtue" that both possessed in the same high degree was their military strength. Both were governed by fanatical and power-greedy men of violence, who ruthlessly sacrificed the lives and wealth of their subjects to their plans of conquering the world.

And then came a ray of hope—a ray of light: THE ATLANTIC CHARTER WAS PROCLAIMED BY LEADERS OF AMERICA AND ENGLAND! Immediately, underground resistance movements mushroomed. Eventually, the resistance movements were consolidated into national coalition bodies. National Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian underground resistance movements established some contact for co-ordination of their activities. When armed resistance was swiftly penalized by wholesale shootings and rasing of neighboring villages, all three Baltic independence movements decided to save as many lives as possible, to concentrate on passive resistance and sabotage of the German mobilization decrees and the war effort.

Mass Flights to Freedom

The Baltic peoples have experienced intimately both totalitarian regimes which had enslaved them. The Balts value human dignity and liberty—perhaps more than any other people. They knew that life is not worth living either under German Nazism or Russian Communism, if such rule be permanent in prospect. The mass flight which broke out in the summer of 1944 on the approach of another Soviet occupation, shows how deeply the Balts feared and despised the Russian conquerors.

In spite of the closing of the frontiers, road blocks, and severest punishment meted out by the German military, and in spite of the incalculable dangers,—

hundreds of thousands of men, women and children fled. They sailed small fishing boats (which were bombed and strafed by both German and Russian planes and men-of-war, as they are still today being bombed and strafed by naval craft and planes of the Russian "liberators") to Sweden and Finland. They pedaled, rode and walked on foot towards Western Germany to meet the advancing Allied troops. Had means of transport been available, other hundreds of thousands of Balts would have risked their lives and fled westward to face a harrowing and uncertain future, rather than stay, as rightless slaves, under Soviet rule. Unfortunately, nearly 100,000 refugees were cut off by the Red Army in East Prussia and Pomerania—and were moved eastward, to be heard from no more. . . .

A refugee who arrived in Sweden on 27 September 1946, after a frightful voyage in a fishing motor-schooner, said on landing: "I would make this nightmare of a voyage three times, rather than stay in Estonia."

It is hardly possible to describe in a more expressive way the feelings of the "Balts"—these three neighboring nationalities speaking three distinct tongues of the unrelated two (Aryan and Finno-Ugrian) groups of languages, yet firmly united into a single "Baltic" bloc of freedom fighters—towards the alien Soviet rule.

BALTIC HUMANITARIAN ASSOCIATION
Stockholm, Sweden.

"Liberation" -- And Life Thereafter . . .

The "Big Three" Declaration on Liberated Europe

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America . . . jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert . . . the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

. . . by processes which will enable the liberated peoples . . . to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the *Atlantic Charter*—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by aggressor nations.

. . . the three Governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state . . . where, in their judgment, conditions require, (a) to establish conditions of internal peace; (b) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples; (c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of Governments responsive to the will of the people; and (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections. . . .

When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European liberated state . . . make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measure necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the *Atlantic Charter*, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations and our determination to build in cooperation with other peace-

loving nations world order, under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and general well-being of all mankind.

JOSEPH V. STALIN
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

February 11, 1945 (at Yalta)

Note: In addition to this all-embracing joint undertaking, the "Big Three," at the same time, made specific declarations pertaining to Germany, Poland, Yugoslavia, Italo-Yugoslav and Italo-Austrian frontiers, also Yugoslav-Bulgarian and "South Eastern Europe" (Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece) relations. Austria was discussed separately at Teheran and Potsdam.

Looking at the map of Europe, one will see (a) the satellite states—Finland, Hungary, conceivably Slovakia and Albania; (b) the other 'liberated' non-satellite European peoples "who have been forcibly deprived" of their sovereign rights and self-government, LITHUANIA, LATVIA AND ESTONIA. Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Holland, Luxembourg and Norway were liberated from the Nazis but they had their recognized Governments at the time of this Declaration.

Consequently, the Baltic States were THE ONLY COUNTRIES to whom the all-embracing "DECLARATION ON LIBERATED EUROPE" was to apply. No perversion of logical calculation can change this deduction.

How is this "jointly undertaken responsibility" being actually carried out in Lithuania?

(a) "No Longer Was I Capable of Weeping" . . .*

Son, My Beloved Dove, my Treasure:

I wish so much that this letter should reach you. My Russian friend, let us call him Ivan, promised to

*Translation of an authentic letter received by the writer's son.

deliver it as far as the American zone in Germany, and I trust him to do so.

Ivan's family in K—— was suspected of collaborating with the Germans and all members of his family were murdered by the bolsheviks. I saw my own family murdered. Whenever Ivan comes to Lithuania and has a few hours off duty, we get together to pray and console each other.

My life is slowly drawing to its close. Night will fall shortly and I shall go home. My beloved son, each day I thank the Almighty for sparing you from the horror of bolshevism. No matter how you live, you are well off in comparison with our life here. You are a free man, living in a free country. . . . Here we are no longer human beings. We are numbers, the materiel shoved around and abused by our alien masters.

My son, the truth is as far from the bolshevik propaganda as the sun is from the earth. A sane man cannot view unmoved the tearing out of the heart of a cultured Christian country. Murderers, thieves, sadists and outcasts are the communist "elite." Such are our masters.

You recall the wide dugout we had built in our orchard during World War I? It saved us that time. This time? . . .

It was exactly 7 P.M. when the first Russian troops arrived at our farm on . . . That first group was well disciplined; there were no robberies and no abuse.

The real bolsheviks came the next day. I was sitting at the entrance of our dugout. The women were about to retire. A Russian, a Browning pistol in his hand, accompanied by a stranger who spoke Lithuanian, approached the dugout, looked inside and demanded that your sister Ona go with them. When she refused, they seized her by the arms and dragged her out. Her husband, Kostas, attempted to interfere. The Russian shot him in the head and Kostas died immediately. Ona shrieked "Father, Father, save me!"

I rose and signaled with the hand that they release my daughter.

Maybe the blood spattered man's dying gasps, maybe Ona's heart-rending cries saved her this time—she was released.

With fear in our hearts we crawled back into the dugout. Alas, a half hour later, a platoon of bolsheviks arrived. An officer ordered: "Everyone clear out from the dugout, or you will be blown up by a hand grenade." We crawled out, hands upraised. After a detailed search, the women were escorted into the farmhouse. A Red army trooper and I were told to bury the dead man. We buried poor Kostukas under the apple tree, while the officer watched. Our dugout was blown up.

I entered the farmhouse where the women were weeping convulsively and praying. Most of our neighbors came to our house. We learned that in the D—— family, the father, son Jonas and daughter Agutė were murdered, Julia managed to escape. In the G—— family, both sons were murdered. In the P—— family, their 13 year old daughter was slain. In the N——

family, the mother and both daughters were murdered and the father was pierced by a bayonet. Many of our neighbors were wounded. Only two families had no casualties.

Night fell. We were busy discussing our plight and caring for the injured. Suddenly five armed Russians entered the house. By flashlight they inspected each one of us. Two seized your sister Onutė, and, disregarding her cries for mercy, dragged her outside. I rose to defend her, but a blow on the head knocked me unconscious. When I regained consciousness, I was told that Onutė was criminally violated thrice, although it was evident that she was in the sixth month of pregnancy. That same night the bolsheviks raped seven more women and fatally bayoneted N's wife.

That night was worse than death. All faces were unrecognizable in the light of early dawn.

Morning brought no change. I was in bed nursed by two 14 year old girls, Kastutė P—— and Alenutė S——. The others sat about dejectedly. No one wept, no one slept and no one asked for food. Occasional rifle shots were heard in various parts of our village. The "liberators" were killing our cattle and fowl, and robbing our savings.

About 10 A.M. the door was violently flung open and a dozen Red Army men rushed into the cabin with rifles at the ready. Two of them seized my little nursemaids who piteously clung to my sleeves and shrieked in terror. Other soldiers picked out three other women, the rest pointed their rifles at the men folk and ordered us to sit quietly. The little girls and the women were dragged outside. The men were warned not to leave the house on threat of death. The men bowed their heads, stunned, shamed and utterly helpless.

The women were violated repeatedly. No longer resembling human beings they came back in the afternoon. The little girls were returned in the evening.

The same thing was repeated the next day. The girls were seized in the morning and brought back in the evening.

The two little innocents could not face the third day—they hanged themselves from the cherry tree near the *seklyčia*. The Russians told us later that such children were collected for the "amusement" of their officers—and that nearly always the girls committed suicide.

Four days passed in peace. On the fifth day, five bolsheviks came and tried to seize my poor Onutė. She was frantic. Seizing an axe she rushed at one of her attackers—the other shot her. The swearing Russians left.

I don't know how long I knelt before the crumpled body of my unfortunate child. I saw her brains gushing from her broken skull. *No longer was I capable of weeping.* . . . In the evening, old G—— helped me bury her. We buried her in the orchard beside her husband. I spend hours there daily. I am now all alone.

At present, four old men and two old women live

in our ancestral log cabin. All their families were murdered by the bolsheviks and their homes burned down.

My son, quite frequently I try to think. Whose hands will close my eyelids forever? Will my old bones rest in the beloved ancestral soil? Most of our neighbors were deprived of this last wish. Their bones will be claimed by the cold snow of Siberia. Our old priest, our teacher and his family, the manager of the co-operative, the O—— family, both D—— sisters, R—— the miller, both sons of J——, V's student son, S—— the mason—all were seized in the middle of the night and exiled. Only God knows where to. There is no news of them.

The most terrible death claimed Bronius G——, your former classmate. The Russians knew that he had been a Captain in the Lithuanian army in those former happy days. They seized him and dragged him to N's hay storage barn. We were all compelled to witness his death. He was tied to a post, naphtha was poured over him and he was set on fire. Poor Bronius tried to bear his martyrdom heroically. Finally, he emitted a shriek which made us cold and he slumped down. The bolsheviks permitted us to claim the charred body later. His poor mother suffered a stroke.

This is but a little part of what happened to us. I pray that the Almighty spare you from such "liberation," that He enlighten you so that in every communist you should recognize the bandit who murdered your only sister, your brother-in-law, your neighbors and your neighbors' children.

Your loving father

B. K.

(b) By a Lithuanian Doctor, a Red Army Officer

On March 10, 1945, Soviet tanks poured into X, a town in Pomorze, while the Germans kept firing from the outskirts.

The Russian tankmen soon abandoned their machines in the streets and invaded homes to pick up the best loot. Then the infantry swarmed in and general looting began. The soldiers smashed whatever they could not take along. Chairs, books, kitchenware and bedding flew out the windows.

The noise of firing was soon drowned by the screams of women who were brutally violated in their homes and chased in the streets, amid laughter and jeers of other passing troops. At one spot soldiers "passed" a partly naked unconscious woman from hand to hand. The surviving women hid in cellars, clothed in filthy rags, faces blackened to appear as old and as hideous as possible. But the Red Army was not particular about the looks and age. . . .

The Russians invaded the hospital where I worked as a slave doctor. They seized watches and articles of luxury from the bedridden patients. Several alleged "members of the medical personnel" came in the evening. After a percursor "inspection," they selected several women patients and ordered them brought to certain rooms. Several 16 and 18 year old scarlet fever

patients were raped there.

The conquerors marched on, leaving behind them murder, rape, looting and indiscriminate destruction. The daily scenes of unspeakable brutality and human suffering deadened the feelings of compassion among survivors.

I, too, became accustomed to watching the cruelty and bestiality.

Later, as a member of the "heroic army of liberation," I saw Red troopers machine gun a pasturing herd of cattle near Grosshasslow. At Pritzwalke, huge stockpiles of medicaments, evacuated from Berlin, were ransacked and scattered over dirty floors, although the divisional staff was short of medicines. Soldiers used freely the precious fish oil to soften their boots. One Russian wallowed through a pile of patented medicines asking: "Have you seen the sulfidine?"—the popular Soviet cure for venereal diseases. At Fürstenberg, the soldiers greedily cut out the fine leather from Messerschmidt planes—and ordered the prisoners to sew boots for them. Troopers tapped the ground with long wires, seeking hidden loot, quite frequently with success. The officers with silly grins, marching with ancient rapiers and spades looted from the museums—"walking canes." I saw a Red Army man drinking from a night pot. Another Red trooper, with his head deep in the bowl (of a water closet), strove to release water with his outstretched hand—swearing at the "unpractical fascist plumbing." I heard local inhabitants, Polish Kashubs, explain to the liberators that the Germans had taken everything. When the Russian persisted: "*A gdye to u vas ubornaya?*" (Where is your dressing room?)—the woman waved her arms and repeated: "*Zabrali Nyemtsy, vshystko Nyemtsy zabrali*" (The Germans took it, the Germans took everything). . . .

Such were the scenes of brutal reality. . . .

Enrolled in the Red Army

A few days after our liberation, all male slave laborers were detained and brought before a political officer. He questioned closely every one, particularly the intellectuals. Few men were released.

After my examination, I was permitted to go back to the hospital. Soon a soldier came and ordered me to collect all my belongings. I was brought back before the commissar. After another brief questioning, together with a group of men I was driven 20 km. on foot to a village near Danzig and locked in a cellar, where I had to wade in water because of the spring thaw and floods. Another questioning. A week later, we were driven back to the first town. Two days later, we marched 35 km. to Danzig. Several hundred men, including numerous Lithuanian survivors of the Stutthof Nazi concentration camp, were locked in the cellar of the bishop's residence. Another questioning,—and back to my old town.

There we transferred combustible munitions from car to car—war booty. Finally, we ourselves were loaded on the train. Taken off the train later, we marched to Stargard. Here the men were "sorted out."

Younger Lithuanians were drafted in the Red Army and immediately assigned to "storming units" (*shturmoviki*). I was also sent to the front, as Surgeon Class II.

For nearly a month we marked time on the Oder. Several times the troops were ordered to force passage across the Oder. Their attempts failed, due to lack of support from the southern flank. Many soldiers perished when the Germans released the Spandau Canal locks. Thousands drowned, including many Lithuanians.

I met numerous Lithuanians at the front. They had been drafted in Lithuania in 1944 and 1945. They told me that all men were ordered to register and, once they reported, few were released. The Lithuanians were dispersed throughout Russian units, although the Lithuanian Division was used to besiege Klaipėda and, later, Königsberg.

Finally, we crossed the Oder and smashed ahead 50 km. daily.

Homecoming of Russian PWs

We stopped at Hagenow, where liberated prisoners of war and displaced Soviet nationals from the American and British zones were concentrated. The ex-prisoners marched in orderly columns, by companies. The officers wore uniforms, epaulets, and personal items seized from the Germans. Some rode in automobiles.

When these men entered the reception area—the liberators tore off their epaulets and other insignia, seized their watches, binoculars, money etc. Officers and men were brusquely ordered: *Stanovis po chetyre!* (Line up in fours!)—and marched to special camps. Regardless of former rank, all men were assigned to potato peeling, latrine cleaning and other tasks, pending their screening.

When the questioning began, some Russian ex-PWs committed suicide by hanging and wrist slashing. Some were murdered at night—to silence their testimony against fellow prisoners who had accepted camp police and other tasks under the Nazis. The suicides were aware that none of the former prisoners released from Finland after the first Russo-Finnish War ever returned home. . . .

I learned that the Soviets treated every prisoner as a traitor. Individual stories were told. Captain Bankov, an able surgeon, was taken prisoner by the Germans in 1944, at a field hospital. He managed to escape and to make his way back to the Russian lines. Here he was degraded and sent to the front as an ordinary Private "*shturmovik*." Wounded twice in action, he completed his "atonement" and recovered his status as a surgeon. Major Maltsev, twice "Hero of the Soviet Union" and recipient of numerous decorations, was shot down with his plane in the vicinity of Berlin in 1944. He escaped to the British lines. When he came back in an automobile and bearing a handful of testimonial letters, he was arrested pending receipt of orders from Moscow. One Soviet officer, in an advanced stage of tuberculosis, was liberated by American troops. Three months later, he was returned to

his countrymen—who promptly locked him in the barracks together with healthy men.

Former members of the German units of Gen. Vlasov were sentenced to 20 years at hard labor. The Russians explained to me that the shooting "season" was over: labor manpower shortage demanded more hands.

Repatriation of Civilian DPs

Civilian DPs languished in "transitory camps" a long time. The first trainload of repatriates arriving from the Western zones was stopped by troops and thoroughly looted. Resisters were shot on the spot.

"Screening" by the NKVD involved repeated questioning, often 10 times. Thereafter the men were separated from the women and children. The diet—150 grams of bread and soup, coffee mornings and evenings. Children received no milk. Deaths were numerous. Kemėža, a Lithuanian circus actor, died thus at Witschtock.

The repatriates were told that they could not settle in the restricted zones—the 100 km. belts around Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, Minsk, Moscow, and Leningrad. The first permits to leave for the Soviet Union were granted in November 1945. Trains were escorted by strong guard detachments, 3 to 4 carloads of guards per train, because of armed attacks along the route. 70 persons were crammed into cars, and the repatriates received 200 grams of bread and 20 grams of German canned meat.

For a liter of denatured alcohol, I managed to gain permission to escort an echelon of repatriates, as a physician. The trip through Berlin took 2 days; from Fürstenberg to Posen 8 days. At X station I and a certain Ukrainian "skipped" the train and became freemen once more. I went to Pomorze, selling pieces of clothing in exchange for food.

Thousands of Lithuanian refugees overtaken in Pomerania, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and East Prussia were detained and thoroughly "screened." Old men were placed on trains, supposedly bound for Lithuania. Young men were drafted. Concentration points were established at Thorn and Graudenz, and reputedly at Minsk and Vilnius.

A great many Lithuanians were in hiding. The Poles treated them variously. Poles repatriated from Lithuania and settled around Goldap, Allenstein and Pomerania, were generally unfriendly. Local Poles, however, were much friendlier. The Polish police began registering the aliens in 1945. Soon thereafter the Russian NKVD units came to hunt for the Lithuanians listed by the Polish police. They even visited schools hunting for Lithuanian children. In one school, where a Lithuanian girl was enrolled, the teacher instructed other children not to look in the direction of their Lithuanian guest when the NKVD should come.

The Russians "combed" the countryside, county by county. Persons sheltering the refugees were threatened with imprisonment and fines. Attempts were made to enlist agents among the Lithuanians, but

these efforts failed.

A great blow to the security of the Lithuanians and Balts in Poland was struck when Russia offered an inducement to the Poles; for each surrendered "alien," the Soviets would release one Pole from Russia. This "price" induced the reluctant Poles to join in man-hunting. 1500 Lithuanians were recently detained around Stolp.

(c) The Liberation of Vilnius, As Told By a Polish Repatriate

The five or six days of fighting I spent in a bunker. It was not safe to speak Lithuanian inside the shelter—Polish speaking people voiced threats. Indeed, the Polish Underground Army looted Lithuanian homes and institutions, murdered about 150 Lithuanian civilians and police, and assaulted any one speaking Lithuanian.

The Polish Underground Army numbered more than 10,000 men, under orders to cooperate with the Red Army. The Poles opened fire on the retreating German troops, in turn evoking brutal reprisals. In the Žvėrynas suburb, the Germans rounded up civilians and drove them to a shelter underneath the Workers Sick Benefits Chest, on Gediminas Street. That shelter accommodated only several hundred people, but Germans crowded some four or five thousand people on the upper floors, exposing them to shell fire and stray bullets. A number of people were killed and wounded. It was disclosed later that 8 mines had been placed underneath the building. However, a stray grenade killed all four of the crew assigned to blow up the building, and the people survived. One of the guards explained that "The Führer had ordered the extermination of people of baser races."

My home on Suvalkai Street was invaded by an armed German soldier. He ordered me to leave, post haste. I ran out bare handed, and the building, with many other homes, went up in flames. German troops tossed hand grenades into several subterranean shelters, killing hundreds. One shelter, in Karoliškės, was saved by two natives who spoke German well: they sat at the entrance and, as demolition squads came near, they loudly conversed in German.

The fighting died down on July 13, 1944, and we emerged into daylight. The Russians were in the city. Fires were still smoldering. 60 to 70% of homes in the city's center lay in ruins. Some buildings retained walls but were burned out inside. The entire Basanavičius Street, one half of Vilnius Street, many homes on Gediminas Street, especially the hotels, were destroyed. A lone building survived on German Street. The Ghetto was wiped out—dynamited and set on fire before the fighting had begun. Nearly all churches survived intact. St. Theresa's Church, next to the Shrine of *Aušros Vartai* (*Ostra Brama*), lost one tower, St. Casimir's roof caved in, St. Catherine's lost a spire. The University buildings survived, with one exception. The passenger railway station building survived—and was destroyed a half year later, in February 1945, when two ammunition trains collided. In conse-

quence of that explosion, Vilnius lost nearly all window panes, doors were blown out, dress cabinets collapsed even in the suburbs (Verkai, Paberžė), about 1,500 persons lost their lives. The explosion caused more damage than several days' fighting.

Russian Behavior

The Russians deemed the city their "own country." The troops were ordered to refrain from destruction and looting. Nevertheless, wherever tenants were absent, the troops took their full share of loot. School buildings were converted into hospitals. Libraries suffered much: there was a shortage of rolling paper, but plenty of tobacco in the large plantations and warehouses of Vilnius.

Russian mine detection squads, with great diligence, "detected" and relieved people of their hidden gems and watches. Mines were left to lie until further attention.

Orders were pasted on the walls: all inhabitants were to return to their jobs. Offices were reopened on July 16th. Most of the central offices were soon brought to Vilnius. The personnel, however, underwent a radical change: only janitors retained their old "offices." All responsible posts were soon filled by Russians masquerading under assumed Lithuanian names. The official explanation was that these people had long lived in Russia and forgotten their ancestral language. Indeed, I met one official whose parents had been exiled in 1863: he was an ardent Communist but he spoke excellent Lithuanian. He told me that he would prefer to return back to Siberia—"there is more individual freedom than here."

On the heels of the Red Army came another invasion—the *myeshohniki*, the "bag people." Swarms of ragged Russians carrying burlap and linen bags came to beg and steal. When they filled their bags, they went back.

When the fighting was over, arrests began. The first mass detention netted the Polish Underground Army: officers were exiled to Kaluga, the rank and file—to south-eastern Russia. The Lithuanians were not much affected at first—except the former guerrillas of the Insurrection of June 1941. About 1,500 Jews reappeared from secret hiding places and farms where they had been protected by the Lithuanians. Jews were granted privileged rations, permitted to eat in the best restaurants, and placed in responsible posts in the "people's militia" (police). They showed extreme vindictiveness and, with their agents in each precinct, the revenge took a heavy toll.

The first victims of the screening of the administrative personnel were 6 students and 2 gardening experts of the Gardening School. In July 1944, the NKGB entered the grounds, locked all doors, placed guards outside the windows, and questioned every person from dawn to late night about "fascist organizations" during the Nazi occupation. At the end, the NKGB warned everyone to "keep their traps shut" about the investigation. In parting, the senior investigator removed the rings from the fingers of the woman di-

rector: "*A eto uzh nam prigoditsya*" (This may be useful to us).

The first questionnaires were distributed to the inhabitants in October 1944. Each contained some 30 questions: name your relatives and acquaintances in Western Europe, list your property in detail, membership in organizations, etc.

The wave of arrests began in Winter. A guard was left in the home of an arrested family: any one could enter the apartment, but not leave—until after an investigation, lasting several months. . . . Social calls became dangerous. One student called on a fellow student—after a few hours, he purchased his freedom for a liter of vodka. One of my friends entered an apartment and found several women lined up, under guard. He, too, was placed in the line, holding a portfolio with incriminating papers. He quietly dropped the portfolio and waited for an opportune moment. When the guard turned away, he struck him and, by the time the Russian recovered his senses, he was out the window.

Presently friends could meet only in the long queues before the stores, and in the churches. Churches were full. Nevertheless, my commissar warned me to keep away from the churches.

Since February 1945, I saw groups of 200-500 people being driven under armed guard. The traffic was stopped and passersby ordered to retreat into hallways and yards. The Lukiškės Prison was always jammed.

The detainees were questioned from 2 to 5 months. Thereafter followed the trial, "*zaочно*" (in absentia), that is, not in the presence of the prisoner. Terms of sentences—five to ten years at hard labor. Then followed the deportation.

I met a few people who were permitted to return to Vilnius from Siberia. I met others in Poland. When I asked one of them, an old friend, about the life in Siberia,—the man's face darkened. He said: "Don't ask, I'll say nothing"—and he shook my hand in farewell. They were more talkative in Poland. One had spent 19 months in Vorkuta's mines: 50 to 60% of each arriving "party" of prisoners died within the first two months. The unaccustomed Arctic climate doomed them, especially since their warm clothing was seized from them upon the arrival in that multi-million prison colony. One doctor, exiled to Kaluga, claimed that he had received "privileged status," better food. Nevertheless, several hours each day he car-

ried heavy timber over a distance of several miles, in addition to his services as a physician. Another doctor, who served his term in a camp near Arkhangelsk, also received privileged food and respected status. Nevertheless, the "privileged" man came home swollen from undernourishment.

Repatriation to Poland

Repatriation to Poland began in August 1944. At first, the movement was but a trickle—people were needed in the administration. Repatriation was intensified by February 1945, and slackened since the fall of 1945.

Repatriation was optional: persons of Polish race were free either to accept Soviet citizenship or move to Poland. The first repatriates were motivated by Polish patriotism, later—by fear of the reigning terror. Farmers and farmhands, including people who did not speak Polish, chose repatriation. Others hastened to marry Polish girls or men. However, when the repatriates were loaded on the trains, the NKVD boarded the flatcars to verify all passengers. Suspects were detained and taken off. The repatriates were offered a choice of destination: Krakow, Lublin, or Pomorze.

When the lucky ones reached Polish territory, beyond Grodno, there was a new examination of baggage and papers. People traveled on open flatcars, in severe cold. Each family was permitted to take along one ton of baggage—provided there was room enough—and single persons, 10 hundredweights. Gold, sewing machines and similar articles were banned.

My particular train escaped severe control: our "reception committee" carried ample stocks of vodka for the Russian officials, and the latter were hardly able to distinguish a machine from bedding by the time they began inspection. In some cases, however, people were ordered to unload all baggage, they were kept on the platform for two weeks, and their belongings were thoroughly ransacked and looted. Some trains were attacked by gangs of the armed Russian deserters.

War Against Fences

I would like to mention one curious fact: the Russian administration is combatting fences. From their dogmatic point of view, a fence represents delineation of private property and, consequently, cannot be tolerated in a State where all land is the people's property and its tiller cannot transfer it by will or sale.

Regarding The Transfer Of Title To Prussian Lithuania

(a) Protest by Lithuanian Aborigines

Members of the Executive Committee of the Council of Lithuania Minor, elected spokesmen for the Lithuanian aborigines of Prussia, meeting in Fulda, Germany, on the 15th January 1947, voice a protest against the annihilation of our people in Northern Prussia and its colonization by Russians.

Lithuania Minor, lying south of the Nemunas River (Niemen, Memel) and on both sides of the Prėglius (Pregel) River, for a millennium had been inhabited by a branch of the Lithuanian People, called Prussians. By the end of the XIII Century, German crusaders enslaved this beautiful Lithuanian country and attempted to annihilate its population. Nevertheless,

our national struggle persisted until recent times, despite the forcible measures of Germanization and brutality, particularly during the Hitler era. The Nazis changed Lithuanian place-names and brought German settlers to our country, while thousands of Lithuanian leaders were imprisoned and exterminated. These criminal activities were stopped only by the Allied Victory in the late war, and hundreds of Prussian Lithuanians, including signatories of this protest, were liberated from the Nazi KZ camps.

East Prussia was separated from Germany at the Potsdam Conference. Its Lithuanian section, designated "*Preussische Litauen*" by the German administration until recent decades, was assigned to Russian administration until the restoration of the sovereign rights of the enslaved peoples in the final peace settlement.

Nevertheless, we Prussian Lithuanians, the aborigines and lawful masters of our country, are prevented from returning to our ancestral lands, because of the Bolshevik terror and extermination of the indigenous population by starvation and deportations. Those few who had expressed a desire to return, were exiled to Siberia by the Russians, although two years had passed since the cessation of hostilities in our country. The exiled natives are replaced by Russian colonists from the interior of the Soviet Union, who are being settled with the Soviet Government's assistance. Our private possessions and properties are turned over to Russian colonists, together with our lands which had been inhabited and cultivated by our people.

Our beautiful country of amber, orchards and diligently tilled fields is now in the throes of hunger and poverty, and is being deliberately converted into a desert. Lithuanian and Germanized place-names are replaced by Russian names, and our fatherland is transformed into a Russian colony. At the same time, the country's legitimate masters and heirs must either slave for the Russians in Siberia or suffer poverty as burdensome "DP" wards of the Western Allies.

This Lithuanian-populated country, which could not be Germanized during the seven centuries of German rule, is now being Russified by the Soviets who had been entrusted only with a temporary administration. The newcomers are systematically attempting to change the face of our country by forcible measures.

In the absence of a legitimate administrative organ which could defend our vital interests in an international forum and represent us in the peace negotiations, we, the aborigines of Prussia, united into a Council of Lithuania Minor. As representatives and trustees of our people, who were displaced from their homes and driven into involuntary exile, WE PROTEST MOST EMPHATICALLY AGAINST THE RUSSIAN TREATMENT OF OUR BROTHERS, PARENTS, CHILDREN, AND OUR SOIL. We appeal to the Democratic World to hear the plaint of a people which is being cruelly annihilated.

We request:

1. That the extermination of the Lithuanian and other aboriginal inhabitants of Lithuania Minor be stopped;

2. That administration of Lithuania Minor be entrusted to a United Nations commission and that native Lithuanians be permitted to form their own Provisional Government, pending the fulfillment of the inhabitants' demand that their country be united with the Independent Lithuanian State;

3. That conditions be created enabling the natives of Lithuania Minor to return to their fatherland in an orderly manner, in peace and security;

4. That an opportunity be provided for the representatives of Lithuania Minor to voice their desires in the international negotiations affecting the destiny of their homeland.

In the name of Justice and Humanitarianism, we reiterate our plea to stop the extermination of our ancient and cultured People, which had played an important role in the history of Eastern Europe.

ERDMONAS SIMONAITIS, *Chairman*
ALBERTAS PUSKEPALAITIS, *Secretary*
(and other signatures)

(b) Declaration by the Polish Government-in-Exile

(Translation from Polish)

... The Government of Poland, as the legitimate representative of the Polish People which is presently deprived of the facilities of self-expression, deems it proper to define the position of Poland. ...

I. Permanent peace settlement in Europe ... is impossible in the absence of a political and economic consolidation of Central-Eastern Europe. There can be no permanent solution of the problem of Germany, until the States in the area of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania—presently under the actual domination of Soviet Russia—will have recovered their independence. ...

III. ... The Polish People expects that the peace conference will approve the delimitation of the Polish-German frontiers along the line of the Oder and Neisse. The lands lying East of that line, together with Danzig and East Prussia, must enter into territorial composition of the Polish State, with the exception of the *North-eastern section of East Prussia, which with (the cities of) Klaipėda and Tilžė (Tilsit) must be recognized to Lithuania.* ...

GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND.
London, 3rd March 1947.

(c) Division of Loot Between the Masters and Puppets—Polish-Soviet Frontier Delimitation

Przegląd Polski, of London, reprinted (April 1947) the article of Dr. Tadeusz Stark on "Geo-Demography of Poland," which described in considerable detail the new frontiers of a puppet Poland.

In view of the prevalent confusion regarding the actual lines of partition drawn by the Soviets across prostrate Poland, Lithuania and Germany, we quote that article in part.

"*The Northern Frontier*—from the mouth of Swinemünde, follows along the (Baltic) sea coast to the mouth of the Pasłęka (Passarge, Pasargė) River in Prussia. From that point, north of Braniewo (Braunsberg), the line runs across Stablack (Stablaukis) and Schonbruch, leaving Hawka (Wehlau, Vėluva) on the Russian side. The localities of Węgorbork (Angerburg, Ungurpilis) and Goldap (Geldupė) lie on the Polish side. Reaching the pre-war Polish boundary, the line thence continues along the old frontier to Trakiszki (Trakischken, Trakiškiai), leaving on the Polish side Przerosl (Peraslis) and Szypliszki (Cypliškės). The Braunsberg-Goldap line more or less par-

allels the railway line Elbing-Orneta-Licbark-Rastenburg-Lec-Lyck (Ełk).

"*The Eastern Frontier* may be divided into the following sectors: (1) *Trakiszki-Grodno (Trakiškiai-Gardinas)*, with the latter on the USSR side. It leaves on the Polish side: Smolany (Smalėnai), Sejny (Seinai), Giby (Gibai), Kalety (Kalėtai), Rudawka, Sopotkinie (Sapackinė), Hołynka, and Nowy Dwór (Naujadvaris). (2) *Grodno-Niemirów-on-the-Bug*, leaving on the Polish side: Sokółka, Białystok, and the railway line Białystok-Gródek (the border station), thence bends down to Narewka Mała, Hajnówka, Białowieża and Kamienniki to Czeremchy, thereafter following east of the railway line of Nurzec, reaching to Niemirów. The line leaves on the Russian side: Swisłocz, Szereszów, Kamieniec Litewski, Wierchocice, Wysokie Litewskie, and Wołczyn. . . ."

Why Britain's International Influence Declined . . . 1939-1947

(a) Viscount Halifax on December 5, 1939 (House of Lords):

"We have tried to improve our relations with Russia, but in doing so we had always maintained the position that *rights of third parties must remain intact and be unaffected by our negotiations*. Events have shown that the judgment and the instinct of His Majesty's Government in refusing agreement with the Soviet Government on the terms of Formulae covering cases of *indirect aggression on the Baltic States* were right. For it is now plain that these formulae might have been the cloak of ulterior designs. I have little doubt that the people of this country would *prefer to face difficulties and embarrassment rather than feel that we had compromised the honour of this country and the Commonwealth on such issues*."

/Speeches on Foreign Policy by Viscount Halifax, pp. 340-314/

(b) The Post-Churchillian Appeasement, House of Commons:

(1) U.S.S.R. Annexations—Oral Answers—House of Commons—10 February 1947:

"5. PROFESSOR SAVORY asked Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government have ever approved of the incorporation of *Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania* in the U.S.S.R.

MR. (HECTOR) McNEIL: No, Sir. His Majesty's Government *recognise* that the Baltic States have *de facto* been absorbed into the Soviet Union but have not recognised this *de jure*.

PROFESSOR SAVORY: Does not the right hon. Gentleman realise that *this annexation of three independent states is a flagrant violation of clause 2 of the Atlantic Charter*, in accordance with which no territory may be transferred without the free will and consent of the inhabitants concerned?

MR. PHILIPS PRICE: Would my right hon. Friend bear in mind that before 1918 these countries were part of Russia for nearly 200 years?

SIR PATRICK HANNON: Is the Minister aware of the immense contribution which this country made to the liberty of these three republics in days gone by and the number of institutions started there by the munificent help of this country, and is anything being done to preserve the condition of these institutions?

MR. McNEIL: The answer to all three parts of the question is, "Yes, Sir."

6. PROFESSOR SAVORY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government have approved the incorporation of *Sub-Carpathian Ukraine* in the U.S.S.R.; and, if not, whether any action has been taken in the matter.

MR. McNEIL: The transfer was effected under a treaty between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and *does not call either for approval or disapproval on the part of His Majesty's Government. No action has been taken in the matter nor is it proposed to take any.*

PROFESSOR SAVORY: Does not the right hon. Gentleman realise that this *annexation is inconsistent with the Anglo-Soviet Agreement* in accordance with which Russia renounced all territorial aggrandisement?

HON. MEMBERS: Answer.

/Hansard, Commons, vol. 433, No. 44, 10 Feb. 1947, cols. 5-6/

(2) Tannu Tuva (USSR)—Oral Answers—11 December 1946:

39. MR. DIGBY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what communication he has received from the Government of the U.S.S.R. about the *incorporation into the Soviet Union of the formerly independent State of Tannu Tuva*; and whether His Majesty's Government have recognised this incorporation or intend to do so.

MR. McNEIL: No communication has been received from the Government of the U.S.S.R. about the incorporation of Tannu-Tuva into the U.S.S.R. *The question of His Majesty's Government recognising this incorporation has consequently not arisen.*

/Hansard, Commons, 11 Dec. 1946, vol. 431, No. 22, col. 1148/

(3) Anglo-Soviet Treaty—5 March 1947:

6 and 7. PROFESSOR SAVORY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1) whether, on his forthcoming visit to Moscow, he will urge the inclusion in any amended treaty of Clauses 2 and 3 of the Atlantic Charter of 12th August, 1941, in accordance with which *no territorial changes shall take place that are not in accord with the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and that sovereign rights and self-government are to be restored to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them*; and

(2) whether, on his forthcoming visit to Moscow, he will urge the inclusion in any amended treaty of the two principles set forth in Article 5 of the Anglo-Soviet Agreement of 26th May, 1942, to the effect that the high contracting parties *will not seek territorial aggrandisement* for themselves nor interfere in the internal affairs of other States.

The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, MR. MAYHEW: I will bring the points raised in both Questions to the attention of my right hon. Friend.

PROFESSOR SAVORY: *Will the Government insist on pointing out that the three Baltic States—Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia—have never been given their rights, guaranteed to them under these agreements, and will it not be possible to restore their freedom and their independence?*

MR. MAYHEW: That is another question.

/Hansard, Commons, 5 March 1947, vol. 434, No. 61, cols. 458-9./

**(4) Lithuania (Independence)—
24 March 1947:**

6. PROFESSOR SAVORY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what reply he has sent to the telegram sent to him by the British subjects of Lithuanian descent on the occasion of Lithuania's Independence Day, 15th February, complaining that the Lithuanian people are still forced to live under foreign occupation and totally deprived of all those human rights in defence of which the war was fought; and whether he will inform the House that all efforts will be made at Moscow to help the Lithuanian people to recover their freedom and independence.

MR. MCNEIL: The telegram in question was intended to bring a resolution to the notice of my right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary. It is not usual to reply to such communications.

PROFESSOR SAVORY: But is anything going to be done in Moscow? Are the Government going to accept the secret agreement made between Ribbentrop and Molotov in 1939 in accordance with which these States were annexed? Is that not inconsistent with British honour?

MR. MCNEIL: Without commenting on the last assertion, I have no reason to believe that this subject will occur on the Moscow agenda.

MR. MCGOVERN: Is the Minister aware of the action of Lithuanians in Lanarkshire, Scotland, who engaged in a day's fast in protest against the terrible tragedy of Lithuania under Russian domination?

MR. MCNEIL: That was demonstrated by the telegram which has been referred to.

SIR PATRICK HANNON: May I ask the Minister of State if any steps will be taken to safeguard the future of the three little countries, including Lithuania, in the Baltic States which have been absorbed in recent times, and for the liberation of which this country took such risks and paid so much after the close of the first world war? Surely, we can have some answer?

VICE-ADMIRAL TAYLOR: May I ask whether His Majesty's Government are satisfied with the complete lack of independence of that country, and what steps they propose to take?

EARL WINTERTON: Does the right hon. Gentleman's answer—or his lack of answer—indicate that His Majesty's Government are not prepared at any time to discuss the matter raised by my hon. Friend which does to some extent concern the honour of this country?

MR. MCNEIL: His Majesty's Government have already made several statements to the House on this subject. If the hon. Gentleman has any precise points arising from this, perhaps he will be good enough to put down a Question.

MR. COCKS: Was not that country a part of the old Russian Empire?

PROFESSOR SAVORY: But she gave up by treaty the three Baltic States.

/Hansard, Commons, 24 March 1947, vol. 435, No. 74, cols. 828-830/

**(5) Parliamentary Debates
Baltic States (23 May 1947)**

2:42 p.m.

PROFESSOR SAVORY (Queen's University of Belfast): I am afraid my speech will be very factual and dull, on the question of foreign affairs. However, I think it is a matter which concerns this House. We have had the return of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from Moscow, after spending seven weeks there, and this is the time when this question, if it is to be raised at all, must be raised in this House, because it is not merely a question for the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but a question for individual Members of the House of Commons.

The first point I desire to establish is that His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility, in view of the incorporation of these three independent Baltic States in the Soviet Union. I appeal to three very important documents. The first, of course, is the Atlantic Charter of 14th August, 1941, which says, in Clause 2:

"The signatories desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned."

In Clause 3 of the Atlantic Charter they

"respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live . . ."

and they wish to see sovereign rights in self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Then again, we have the vitally important treaty of alliance between the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed on 26th May,

1942, in Article 5 of which we find:

"The high contracting parties . . . will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandisement for themselves, and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States."

We can surely all agree that those very important statements have been summarised and amplified in the Charter of the United Nations, because I find in Article 1:

"The purposes of the United Nations are: . . . to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace."

In Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations I find these words:

"Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

In the months preceding the pact of non-aggression signed between Germany and Russia on 23rd August, 1939, there were a large number of negotiations carried on between His Majesty's Government on the one hand and the Russian Government on the other, with a view to inducing Russia to join in the guarantee which we had given on 31st March to Poland, and afterwards gave to Rumania. These negotiations were extremely prolonged. In the very interesting life of Mr. Neville Chamberlain recently published, written by that great historian Keith-Feiling, we have had some interesting revelations, which show fully that if the negotiations broke down between His Majesty's Government and the Soviet Union it was on the question of the independence of these three Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

We already knew a good deal, because Lord Halifax had published a very interesting volume of his speeches which gave us a considerable amount of information on this subject. But at Nuremberg we had laid before us the sworn evidence of the legal adviser to the German Foreign Office, Frederick Gauss, giving the full terms of the secret protocol which was signed simultaneously with the published treaty of non-aggression on 23rd August, 1939:

"Russia and Germany agree that the northern frontier of Lithuania will automatically be established as the boundary of the spheres of interest of Germany and the U.S.S.R."

That was a sacrifice on behalf of Germany to Russia; who thus agreed to throw to the wolves the two Northern Baltic States of Estonia and Latvia. Subsequently, however, there was a second secret protocol signed between Russia and Germany on 28th September, 1939, from which we see that now Lithuania itself was to be sacrificed as it is stated:

"The territory of the Lithuanian State is included in the Soviet sphere of influence."

So those three Baltic States were finally handed over to the tender mercies of Russia, with the possible exception, however, of a small corner bordering on East Prussia. In exchange, Germany received the whole of the Polish district of Lublin and part of that of Warsaw. Mr. Frederick Gauss, legal adviser to the German Foreign Office, swore at Nuremberg on 15th March, 1946, a statement, only a very few extracts from which I will inflict on the House. He says:

"Agreement was reached quickly and without difficulty on the text of the German-Russian non-aggression pact, but in the preamble which I have prepared, Mr. von Ribbentrop had himself made insertions about the friendly relations between Germany and Russia to which M. Stalin objected with the remark that the Soviet Union, after being covered with buckets of filth—"

I beg you to excuse this expression, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, it is not mine, it is actually the words of M. Stalin—

"the Soviet Government, after being covered with buckets of filth by the National Socialist Government of Germany for six years, cannot suddenly come out with assurances of German-Russian friendship."

Consequently, Mr. Gauss says,

"the relevant parts of the preamble were then cancelled or altered."

I should like to call the attention of the House to the fact that on the very same day, 28th September, 1938, while Russia was taking over and virtually incorporating—which she finally carried out—these three independent Baltic states, she made a pact of mutual assistance with Estonia. Article 5 of the pact contains these words:

"The execution of the terms of the present pact shall not affect in any way the sovereign rights of the Contracting Parties, especially their economic systems and their State organisations." Russian troops, under various pretexts, advanced and occupied these three very lovable, very wonderful Baltic States—States with such marvellous history going back for thousands of years, made up of races like the Estonians, akin to the Finns, whose origin is lost in far antiquity, and the two magnificent Nordic races, not Slav, not German but purely Nordic breeds, the Latvians and Lithuanians.

I want to call the attention of the House to the fact that while Russia was making this unholy bargain with Germany she was still a Member of the League of Nations, and was bound by that most solemn pact. In fact, her representative had been present at Geneva on 3rd March, 1932, when the Assembly adopted the principles formulated by the French Prime Minister in his declaration of 10th December, 1931.

"that no encroachment on the territorial integrity, no attack on the political independence of a Member of the League of Nations committed in contempt of Article 10, could be recognised as valid and effective by the members of the League of Nations. The Assembly proclaimed the obligatory nature of the above-mentioned principles, and declared that the members of the League of Nations were bound not to recognise any situation, any treaty or any agreement which might be obtained by means contrary to the covenant of the League of Nations."

At the time when Russia was making these annexations she was bound by those most solemn declarations made at Geneva on 3rd March, 1932. The House will recollect that it was not until December 1939 that Russia was expelled from the League of Nations on account of her attack—I will not qualify that attack, because I want to remain very moderate in all my statements—on Finland.

It must never be forgotten that after the first great war Russia had most solemnly recognised the complete independence of those Baltic States. She had signed a treaty with Estonia on 2nd February, 1920, a corresponding treaty with Lithuania on 12th July, 1920, and finally with Latvia on 7th August, 1920. I have the text of these treaties, but they are very sim-

ilar, and I will only just inflict upon the House a short extract from this one, which is characteristic of all the others:

"Treaty between Russia and Lithuania signed at Moscow on 12th July 1920. 'As all peoples have the right of free self-determination, a right which includes complete separation from the State of which they form a part, Russia recognises without any reservation the independence and sovereignty of the Lithuanian State with all the legal consequences resulting from this recognition, and renounces for ever all sovereign rights over the Lithuanian Nation and its territory.'"

The treaty signed with Estonia on 2nd February, 1920, as I have said, is very similar, but I cannot refrain from reading this short passage:

"In consequence of the right of all peoples to self determination to the point of seceding completely from the State of which they form a part, a right proclaimed by the Socialist and Federal Russian Republic of the Soviets, Russia unreservedly recognises the independence and sovereignty of the State of Estonia. . . . From the fact that Estonia has belonged to Russia no obligation whatsoever towards Russia shall fall on the Estonian people and on their land."

Russian troops entered these three Baltic States in June, 1940. The first thing they did was to dissolve all three parliaments and hold new elections. How were those elections carried through? We have not to rely upon the reports of newspaper correspondents, because we have the trial which came before our own High Court. We have the judgment delivered in the High Court of Justice in the King's Bench on Friday, 25th January, 1946, by Mr. Justice Atkinson, in a shipping case turning on the question of whether the ships of Estonia had been legally confiscated or not. Sworn evidence was given before the judge which the judge accepted in his judgment in these terms. This is how he described the elections which took place:

"The candidates were all to be nominated by 9th July. There was one candidate for each constituency on the so-called 'working peoples' list.' There were many other nominations, in some cases three or four candidates were entered. After the time for nomination had expired a new decree was published requiring every candidate to present his political programme by two o'clock on the following day. All but four of the candidates managed to do that, but on the day following the newspapers published the decision of the Electoral Committee that every candidate except the 80 on the working peoples' list was declared disqualified."

The consequence was that there were 80 candidates for 80 seats, and those candidates were all declared to be elected by overwhelming majorities. The radio, under threats, exhorted the electors to go and vote, and even those who did not listen to the radio were brought to the polling booths and forcibly made to vote. Now, the Soviet Republic is always to be praised for its marvellous staff work; but, on this occasion, there was an unfortunate hitch because the *result* of these Baltic elections were *published*, by an unlucky oversight, *in the London Press before the count had been completed*. The elections in all three countries took place on 14th July and 15th July, 1940, but the *counting of votes was not to take place, and did not take place, until 17th July; however, on 15th July, the British Press reported that, for instance, in Lithuanian Parliament, 79 deputies had been elected, 80 per cent of whom belonged to the Communist Party. The elections, therefore, had all been carefully arranged beforehand, and were announced to the British Press.*

In fact the results were published in the London Press before the counting took place.

What has been the result of the Russian occupation? In Latvia, alone, the Soviet secret police imprisoned 6,000 people, executed 1,480 and deported 37,500. In Estonia it was worse, for 60,000 people were deported: husbands were separated from their wives, children separated from their parents, and, in the overwhelming number of cases, they have never been heard of since. Germany, on the 22nd June, 1941, declared war, drove out the Russians, occupied these Baltic States, and held them for three years. Consequently it was not until 1944 that the Russians again recaptured them, with similar results, except that *the people, thoroughly scared and frightened, profiting by the experience of the first war, fled across the border, and that is why it is necessary to deal with this difficult question of displaced persons.*

I would appeal to His Majesty's Government to show the utmost humanity in regard to the treatment of these people. I heard the other day of an authentic case. His Majesty's Government have fixed the age limit at 50. If one is over 50 one is supposed not to be a desirable person in this country. Now, a woman arrived here. She said, "I am 49 and my husband is 52, but I am in a far worse state of health, having suffered from the first Bolshevik invasion, than my husband, but because my husband is over 50 he is not allowed to join me." This unfortunate separation of husband and wife is very painful and very distressing. I admit that there must be a rule, but I would appeal to His Majesty's Government to deal in the most humane way they possibly can with these magnificent people. I heard from Manchester that 1,000 fine girls are working like slaves washing out and cleaning hospitals, and relieving the nurses who otherwise would have had to do this work, which is really not part of their job. Now, His Majesty's Government, in accordance with the reply given to me by the Under-Secretary of State here on 10th February, 1947, recognise that the Baltic States have *de facto* been absorbed into the Soviet Union, but they do not recognise this *de jure*. That is the position contained in the answer I have received from the Under-Secretary.

I appeal to His Majesty's Government to contrast their attitude with the attitude adopted by the United States of America. The United States have recognised this annexation neither *de facto* nor *de jure*. The diplomatic representatives of these States are enjoying in America all the privileges that His Majesty's Ambassador or any other diplomatic representative enjoys in America.

This is what Mr. Sumner Welles said on 23rd July, 1940, when he was acting-Secretary of State:

"During these past few days the devious processes whereunder the political independence and territorial integrity of the three small Baltic Republics—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbours have been rapidly drawing to their conclusion.

From the day when the peoples of these republics first gained their independence and democratic form of Government the people of the United States have watched their admirable progress in self-government with deep and sympathetic interest.

The policy of this Government is universally known. The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other sovereign State, however weak."

I would ask the representative of the Foreign Office to explain this difference between the noble attitude adopted by the United States Government and—I will not call it ignoble, because I do not want to say anything offensive—the less noble attitude followed by His Majesty's Government.

I have followed minutely all the references which have appeared in our papers to what has taken place in Moscow, and I have not heard—I may be wrong and I hope I am wrong—that this question was raised at all in Moscow. If it was not raised in Moscow surely *it is our duty here in the House of Commons to raise it and to let our views be known*. We may not be able to do very much. We may be compelled by physical force to accept a *fait accompli*, but I do feel it is a *point of honour* with us Members of the free British House of Commons to raise our protest on this very important matter.

In conclusion I only want to say that I wish my hon. Friend the Member for West Fife (Mr. Gallacher) were here, because I have a quotation from Lenin with which I desire to conclude my few remarks. This is taken from Lenin's collected works, Volume 12, page 13 where he says:

"If a small or weak nation is not accorded the right to decide the form of its political existence by a free vote—implying the complete withdrawal of the troops of the incorporating or merely strong nation—then the incorporation is an annexation, that is, an arbitrary appropriation of a foreign country, an act of violence. . . ."

No words better than those of Lenin himself can be used to characterise the annexation of these three independent Baltic States.

I wish to conclude on a personal note. I have been attacked by the Moscow radio and I want to say, therefore, that I have never said, either in this House or outside, any single word against Russia. On the contrary, I am an immense admirer of Russian literature and of the Russian people and have always gone out of my way to express our gratitude for the magnificent victories of the Russian Armies. Nevertheless, I am denounced by the Moscow radio as a Fascist, a reactionary and—can you believe it, Mr. Deputy-Speaker—as a warmonger—I, the most peaceable and peace-loving Member of this House.

Several Hon. Members rose. . . .

3:15 p.m.

MR. HOLLIS (Devizes): I am sure the House will not wish me to take up too much time so I will not attempt to repeat the sad and pathetic story which my hon. Friend the Member for the Queen's University of Belfast (Professor Savory) has just told. It is *one of the saddest stories in the world and these three republics are almost symbols of the kind of countries for which we fought the recent war. Their peoples have been crucified between two thieves*. Russian-Ger-

man friendship, a German victory or a Russian victory—each has led to greater suffering for them. The only practical question with which I will deal is whether we can do anything about it, and in this connection I would make three points. In the first place I would reinforce my hon. Friend's contention, and express the hope that the Under-Secretary will be able to reiterate the pledge which was previously given that there will be no *de jure* recognition of the Russian annexation of these territories. The reasons for that are two. First and most important, *the foreign policy of His Majesty's Government should not be based upon a lie*. To recognise this thing as *de jure* would be to recognise something which was not so in fact. The second reason is that at present Europe is divided into two parts. The picture of *Europe is very different from that of the United Nations to which we look forward*. We hope that one day there will be a chance of a better Europe.

I hope that these differences will not be ironed out by a policy of appeasement, and that we shall *reserve our right to bring up these points in the future*.

I would also reinforce the plea of my hon. Friend the Member for the Queen's University of Belfast (Professor Savory) that if we cannot do anything more at the moment for the citizens of these countries, we should treat them with the greatest consideration in connection with all questions concerning displaced persons. I have heard from the mouths of most responsible people that the position of the displaced persons from these Baltic countries is most unsatisfactory. I hope that there is still something the Government can do. I ask the Under-Secretary to explain just what is the meaning of the statement made by the Minister of State, in reply to a Question by my hon. Friend the Member for Moseley (Sir P. Hannon). My hon. Friend asked:

"Is the Minister aware of the immense contribution which this country made to the liberty of these three republics in days gone by and the number of institutions started there by the munificent help of this country, and is anything being done to preserve the condition of these institutions?"

The Minister stated in reply:

"The answer to all three parts of the question is, 'Yes, Sir.' —[OFFICIAL REPORT, 10th February, 1947; Vol. 433, c. 5.]

Apparently something is being done at the moment to preserve the condition of the institutions in the Baltic countries which have been started under British patronage. If that is so, it is most welcome. It is very important that the House should be told what the Government are finding it possible to do now, and with what success.

3:19 p.m.

MR. PAGET (Northampton): I do not think the long and highly contentious historical review of the hon. Member for the Queen's University of Belfast (Professor Savory) has been very useful, or has made any decent contribution to the business of this House. Everything he said happened before we accepted the Russians as our allies. We accepted them as our allies with full knowledge of everything which had happened, and, in these circumstances it is surely rather

indecent to dig up these ancient grievances. Heaven knows, we have sufficient reasons for quarreling with the Russians today. I believe there are substantial grounds for taking a very strong line with the Russians, and I have never concealed my opinion on that, but we do not strengthen our case by digging up from the past things we have so clearly condoned. It seems to me to be far too like the tactics of Hitler, when wishing to pick a quarrel with someone with whom he had been on the most friendly terms for a considerable time.

Having said that in regard to the historical background, I think we owe a debt of humanity to the displaced people in Europe. They are human material of the very highest quality. Everyone who has been to those camps has come back and said it is unbelievable how these people, in their appalling circumstances, have maintained not only decency, but a cultural life. Surely, these are the people who should be a beneficial addition to our population. I do not feel that any of us should be divided on that, but to *bring these Balts to this country, with the idea of showing the Russians what cads they are, is wrong*. That is no good reason for doing it. *The good reason for doing it is that the Balts are decent people whom we want here, and who can make a contribution to our civilisation.*

3:22 p.m.

SIR PATRICK HANNON (Birmingham, Moseley): I would like to support, briefly, the case which my hon. Friend the Member for the Queen's University of Belfast (Professor Savory) has put to the House. During the long time I have been here I do not think that I have ever heard a case put forward in such touching terms. I happen to have had some association with the Baltic States in the early stages of their evolution after the First World War. I visited them repeatedly, and I took a modest interest in the development of their economic schemes, in negotiating loans, and in assisting them in the development of their local interests and the agricultural methods which they introduced into their rural life. Before these States were absorbed in merciless fashion by the Russian Government I entertained for them the greatest respect. These three little States retained, in spite of the Russian tyranny exercised over them for centuries, a tradition, language, and patriotism which is rarely to be found in any other people. I am sorry that the hon. and learned Member for Northampton (Mr. Paget) seems to disregard lessons of history.

I remember making an appeal, in conjunction with a distinguished lady, Lady Muriel Paget, for books for the university of Dorpat in Estonia. The people of this country responded generously. Indicative of the way in which these three little States tried to re-establish their national culture, was the vigour with which their universities showed enthusiasm for the introduction of Western methods of research and vocational training. I think *it is the most pitiful thing in modern history that the British Government, which is based on principles of humanity, justice, and decency, should be associated with the de facto recognition of the absorption of these three States by Russia.*

It is one of the tragedies of our time. It is all the more pitiful when we realise what these three little States have accomplished in raising their national culture and economy to such a high level in the years between the two wars. I associate myself with the observation that there should be generous sympathy and understanding for these people who are scattered throughout Europe. But, at the same time, *we who have stood for freedom for all these years cannot acknowledge the tragedy which has been committed against these three States. We have an obligation to continue such representations as may be within the diplomatic opportunities of our time.*

3:25 p.m.

SIR ARTHUR SALTER (Oxford University): I want, in a few words, to endorse very strongly the appeal which has been made in regard to the treatment of these Balts among the displaced persons in our zone of Germany. I have visited them in their camps, and I cannot overstate the impression which was made on me as to the quality of these men and women. With nothing but tragedy in their past and, at the time when I went there, nothing but blank uncertainty for the future, they maintained their moral in a perfectly marvellous way. They had trained a first-class choir, were teaching their children without the aid of books or paper, and had built a place of worship. They maintained their moral with great skill, and an obvious desire to take any reasonable form of work which was allowed them. I make this appeal particularly because my impression was confirmed by everyone with whom I talked, and who had experience for years in Germany. It is particularly relevant at this moment, because we have a scheme for bringing some of them over here. It is a matter of taking more or less and of interpreting the arrangements and rules we have made. We want a little more elasticity, and I appeal to the Government to take more rather than less, particularly in such cases as the pathetic case quoted by my hon. Friend the Member for Queen's University (Professor Savory).

3:27 p.m.

MR. JULIUS SILVERMAN (Birmingham, Erdington): The historical survey by the hon. Member for Queen's University (Professor Savory) was one-sided and inaccurate. It endeavoured to convey the impression that these three Baltic republics, prior to 1939, were independent little Western democracies. Of course, they were nothing of the sort. Between the years 1920 and 1933, they perhaps bore some resemblance, though entirely superficial, to the democracies of the West. They had elections, and there was a certain amount of free criticism. In 1933 that vanished in all three republics, and historians may reflect why it was that all in the same year—the fateful year of 1933 when Hitler came to power in Germany—there was a *coup d'état* in each of these republics. Democracy was destroyed, and there was certainly no democracy there in 1939 or 1940. In each of these countries there was an immense gaol population for political prisoners. In Latvia, which I visited last summer, there were in 1940 somewhere about 2,000 or 3,000 political prisoners

out of a total population of 2,500,000.

MAJOR TUFTON BEAMISH (Lewes): How many are there now?

MR. SILVERMAN: About the same.

MAJOR BEAMISH: And how many are there in Siberia?

MR. SILVERMAN: According to the accounts of the hon. Member, the whole of the population have been sent to Siberia, or have fled. Believe me, Riga, and the cities of Latvia are full—

PROFESSOR SAVORY: Of Russian Mongols.

MR. SILVERMAN: I will deal with the point if hon. Members will allow me. I have had the disadvantage of having been to these countries, and of having seen. Probably I cannot speak with the same authority as hon. Members surveying the country from a thousand miles away.

It is true that there is not democracy there in the sense that we know it in the West—we cannot expect that after a revolution there would be liberal and democratic rights such as we appreciate in this country—but those countries are very far from being assimilated economically to the rest of the Soviet Union. I was interested to notice that it was the one place in the Soviet Union that I visited where there were still private shopkeepers. Somewhere about 30 per cent of the trade in Riga was done by small shopkeepers. The countryside is still run by individual farmers. There has been a land distribution. The land of Germans and collaborators has been distributed among the population there, and that has gained considerable support for the Government from the local peasantry. Not only that. There is another interesting point. A Latvian division fought with the Red Army during the war, a division about 30,000 strong. A large number of those men, of course, perished. That division is being built up at the present moment to an army corps of four divisions consisting entirely of Latvians. I suggest to hon. Members that a very good test of whether a country has got the support of its people is whether you can trust the people with arms. When this army corps is created the purely Russian part of the army will leave the country.

I am not suggesting that in a few days' visit to a country like Latvia it is possible for me or anybody else to get the political atmosphere, and find out exactly what the strength of the opposition is. Opposition there is. It is not allowed to express itself. I cannot say how strong it is. But my impression was that the majority of the population, certainly the overwhelming part of the industrial population, the workers, were behind the Government. I would remind the House that in 1905, the workers of Tallinn and Riga rose with the workers of Moscow and Leningrad in the revolution; and that applied in 1917. The Soviet republics of those States in 1919 were crushed, not by the resources of their own people but by the resources of German arms, and, General von Goltz marched into the country with, I believe, 11,000 German soldiers.

SIR P. HANNON: Would the hon. Gentleman allow me? Will he recollect that at the same time a British army saved the republic from extinction at that time?

MR. SILVERMAN: Yes, but the point about it is that von Goltz's troops crushed the Soviet revolution in that country. What is the position today so far as the state of those countries is concerned? It has been said by the hon. Member for Queen's University that the Americans have not recognised, *de facto*, the incorporation of those countries. I venture to disagree. I would refer him, not to what was said at Moscow, but to what was said at Potsdam, because at Potsdam there was an agreement which throws a great deal of light on subject. It is in relation to the incorporation of the city of Königsberg and the adjacent area into the Soviet Union. At the Conference, which included the Americans as well as the British,

"the proposal of the Soviet Government was agreed concerning the ultimate transfer to the Soviet Union of the City of Königsberg and the area adjacent to it, subject to examination of the actual frontier."

PROFESSOR SAVORY: I would point out that Königsberg was the capital of East Prussia. Königsberg has nothing whatever to do with these Baltic States. At Potsdam it certainly was agreed that Königsberg should be handed over.

MR. SILVERMAN: Really, I am not entirely ignorant of the elementary facts of geography. What I am pointing out is that it clearly could not be intended that this little area of East Prussia should be delivered over as a disembodied entity to the territory of the U.S.S.R. without any contiguity to any other part of Soviet territory. The implication is inescapable. As this particular territory is adjacent to the Soviet territory of Lithuania, it implies the recognition of the Baltic States being Soviet. I do not see how one can escape that conclusion. It is true that the Soviet Union did not raise this point at the Peace Conference, for two reasons, in the first place, it said that these territories had been part of the Soviet Union before the Soviet Union came into the war. It was not prepared to discuss this territory and its being a part of the Soviet Union any more than we are prepared to discuss the status of India, or the Americans the status of the Philippines. In the second place, I suspect that the Soviet Union considered that this point should not be used as a bargaining counter against her in the sort of way that happens in these negotiations. None the less, I think she would have been wiser to come to this country and to America and to say frankly, "We want you to recognise that these territories are a part of the Soviet Union." There is no doubt, in view of what has happened, that at that time this country would have been prepared to do that.

There are some other things which I found about Latvians. Latvians in all Government positions, Latvian journalists and those in charge of factories want to know why the former Baltic Diplomats are given diplomatic privileges. That is a very small matter, but it creates a certain amount of friction and concern. Latvians want to know whether it is possible for them to have greater access to tell their D.P.'s what are the

conditions in Latvia at present. Those are small points with which I hope the Under-Secretary will deal.

3:38 p.m.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MR. MAYHEW): In the short time at my disposal I will do my best to reply to the numerous questions which have been raised.

MR. BOOTHBY: It is not a short time. We have three quarters of an hour.

MR. MAYHEW: I will leave aside the question of the next subject to be raised on the Adjournment. This is a hard Debate to which to give a reply. As the hon. Member for Queen's University (Professor Savory) said, he was registering a protest. He said that we may not be able to do very much about it, and that we may have to accept the *fait accompli*. He was not at all specific in his speech about where this Government were at fault or what he expected us to do. Adjournment Debates are mainly for the purpose of enabling a Minister to reply to criticisms of his work, to accept suggestions about what he ought to do, and to accept blame for what he has done. It is very hard for a British Minister, particularly a Minister of this Government of two years' duration, to reply to a very large proportion of what has been said in this Debate.

Perhaps I can explain our position best if I give an entirely uncoloured and unvarnished brief history of the events since 1940. At the beginning of that year these States were independent neutral countries. During the year they were accused by the Soviet Press of conspiring with certain other countries against the security of the U.S.S.R. In June of that year Soviet armed forces occupied the three countries. The existing Governments fell. Provisional governments took their place to draw up new electoral rolls and hold fresh elections. This was done. At the elections a single block of candidates fought. There were no opposition candidates. The result was therefore a foregone conclusion. The new governments elected made it their first task to send an appeal to Soviet Russia requesting incorporation—

MR. KENNETH LINDSAY (Combined English Universities): Is this an unvarnished account?

MR. MAYHEW: This is an entirely colourless, unvarnished account of events since 1940. These requests were granted in August, 1940. The arrangements for incorporation were carried out under the supervision of high Soviet officials, Marshal Zhdanov for Estonia, Mr. Vyshinsky for Latvia and Mr. Dekanozov for Lithuania, and the administrative pattern of these Baltic States was brought into relation with the administrative pattern of Soviet Russia. Widespread nationalisation measures were passed which had the incidental effect of eliminating British and foreign interests. His Majesty's Government subsequently made a general reservation of their right to claim compensation for damage to the British interests concerned.

Then, in 1941, the Germans launched their attack on Soviet Russia. They swept through the Baltic States and occupied them. It was not until 1944, that they were expelled and the Russian administration

took over. It was restored over practically the whole area. Since those times the Soviet administration have done their utmost to remove all traces of German occupation and to make those countries normally functioning constituent republics of Soviet Russia. That is a bald, uncoloured picture of a dramatic story which has many tragic features. The Soviet Press since then has contained statements by responsible Soviet authorities to the effect that the Baltic States are now incorporated permanently in Soviet Russia. They have made their views quite plain that this is a permanent matter, and that these States form part of the Soviet Union for ever. Similarly, they have established effective administrative control over these countries. No one on the other side has suggested that there is not effective administrative control over these States. That was begun seven years ago, and, with an interval, it has lasted seven years. There is no prospect at present of any change in that arrangement.

Therefore His Majesty's Government have recognised Soviet administration *de facto*. There is no other sensible course for us to take. We have simply got to take the facts as they are. It is no good thinking wishfully about it, as hon. Members opposite do. It is no good hiding our heads in the sand. The hon. Member for Queen's University constantly has his head in the sand. If I may say so, the deeper his head is in the sand, the louder, longer and better his speeches are.

MR. BOOTHBY: It is very good sand—better than Margate sand.

MR. MAYHEW: It is necessary for us to deal with these facts as we find them. We have not however recognised these countries *de jure*. I cannot give the undertaking asked for by the hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Hollis) that we will never recognise these countries *de jure*. No responsible Government would give an undertaking of that kind. But to go further than merely to ask for an assurance of no *de jure* recognition, and to suggest, as quixotic hon. Members do, including the hon. Member for the Queen's University, that we should, somehow, enforce the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and somehow restore independence to these countries as they formerly enjoyed it, seems to me a totally fantastic, unrealistic approach. Individuals like that cannot seriously have considered this matter in an ordinary, serious, responsible way, or else they have never been faced with the job of trying to build up and maintain *peaceable working relations between sovereign states in the 20th century*. Is it seriously suggested that we should make an attempt to restore the independence of these countries, contrary to the wishes of Soviet Russia? Is that seriously intended?

PROFESSOR SAVORY: If the hon. Gentleman is addressing the question to me, I should say *it is a question of honour* not to acquiesce in what is going on there at the present time.

MR. MAYHEW: That is an answer to a question I did not put. The question I put was, what does the hon. Member actually intend us to do about it? He has made a speech in his familiar tone of indignation,

but indignation does not make a foreign policy; however sincere you are, you need more than indignation if you are to face the facts of this problem, and I have not heard one single, sensible, responsible, constructive suggestion as to what His Majesty's Government are supposed to do about this problem.

There was reference to the deportations from the Baltic States. This is a good illustration. We were urged, somehow or other, to get the Soviet Union to stop deportations from the Baltic States or to return to the Baltic States those deported. I have not sufficient reliable evidence on this point, but even if the reports that came into London were all true, Soviet Russia would unquestionably regard it as a problem entirely for their own internal jurisdiction; they would unquestionably say that we had no right whatever for any official intervention, and I cannot conceive that making any kind of representations on this subject would have the slightest beneficial effect whatsoever. No one should or need or does think that the British Government are indifferent where questions of civil liberties are at stake. We care deeply about civil liberties, and in the conduct of foreign affairs in the past two years we have consistently acted in accordance with democratic principles and have shown our respect for civil liberties. We have to regard not only the truth of these reports about deportations, not only the justice and propriety of making representations about them, but what effect, if any, such representations would have if we made them. Might they not have just the reverse effect of what we want? My own view is that they would have no effect whatever, but if they had any, it would be a bad effect. It is easy enough to play the game of Palmerston from the Opposition benches, but a responsible government has to deal with this in a responsible way.

The question of the displaced persons was also touched upon the right hon. Member for Oxford University (Sir A. Salter) and the hon. Member for Devizes. I associate myself entirely with everything that the right hon. Gentleman the senior Burgess for Oxford University has said. Like him, I have been to see for myself the Baltic displaced persons camps in Germany. I bear out entirely what he says about the fine spirit and courage of the Baltic displaced persons in the camps. Also I pay tribute to the great work done in the camps by the British and U.N.R.R.A. officials there. I think we should realise the importance of the work that we have done and that we are still doing. He mentioned education and welfare. He did not mention the *Baltic University at Hamburg* for which we have given facilities. We agree that those people, who cannot go back to the Baltic States, should have what hope we can give. We want to help them to return to the Baltic States if they want to go; but in the past, and today, we have said that we shall not force them back contrary to their wishes.

In conclusion, I say we do realise that this is not only a political, but also a human problem. If I may say so, perhaps an enemy might say that the speech of the hon. Member for Queen's University contained

some signs of political prejudice; but I should say that when that had been subtracted there was a real sympathy for the people of the Baltic States. *We share that sympathy for the people of those states, and we are anxious and want to do all we can to help them.* There are two ways of showing sympathy. There is the practical way and the utterly unpractical way. We say we are going about it in the best possible way in the circumstances, and that to adopt the indignant, vigorous, protesting, I might almost say irresponsible attitude of the hon. Member for Queen's University does no good to the Baltic people, *no good to British interests in the Baltic States, and no good to British interests in Soviet Russia.*

MR. HOLLIS: What is the meaning of the very important statement which was made about everything being done to preserve the condition of these institutions?

MR. MAYHEW: Up to 1940 there were British institutions in the Baltic States. When the occupation took place they were taken over by the Soviet Government; the institutions were then run by British officials, who have since left. I understand they are now being cared for by the Soviet Government, but I cannot give any very specific assurance, other than that, without notice. 3:52 p.m.

MR. HAROLD MACMILLAN (Bromley): I should like an opportunity of asking the hon. Gentleman a question of some importance, and of making some comment on his speech, although I do not wish to hold up the following Debate. He assured us that it was not the intention of His Majesty's Government to alter their present views. As I understood it, he said His Majesty's Government would not give *de jure* recognition to the annexation of the three Baltic republics. May I have an assurance that they have no intention of changing that view, and that they would not change that view without some prior consultation with the House of Commons, or without some prior announcement to the House of Commons?

MR. MAYHEW: I think I stated the position in my speech; if not, I meant to. *We have taken no decision about de jure recognition.*

MR. MACMILLAN: May we have an assurance that no decision will be taken without some prior announcement to the House of Commons?

MAJOR TUFTON BEAMISH (Lewes): And an opportunity for Debate?

MR. MAYHEW: I think I am right in saying a *decision has to be taken, first, in consultation with the Dominions, and then by the Government.*

MR. MACMILLAN: Whether it is taken in consultation with the Dominions or the Government, may I have an assurance that the House of Commons will be given some prior opportunity, by means of Debate, before so great a change of policy is made?

MR. MAYHEW: I am inclined to think that in this matter the *Government have the right to take a decision first.*

MR. MACMILLAN: They certainly have the right, but I am not asking about the legal right—

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER (MAJOR MILNER) rose—

MR. MACMILLAN: Are we to have no answer to the Debate?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: As the right hon. Gentleman knows, the Minister gives what answer he thinks

proper. I have no authority over him. The right hon. Member has addressed certain questions to the Minister, and I think we must now proceed.

/Hansard, Commons, 23 May 1947, cols. 2767-2788, Vol. 437, No. 111/

The Situation Of The Church In Enslaved Lithuania

Moscow Boasts

The Information Bulletin of the Soviet Embassy in Washington (April 30), in its "Notes on Soviet Life," describes the alleged freedom of religion in Lithuania:

The position of the Roman Catholic Church in Soviet Lithuania was described in a recent statement by the Most Reverend Mgr. Reinis, Catholic Archbishop of Vilnius.

"The Catholic Church enjoys perfect freedom in Soviet Lithuania," he told a Tass correspondent. "The local authorities are assisting us in restoring and repairing churches destroyed by the German invaders, and supplying building materials. Our clergy are provided with all necessities.

"There are at present two archbishoprics in Lithuania," Mgr. Reinis went on to explain, "those of Vilnius and Kaunas. The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged. All 711 churches are functioning with their staffs of 1,332 clergy. The Kaunas Ecclesiastical Seminary, headed by the prominent theologian Ventskus, is graduating scores of young Catholic priests annually. Thousands of believers in Vilnius, Kaunas and other towns and villages gather as usual at Matins and Vespers. All established holidays are observed by the Church."

The Reality

Before the Russian aggression in 1940, there were 6 dioceses in Lithuania (Archbishoprics of Vilnius and Kaunas, Bishoprics of Kaišiadorys, Panevėžys, Telšiai and Vilkaviškis) and the Klaipėda-Memel Prelacy. Lithuania had three archbishops and seven bishops, including one for the armed forces. There were four theological seminaries (Vilnius, Kaunas, Telšiai and Vilkaviškis) with 850 divinity students. There were Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties in the Kaunas University, and a goodly number of private denominational high schools and other institutions of learning. A Catholic Academy of Arts and Sciences functioned and a Catholic University was in the process of formation. There were 800 parishes, with about 900 churches and chapels, 1,600 priests, and numerous convents, monasteries and congregations.

AND NOW? . . .

The Soviet Bulletin gives the latest statistics: "The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged . . . 711 churches . . . 1,332 clergy . . . The Kaunas Ecclesiastical Seminary . . . two archbishoprics."

The Soviet Embassy conveniently omits the information regarding the fate of the bishops (of whom only three are probably in the country), the three missing seminaries, 300 priests, and the introduction of *numerus clausus* for divinity students: 150 for a nation of three million. . . The following article by a prominent Catholic layman, a university professor who lived through both Russian occupations and is now a refugee in Germany, will demonstrate bolshevik

tactics in combatting religion.

Soviet Methods

Dr. Ladas Natkevičius, the late Lithuanian Minister to the Kremlin, was asked by Stalin in 1939, during the so-called "negotiations for a Mutual Assistance Pact," how great was the influence of the clergy in Lithuania. When he was told that the clergy of all Christian denominations enjoy great authority among the faithful, the Generalissimo thoughtfully remarked—"That is *very important to know*."

At the time the remark passed unnoticed. A Soviet invasion was not anticipated because of the frequently professed Soviet friendship for Lithuania and Lithuania's excellent record in discharging all treaty obligations.

But the significance of this remark was quite apparent when Justas Paleckis, the puppet "president of Soviet Lithuania," bade farewell to Dr. Hildebrandt, a noted German newspaperman. Paleckis told the departing German quite frankly that he had received instructions from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to apply no *direct* pressure on the clergy.

The Soviet regime always fought religion and its institutions, but its tactical methods were different during both occupations.

The First Occupation—Oppression at Full Tempo

Immediately after the first total occupation of the Baltic States in June 1940, uniform steps were applied by the three satraps of the Kremlin dispatched to liquidate the sovereign Republics: Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Dekanozov in Lithuania, Deputy-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyshinsky in Latvia and Politbureau member Zhdanov in Estonia. The Concordats with the Vatican were abruptly and unilaterally broken off and the Papal Nunzios were expelled.

Then followed the elimination of religion from public life. The Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties of the University of Lithuania at Kaunas were closed; all Catholic cultural, educational and social welfare organizations, newspapers and publishing concerns were abolished and their properties confiscated; teaching of religion was eliminated from schools; army, school, hospital and prison chaplains were summarily dismissed; crucifixes and other religious insignia were removed from schools, courts and public places and desecrated.

Then came the application of the nationalization decree: buildings, landholdings, workshops, libraries, private hospitals and schools, orphanages, kindergar-

tens and personal property owned by institutions and organizations of a religious character were sequestered. In nationalizing land, parishes were given only 3 hectares—although other landlords retained 30 hectares. Buildings owned by parishes and bishoprics, including episcopal residences and seminaries, libraries, printing shops, printed stocks of books were confiscated. Denominational grammar schools, high schools, orphanages, kindergartens and hospitals were converted into state institutions. The stocks of missals, hymnals, prayer-books, rosaries, religious pictures, and other religious articles found stored in book shops and retail stores were desecrated or destroyed.

The Soviets considered the clergy a separate "caste," antagonistic to the proletariat and, therefore, to be eliminated. The clergy as well as independent farmers (called '*kulaks*'), were oppressed economically; priests and "cult servants" were heavily taxed. For instance, a tolerated "proletarian" with a monthly income of 200 rubles paid 30 rubles monthly for living space assigned to him, while "cult servants" of the same income class paid 220 rubles monthly, and those with incomes of 350 rubles paid 388 rubles.

The Communist Party proposed to levy excessive license fees on churches, similar to motion picture house and cabaret assessments. The taxes depended on the size of the church. Such taxes were already imposed in the sections of Poland annexed to Russia—20,000 to 50,000 rubles. A commissar explained the policy to a pastor of a Lithuanian parish in eastern Lithuania which was annexed by Russia in 1939: "If you can't pay—close down your shop." Consequently, the churches were to be closed by degrees for non-payment of taxes.

The Party also passed a decision to convert the centrally located Garrison Church of Kaunas into a "Revolutionary Museum." The Museum of Church Art was liquidated and its exhibits, the antique vestments, were used by Red Army troopers to polish their boots.

All that was public anti-religious action. The other phase, shrouded in secrecy, was directed against individual members of the clergy.

The Party instructed its agents to disrupt the internal discipline of churchmen, to enlist agent-informers among the clergymen, to antagonize priests against each other or to compromise them. NKGB Major Gladkov issued a secret directive dated 21 October 1940, directed to all county security chiefs, to institute unbroken surveillance of priests, church employees, friars and nuns, and to enlist students of upper classes for espionage on the private lives of the clergymen. "Remember that some of the priests are not provided for materially and are wavering in their ideological outlook." The secret order of 21 January 1941 directed particular attention to individual discontent and antagonism among members of religious organizations: advantage should be taken of such incidents to disrupt the organizations.

After digesting the reports of weakness exhibited by some individual priests, People's Commissar of Justice, Pranas Pakarklis, a native traitor, offered attractive offices to a number of priests, on condition that

they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

The Russians initiated a campaign against religious traditions. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form "*Komso-mol*" (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "*Komsorg*." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's deputy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

the Tsarist Russian occupation. True to tradition, *resistance* against the anti-religious drive developed into a spontaneous and united movement. The defense of religion embraced even persons who had formerly neglected the church and seemed to be indifferent.

Churches were filled to capacity. A former female communist stated that the church was the only place where one could relax physically, without having to listen to the maddening bolshevik agitation.

Mass singing in churches became a new and precious experience—a plea for help from a persecuted and dying people.

On All Souls' night, the cemeteries were filled with people. The Lithuanians followed their ancient tradition, they paid respect to their dead without priests, regardless of the fury of the Party Militia which arrested many in their mad rage.

On Sundays, declared to be working days, everyone, including civil servants and school children, went to church, knowing full well the penalty. In Prienai, students reporting to school on All Souls' Day found a scribbled message tacked on the door: "Stalin's constitution grants freedom of conscience, therefore believers need not attend classes"—so all the students went to church. Numerous arrests and dismissals from school followed.

Public prayers were a custom during the school year. Now, just as soon as the teachers left the classrooms, they were again recited.

The bishops did not dismiss former chaplains from their duties. Unable to teach the doctrines of the Church in schools, the chaplains transferred their pastoral activities, after classes, into churches and sacristies. The chaplain of Alytus organized a Retreat on Good Friday. To prevent attendance, the Communist Party ordered the faculty of the school to organize an anti-religious lecture on that date and ordered all students to attend the mass-meeting. The teachers and a few pupils showed up. A teacher related afterward: "A little girl sat in front of me during the harrangue reading a booklet in her lap. I was curious and looked over her shoulder. It was the national religious classic of Lent songs—*Graudūs Verksmai*."

The ecclesiastic authorities did not dismiss the students of the seminaries. As some students dispersed, new idealists replaced them. Divinity students lived privately and attended lectures in churches, sacristies and private quarters. The NKVD made preparations to foreclose all private religious instruction, but the war intervened.

The first Russian occupation lasted one year. Pozdniakov's prophecy of the Soviet regime achieving within a two-three year period the results gained by the anti-religious campaign in Russia during 20 years, did not materialize, because of the spontaneous and determined resistance.

However, a heavy blow was delivered to religious life in Lithuania during the one year: 10% of the priests were eliminated, forcibly separated from their people. Of these, 15 priests were brutally tortured and murdered, 9 were exiled to Siberia. The majority

of laymen active in Catholic Action were either murdered or exiled to Siberia. 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Russia during that one lone year, and at least two-thirds of the number were Catholic Action members.

The Second Russian Occupation

As far back as 1942, Comrade Vyshinsky, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Liquidator of the Democratic Latvian State, admitted to a foreign statesman that bolshevik tactics in the Baltic States were based on an erroneous policy: the method of violence and compulsion had been a mistake.

In July 1944, the Russians again invaded the Baltic States. However, there was no change in their policy or methods regarding religion: they permitted no Catholic organizations, press or instruction of religion in schools.

The Salesian monastery at Skirsnemunė was encircled by the Red Army and all physically able friars were drafted into the Red Army.

Soon thereafter, the tactics regarding the clergy wavered. Soviet overlords attempted to maintain, to some extent, the propaganda thesis regarding the alleged existence of "freedom of religion" in the Soviet Union. Only one Catholic Seminary, of the former four, was left in Lithuania, but divinity students, as other university students, were exempt from military duty. The number of divinity students was sharply limited to 150—for a Catholic nation of three million—instead of the previous 850.

This measure represented a lull in the anti-religious drive: religion was to be eliminated by other means, by mass deportations of the faithful and their replacement by Communist Russians, so that, in the words of comrade Pozdniakov, the priests would find no employment for their vocation, no audience to listen to them. By effecting the primary aim of the Soviet regime—the liquidation of the Lithuanian people—the secondary aim, that of abolishing religion, would be simultaneously achieved. This explains the change in tactics, not the basic aim.

Furthermore, the new "party line" sought not merely to leave the clergy untouched, but to use them for political interests of bolshevism, as is done in Russia with the Orthodox clergy. In 1946 the NKVD encountered great difficulty with armed Lithuanian guerrilla operations. The NKVD decided to use the bishops and clergy to break the fighters' will to wage war. The Ministry of Interior (NKVD-MVD) demanded that the bishops publish pastoral letters and in sermons condemn the armed resistance and urge an end to it.

The alien regime attempted to attain two purposes: to enlist the clergy's aid to further its plans, and to drive a wedge between the clergy and the fighting nation. However, the plan was too obviously underlined with "red" threads, and the bishops declined to do the NKVD bidding. When the NKVD threatened with repressions, one bishop frankly told the satraps: "It is all the same to me whether I live five more years or less—I shall not soil the authority of the Church."

The Anti-Religious Drive Intensified

When the Church hierarchy refused to be drawn to the "party line," Russian tactics once more underwent a change and returned to the policy of outright oppression.

Half of the surviving bishops of Lithuania were arrested: Bishop Borisevičius of Telšiai, his Suffragan Bishop Ramanauskas, and Bishop Theophilus Matulionis of Kaišiadorys. The latter suffered his second martyrdom at the hands of the Russians: previously he had spent 12 years in Russian dungeons and slave labor camps until, in 1933, he was exchanged for a Soviet spy sentenced in Lithuania for subversive activities.

There are two versions regarding the fate of Bishop Borisevičius. Officially, he was sentenced to death. However, repatriated German prisoners of war state that they saw the bishop in a slave labor gang cutting timber in the Far East, together with several other Lithuanian Monsignori and priests.

The aged bishop of Vilkauskis, Antanas Karosas, is now living in Marijampolė, retired from active duties. Archbishop Karevičius died soon after the second Russian invasion. Archbishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski of Vilnius was repatriated to Poland to administer the sections of the Vilnius Archbishopric left in a reduced Poland. Archbishop Skvireckas, Metropolitan of Lithuania, together with Bishop Brizgys of Kaunas and Co-Adjutor Bishop Podolskis of Vilkauskis, are in exile in Western Europe. Bishop Mečys Reinys of Vilnius, according to a *Tass* bulletin, is said to be alive in Vilnius. There is no information whatsoever regarding Bishop Paltarokas of Panevėžys. Mgr. Juodaitis is administering the Bishopric of Telšiai.

If Bishop Paltarokas is still living, only two bishops remain in Lithuania—20% of the pre-war hierarchy. Of course, this does not prevent *Tass* from claiming that "The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged. . . ."

During the latter part of 1946, the Soviet press vilely attacked the Catholic Church and the clergy. Lithuanian priests were accused of supporting the guerrillas—"political bandits" and "Lithuanian-German nationalists." The NKVD instituted numerous prosecution processes against priests and gave the widest publicity to the charges. Priests were sentenced to 10 years in hard labor prisons and deported to Russia.

The terror, by the end of the year 1946, was greater than during the first occupation: 25 priests were murdered, 40 were sentenced to hard labor and deported, 150 priests are in hiding.

Through murders, imprisonment, deportations and exile, Lithuania has lost the services of at least 350 priests—that is, 22% of all priests in the country in 1940.

Bishop Ramanauskas of Telšiai went to the NKVD in Vilnius to inquire about the fate of his superior, Bishop Borisevičius. He was told that the Bishop was sentenced to death. He returned to Telšiai. He was arrested by the NKVD immediately after hold-

ing Holy Mass. With his hands tied behind his back, he was pushed into an auto, driven to the railroad station, and placed on board a train.

Bishop Matulionis was arrested in mid-December 1946. The old martyr bore himself with dignity and firmness. To warnings by well-wishers he replied: "I know the bolsheviks." He had ordained some divinity graduates December 9 and 12th, and appeared very weak. He was arrested a few days later for having issued a pastoral letter warning against the wiles of Komsomol.

Arrests of the clergy are more numerous after several visits to "Prime Minister" Gedvila to protest against limiting the number of divinity students to 150. The seminary's building is being requisitioned: its quarters in Marian Fathers' Charity Church are being turned over to Nurses School.

A favorite Russian method is to promote dissension. When Rev. Nagulevičius, pastor of Obeliai, was arrested, the NKVD lodged a suspended priest in the rectory. This "pastor" refused to admit the priest appointed by the bishop. The Chancellor of the diocese arrived to settle the matter, but the NKVD "pastor" refused to obey. When the Chancellor visited comrade Gailevičius, Adviser on Cult Affairs in Vilnius, the latter said: "At present the people rule. This is apparently the people's will, and we cannot help in this matter."

The NKVD is attempting to install its own "priests" and, eventually, to have a Church administration subservient to the NKVD. Thus far, only one apostate is known.

No priests are admitted to the Klaipėda-Memel District.

Congregations are being evicted from their quarters although, officially, the monasteries are not banned. St. Casimir's Sisters are still in possession at Pažaislis, and the Franciscan Fathers are still left in Kretinga.

Priests and Church property are heavily taxed. For instance, the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles, the Cathedral of Panevėžys 40,000, the small Church of St. Nicholas in Vilnius dating back to the 14th century, is taxed 16,000 rubles. The late Mgr. Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas who died in February 1947, was taxed 20,000 rubles. The figures become significant when it is realized that an average laborer earns 200 rubles a month.

Sidelights of Anti-Religious Drive

Religious practice is permitted inside the church only: Stalin's constitution grants "freedom of belief" and warrants the liberty of anti-religious propaganda. No religious texts, not even prayerbooks, are permitted to be published—"paper shortage" . . . On the other hand millions of vile pamphlets are printed.

Once more, uniformed sentinels and agents in mufti are ostentatiously posted at church doors. They look over every face and scribble notes in the "blocnotes." Attendance in church means dismissal from a responsible post in the government. Teachers attending religious services are denounced in the press as "persons of low morality." A high school director inquired of

the Ministry of Education whether he could attend religious services. The reply was: "As an individual—yes, as a State employee—No."

Churches in the cities are crowded. In rural areas—the churches are nearly vacant. This is because people are afraid to leave their homes because of robberies and thefts by the Russians and Party members. On Sundays, even uniformed soldiers and militiamen (police) are openly engaging in robberies.

A vigorous campaign against priests and the Vatican was instituted since December 1946. The Pope, the Vatican, and Christian morality and ways of life are vilely denounced. In 1947, the Vatican became the "cradle of international reaction": the button pressed in Moscow echoes everywhere under the Russian occupation.

Translators immediately put out literature in the Lithuanian language. *Tiesa*, the official organ of the Communist Party and "government," in its #43 issue denounced the institution of Papacy as a partner of imperialists and exploiters: "The Pope was partner of the gangs of Teutonic crusaders," "During World War II, the Pope supported Hitler, the worst enemy of the Lithuanian people," "the clergy are the worst exploiters and enemies of the people."

Christian morality is also abused but "bolshevik morality" (?) is praised. For instance, *Bolševikiniu Keliu* (On the Bolshevik Path, No. 6/12) of 28 February 1947 wrote:

"The working people of a socialist country are creating their own new morality, basically differing from religious morality. Our morality is based on the struggle for Communism. . . . Morality is the means for destroying the exploiting society and uniting the working people around the proletariat which is forming a new Communist society. Hatred for the oppressors and enslavers . . . these are the wonderful peculiarities of our morality."

Certainly, a remarkable resemblance to Nazi "morality". . . .

The people of Lithuania entertain no illusions: the publicity drive against religion presages a new wave of arrests and deportations and purges. Indeed, since February 1947 mass dismissals from State employment—and every concern is a State concern—began.

The Lithuanian people met the second anti-religious drive with passive resistance, just as during the first occupation. The "purges" are met with heroic stoicism. Churches remain filled with the faithful, regardless of the "friendly reminders" by Communist overlords to avoid the "inconveniences" and "hardships." Religious conferences for school children go on in churches, and the Komsomol is boycotted. Anti-religious "lectures" are attended only under compulsion. Teachers support the Komsomol only under direct pressure. *Tiesa*, the Soviet official mouthpiece, voiced its concern (12 February 1947):

"Komsomol meetings in the II Gymnasium of Šiauliai are infrequent. The Komsomol youths' attendance is deficient—a recent meeting was attended by only 5 members out of 13. We asked comrade Baravykaitė,

a Komsomol girl, why her sister did not attend. She blushed, did not dare to speak, finally she admitted: 'She is afraid.'

"—What do you mean, afraid?"

"In the 4th Class there are 2 Komsomol members, but the influence of the reactionary Catholic clergy is very strong among the students of that class. The girls attend church and classes in religion arranged by the priests. Only members of the Komsomol do not attend, and they are persecuted for this reason.

"Reactionary Catholic clergymen built a strong nest in the II Gymnasium. They send out invitations to attend church where religion is taught to students. The teachers could not be unaware of this, yet they do nothing about it."

The Soviet mouthpiece recommended the purging of the teaching staff.

The Lithuanian People may suffer long martyrdom for Christianity. Nevertheless, they are encouraged by the sharpening ideological exchanges reflected in the Soviet press. They continue to sing with unfathomable emotion their classic religious hymn:

"Marija, Marija, skaisčiausia Lelija . . .
Palengvink vergiją, pagelbėk žmonijai,
Išgelbėk nuo priešo baisaus . . .

"Oh, Mary, Mary, most immaculate Lily . . .
Ease enslavement, help humanity,
Save from the terrible enemy . . ."

If this struggle lasts much longer and the Lithuanians and the other Baltic peoples do not receive help from those who guaranteed to nations and to individuals freedom of worship, then the Baltic peoples will be exterminated. Only their unshakable loyalty to their religious convictions and to liberty, will remain as an example; perhaps to some, more sensitive souls—as a qualm of conscience.

What is taking place in Lithuania and the other Baltic States today is only a reproduction in miniature of the great ideological conflict which is shaking the world: the conflict of religion against anti-religion; a continuation of the conflict of democracy and freedom against totalitarianism and moral and physical slavery. As Mr. Alexander Clifford says in his very significant article in the continental edition of the "Daily Mail" (May 7, 1947): "Make No Mistake, This Is War—A Holy War."

Priests Must Report the Names of Contributors

"Heavy taxes were levied on the Catholic churches in Lithuania by the Russians. The faithful might contribute the necessary sums, but contributing to a church is a risky business: persons contributing to a church and, at the same time, failing to "subscribe" generously to the 5-Year and other Russian loans—are deemed "people's enemies and traitors." The NKVD demanded that the priests report names of all contributors. The priests attempted to explain that collection plates are passed and no names are recorded. The NKVD retaliated by prosecuting the priests for "failure to keep proper income accounts and expropriation of public funds." A number of churches in Vilnius and Kaunas are slated for closing for non-payment of taxes and for conversion into musea."

(MINTIS, Germany, No. 197), October 1946)

TO THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

At a time when mankind, after the most terrible war in its history, is attempting to re-establish peace, we consider it our duty to recall the monstrous crime perpetrated in June, 1940, against the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Peoples—lest the principles of Justice and Human Dignity be abandoned for false hopes of a lasting peace.

Profiting by Europe's confusion over the collapse of France, and in connivance with Nazi Germany, her ally of the hour, the USSR violated its most solemn pledges and treaty obligations, occupied Lithuania and the other Baltic States, and imposed on them Bolshevik regimes. Within the first few weeks of the occupation, thousands of persons were imprisoned under conditions which surpassed in horror the worst Nazi dungeons.

Moreover, one month after the invasion, the Lithuanian people, as well as the people of Latvia and Estonia, were ignominiously subjected to farcical "elections" to the "People's Diets" under a regime of terror, with a single slate of candidates named by the Deputy Commissars for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, acting through the Communist Party. The Muscovite satraps and their local satellites kept absolute silence as to the purpose of these "Diets," which was to "vote" for the incorporation of their countries into the USSR. The real mission was not openly disclosed until after the "elections" had taken place.

The course of events was swift. In Lithuania, the opening session of the "People's Diet" was held, quite appropriately, in a drama theater. The resolution petitioning for incorporation of the Republic of Lithuania into the USSR was "voted" by show of hands by the entire audience of non-deputies,—members of the Communist Party and Muscovite NKVD officials. The "vote" was ratified two weeks later by Moscow. Thereafter followed the imposition of a typical Soviet regime with all its horrors and demagoguery inconceivable in a modern civilized society.

Testimony of the former deputies to the "People's Diet" established that the Diet, "elected" under the known conditions more recently demonstrated in Yugoslavia, Poland, etc., would not have voted for the petition for annexation if the choice had been left to the deputies alone and submitted to a vote by secret ballot.

The profound disillusionment of the working masses, whose conditions of life grew worse by the hour, evoked a reaction from the occupying authorities. Fifty thousand Lithuanians were arrested and either murdered or deported to forced labor camps in Siberia.

When the Nazi-Soviet hostilities broke out on June 22, 1941, the Lithuanian underground fighters believed that the hour for emancipation had sounded. The people of Lithuania revolted against the foreign oppressors and, before the arrival of the German troops, formed a Provisional Government which proclaimed the restoration of an independent State.

The Nazis, however, likewise sought annexation. The Lithuanian Provisional Government was suppressed within a few weeks, and a severe regime of occupation was imposed upon our country. This meant a new period of martyrdom, humiliation, suffering, struggle, and sacrifices. Massacres, deportations, and manhunts for compulsory labor quotas were methods by which the Nazis sought to break the will of our People.

In July, 1944, Lithuania experienced its second "liberation" by the Red Army. Our population was decimated once more. Entire villages were rased and their inhabitants exterminated. Mobilization of all men from sixteen to sixty years was effected. After the termination of hostilities against Germany, arrests and deportations were resumed to facilitate colonization of our country by Russians brought from different parts of the Soviet Union. The survivors are subjugated, exploited, oppressed and terrorized.

Nevertheless, our people have given in the course of the war irrefutable proofs of its prudence, its love of peace, its moral dignity, its political maturity, and solidarity with good neighbors. Since the beginning of the war, the Lithuanian nation identified its cause with that of the Western Democracies and contributed its full share to the weakening of the German power and war economy.

Essentially, profoundly Christian, peaceful, industrious and democratic, our people ask only to be left in peace on the modest soil which had been inhabited by our race for thousands of years. Our people, imbued with the traditions of freedom and statehood, is today the object of unspeakable treatment at the hands of a member State of the United Nations, which pretends to be the only truly "democratic" Power, the only authentically "peaceful and inaggressive" nation.

May we remind the world opinion of certain facts.

During the period of the Nazi-Soviet connivance in rapacity and aggression against Poland, the Government of the Reich exercised strong pressure on Lithuania to persuade it to seize back from Poland our old historical capital, Vilnius, which for twenty years had been the object of litigation between the two countries. The Lithuanian Government categorically refused, basing its decision on the neutrality which it had proclaimed at the beginning of the war and which it was determined to observe loyally.

Immediately after the destruction of Poland by combined Nazi and Soviet arms, the Soviet Government in its turn exerted pressure on the Baltic States to make them accept "mutual assistance pacts" and Red Army garrisons on their soil. The Baltic States complied, thereby giving additional proof of their friendship for Russia and their confidence in the promises and the signature of the Soviet Government, which solemnly pledged itself to respect the independence of the three countries and their internal structures.

Since July 1941, Russia having become an involuntary Ally of the Western Democracies, the Soviet propaganda invented a new explanation accepted as plausible in some circles: Russia had occupied the Baltic

States for reasons of her own security, in anticipation of an attack by Hitlerite Germany. However, the continuing claims of the alleged validity of incorporation and the brutal regimes of occupation belie the wartime themes of Soviet propaganda. The Moscow Government continues to accumulate its crimes against the Lithuanian People and other Baltics.

The Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party had contributed much to the welfare of the Lithuanian People. It initiated, enacted and effected a great Agrarian Reform which re-established social justice in our agricultural country. Our party promoted Christian and democratic principles in the public and social life of the country. It actively participated in the international consultations of the political parties of Christian inspiration, thereby contributing to the reinforcement of a Christian order and democracy in the world.

In the name of this Party which enjoyed the confidence of the preponderant masses of our people, we address an urgent appeal to the Christian World:

BREAK YOUR SILENCE in the face of the continuing crimes, by action of the Soviet Union, perpetrated against Lithuania and many other victimized peoples. **RAISE, WITH US, YOUR ENERGETIC PROTESTS. DEMAND, WITH US, TRUE LIBERTY AND TRUE JUSTICE** for all peoples, regardless of their color or race.

If it is difficult for you to believe the disclosure of the numerous hypocrisies and machiavellinism of a government which claims that it gives happiness and freedom to 200,000,000 souls,—**RAISE A CORNER OF THE IRON CURTAIN** which encloses three fourths of Europe. You can do this by listening to the testimony of eye-witnesses and reading the abundant literature depicting the *Truth*, the horrors occurring daily in the Soviet "paradise" which seeks to expand itself over the five continents. If you are not numbed into insensitiveness, **RAISE YOUR VOICES WITH OURS**, and more effectively than ours, in your publications, your newspapers, your meetings, your fora of discussion, and your Parliaments.

YOU ARE YOUR "BROTHER'S KEEPERS." We ask your fraternal aid in the name of our Christian people, in the name of our Christian Baltic neighbors, in the name of all peoples which suffer as we do. **WE WANT TO REMAIN FREEMEN. DO NOT LET US PERISH BY YOUR SILENCE, FOR YOUR SILENCE WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO COMPLICITY IN THE CRIMES.** We count on you, our Christian brethren. We count on your Christian solidarity, on your sense of Justice.

We are not losing hope. We wish to prepare ourselves for a better future. By all means within our command, we are supporting our people, those Fighters for Freedom waging an armed struggle in the home country and those exiles scattered in all corners of what remains of a free Europe. Our youths study and work, encouraged by collective efforts of men of good will. In spite of the ravages of war and difficult conditions of life in voluntary exile, we operate trade

schools and universities. We are ready to work for the reconstruction of our country after liberation. With our people surviving in our country, we are ready, in the name of our martyrs, to forgive the crimes of our enslavers—and malefactors—if only they would let us be free and allow us to be masters of our own house.

WE DO NOT ASK FOR REPARATIONS, FOR VENGEANCE, OR FOR OTHER PEOPLES' TERRITORY. WE CLAIM ONLY LIBERTY, OUR GOD-GIVEN RIGHTS OF FREEMEN.

HELP US to recover our patrimony by your profoundly Christian and humane convictions. Help us to stem the tide of evil which is sweeping our country. Help us to reclaim and reassemble to the fold all those who have been driven out by armed force or by terror.

We are counting on you, fellow Christians, just as you will always be able to count on us—after our liberation. Our small Lithuanian nation, the easternmost outpost of Catholic Christianity in Europe, addresses to you in its distress this heart-rending cry:

HELP, DEMAND JUSTICE AND LIBERTY FOR A MARTYRED PEOPLE, YOUR FELLOW MEN.

(The Rev.) Prof. Mykolas Krupavičius
President of the Lithuanian Christian Democratic
Party and former Minister of Agriculture.

Eduardas Turauskas
Secretary General of the Lithuanian Christian
Democratic Party.

WRITTEN IN EXILE,
June 15, 1947.

LITHUANIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' APPEAL

In 1940, our country had its first taste of Soviet misrule, which lasted one terrible year, 15 June 1940—22 June 1941. Thereafter followed three long years of ruthless Nazi rule. A new Soviet occupation began in the summer of 1944.

Hostile armies, locked in mortal combat, twice swept across our country, leaving death and destruction in their wake. Presently, two years after V-E Day, the last vestiges of our former happiness and security are being liquidated by a ruthless invader.

We shall not speak of our devastated towns and villages, our ravaged fields, our ruined economy: we shall not speak of material losses.

We shall not complain of the endless misery, the cruel pangs of hunger, and the unbearable moral constraint the Lithuanian people have had to endure.

It is enough to say that we have been the object of vile Nazi and Soviet experiments.

The following figures will convey some idea of the appalling cruelty of the three successive occupations.

In the initial stages of the first Soviet occupation, prior to the institution of mass deportations, some 12,000 people were imprisoned or deported for forced labor to Russia. Another 400 died in the dungeons of bolshevik "chambers for investigation." In the last days of the occupation, June 14-22, 1941, on the express orders from Moscow, the NKVD machine

rounded up and deported 48,000 Lithuanians from all walks of life, including farmhands and industrial workers. Not less than one half of these deportees, including Aleksandras Stulginskis, former President of Lithuania and Speaker of the Constituent Diet, suffered martyrs' deaths in consequence of hunger, exposure, disease, and the inhuman conditions of Soviet slave camps. In its precipitate retreat from Lithuania upon the outbreak of the German-Soviet War and Lithuanian Insurrection, the NKVD massacred an additional 1,070 Lithuanians.

The Nazi invaders destroyed about 5,500 people, out of some 9,000 prisoners detained for political activities or economic sabotage of the German war effort; deported about 110,000 people as slave laborers to Germany; exterminated over 200,000 Lithuanian Jews; executed in reprisals some 2,400 persons in Lithuania, in some cases obliterating entire localities.

The second Soviet occupation, still under way, by far surpasses in cruelty and human losses the first. Since the summer of 1944, over 80,000 Lithuanians have passed through Russian prisons on their way for labor to Vorkuta in the Urals, to Arctic Russia for work in the primeval forests, or to Siberian tundras, from where there is no return. These are the "lost legions" of the Soviet Union, with whose bones the Soviet regime is paving the way to a "better future for mankind." These deportations deprived the Lithuanian people of the pick of its educated class, of thousands of former combatants of the underground anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet resistance movement, and of thousands of perfectly harmless people, beginning with the babes in arms and ending with venerable elders.

The Lithuanians fought the Nazi invader with a resolute determination for which few European nations can offer a parallel. And the fight against tyranny is continuing today, in an effort of our people to protect themselves from the excesses of an inhuman regime and to regain their lost freedom.

Such, briefly summarized, has been the toll exacted from our country in human lives, blood, and inconceivable moral and physical suffering. This bloody balance-sheet does not include those who lost their lives in the war, forcibly inducted in the armed forces of either invader.

These losses are excessively heavy, for a nation not fully three million strong. All the more so, as our casualties grow larger daily and no end to this state of affairs seems to be in sight. Never in its long history had the Lithuanian people been so sorely beset. We are facing an imminent danger of total extinction.

WHAT FOR?

IN THE NAME OF WHAT?

WILL THE WORLD'S CONSCIENCE REMAIN UNMOVED BY THE DYING CRIES OF INNOCENT VICTIMS OF RAPACITY AND AGGRESSION?

We know of no justifiable grounds for the aggression committed by the Soviets against our country and against our northern Baltic neighbors.

The Lithuanian people for a millennium had en-

joyed all the benefits of statehood. Since 1795, when our country fell prey to Russo-Prusso-Austrian conspiracy in aggression, our people waged an unrelenting fight for political emancipation and recovery of independence. Since the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, our people's struggle for freedom and democratic ways of life was largely influenced and led by the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party. That fight was brought to a successful close in 1918-1920. At that time, the Soviet Union unreservedly recognized, by the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, the reconstitution of an independent Lithuanian State and renounced, for all times, any claims upon our territory, our people, our right to lead an independent life. This policy was repeatedly reaffirmed in subsequent treaties. Soviet statesmen praised our oft-proven friendship and our meticulous performance of all of our treaty obligations. We never interfered with Soviet ways of life, and we remain true friends of the Russian people.

The Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1940 was an act of unprovoked, naked aggression, which was made possible by Hitler's secret deal with Stalin.

The Soviet allegation that the Lithuanian people had "joined" the Soviet Union of its own free will, is an unmitigated lie. This perverse lie is exposed to light by the tens of thousands of Lithuanians deported or imprisoned during the first Soviet occupation, tens of thousands of Lithuanians who fled westward in a desperate bid to save their lives, 27,000 Lithuanians who have died fighting as guerrillas against the Soviets, and 80,000 new Lithuanian deportees. These brutal statistics of oppression and resistance belie the Soviet propaganda.

The world recently benefited by its experience with Soviet practices in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary: the events demonstrated the means by which "friendly regimes" are created. Similarly, the course of the Polish elections was followed by the watchful eyes of Western observers who imposed a certain measure of restraint on Soviet coercion, and people West of the "Iron Curtain" should now be able to understand what had taken place in the Baltic States, behind the double Steel Curtain, during the recent "elections" to the Supreme Soviet.

Despite all their measures of coercion and falsification, the Soviet authorities themselves were forced into a reluctant admission that, in all of the Soviet Union, Lithuania gave the smallest percentage of voters.

What is the real significance of such a damning admission? What is the price which our country has to pay for such desperate resistance to the invader?

Ninety percent of the Lithuanian population is made up of small farmers, agricultural and industrial workers. The radical Agrarian Reform of 1920-1922 had ironed out the insignificant social distinctions which had then existed in consequence of the long Russian rule. Our nation displayed great ability and progressiveness in self-government, education, economic and social standards, protection of the working class. Our people proved its political maturity, the

understanding of democratic principles, and its loyalty to the principles of democracy even during the unhappy semi-authoritarian interlude, which had reflected the events and totalitarian tendencies in the large neighboring Powers. During the years of war and occupation, the entire Lithuanian nation, without any outstanding exceptions, oriented itself toward the Western Allies, the authors of the Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms, as the only possible source of help for its eventual liberation.

Our people continues to observe events and trends in the West, even in its present misfortune. When it looks about for models to follow in reshaping its life, our people looks to the West, and not to the East, and takes a very keen interest in the transformation of the social scene as well.

We are fighting Bolshevism not only as a Power which enslaved our country. The Bolshevik pseudo-Socialism in itself is unacceptable to us, because it strives to attain its aims by the use of violence and has made a slave of the working man, to whose welfare it is utterly indifferent. With what feelings can the Lithuanian worker regard the fact that the average worker's monthly wage is 350 rubles, while the price of a kilogram of butter is 200 and that of a suit of clothes 5,000 rubles—and that Communist Party officeholders are paid ten to twenty thousand rubles monthly? No such crass social contrasts were observed by the Lithuanian worker in the very hey-day of social reaction in our country's past.

We are determined to regain our liberty, even at the price of the heaviest sacrifices. Having secured the blessings of national and individual freedom for ourselves, we shall join the family of free nations to work with them for peace and harmony, for the advancement of humanity in general.

No one desires Peace as ardently as we do, who have lived through the torment of war and three successive hostile invasions. If many of us watch the efforts hitherto undertaken to establish a precarious peace with a certain dose of grim cynicism, it is because the potentates of the world are attempting to purchase armed "peace" by trampling us and our good Baltic neighbors under their feet, and by following the policy of appeasement and "spheres of influence," at the cost of our very existence.

Appeasement failed in dealing with Hitler, and is doomed to fail in dealing with Hitler's former partner in rapacity. A compromise peace, bought at the price of enslavement of an entire number of formerly free peoples, is no peace. Such peace, built on the bones of the innocent living and maintained by armed force and police regimes, could not last.

We are not impressed by the specious motive to the effect that "little interests" must be subordinated to the great. We consider our national and individual liberty and existence, and the liberty and existence of our neighbors, to be equivalent to the most vital interests of the great Powers. Tyrants succeed in enslaving people for a time, but they always fail in the long run. Man's eternal struggle for freedom will not be suppressed or subordinated,—the "little" people

will keep on fighting, and the people of the great Powers will eventually pay for the folly of their leaders whom they permitted to sacrifice human liberty and the principles of Justice. The principles of the Atlantic Charter, which had been repeatedly accepted and endorsed by the Government of the Soviet Union and which had sustained our people's and our neighbors' hopes and resistance under the Nazi occupation, must not be abandoned.

Our point of view will unquestionably find understanding among the membership of the fraternal Social Democratic parties and among all principled people. But understanding is not enough. International Social Democracy does not confine its aims of achieving liberty and happiness for the greatest number of people—to the boundaries of selected national political frontiers. Everywhere, always it fights for human dignity and liberty. Social Democracy cannot and must not acquiesce in acts of brutal aggression, enslavement, exploitation and oppression, no matter where they take place. Social Democracy cannot sacrifice its principles and the fate of entire nations merely to attain purely individual aims of its own.

For this reason, *we appeal to you for your effective aid.* We appeal to you *NOW* for the very cogent reason that the problem of the Baltic States is being studiously avoided and sidetracked at the various international "peace conferences."

We appeal to fellow Social Democrats and to all people of good will:

(1) That all be done in your power to prevail on your Governments to bring about the restoration of liberty and independence to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia;

(2) If the Soviet domineering in international conferences, prevailing at the present juncture, does not allow immediate settlement of the Baltic issue in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter,—that the attempted incorporation of the Baltic States be not sanctioned under any circumstances; and

(3) That action be taken to put a stop to the criminal atrocities now being perpetrated in the Baltic States by the Soviet occupational authorities, and that the people exiled to Russia be permitted to return without hindrance to their respective countries.

We beseech you to *lift your voices in defense of our just cause*, and to pass on our appeal to stir up public conscience, lest a most heinous injustice be consummated.

LITHUANIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S
DELEGATION ABROAD

TO FELLOW FREEMEN OF THE WORLD

The present undeserved misfortunes and sufferings of the Lithuanian people, now passing through a most ruthless process of dispersion and extermination, have given me, a former President of the Democratic Republic of Lithuania, the courage to take the bold and unusual step of directing an appeal to fellow freemen of the world, particularly to the American People, my

hosts.

Through no conceivable fault of its own, Lithuania has undergone in the past seven years three consecutive occupations, each more terrible than the preceding one, by alien totalitarian powers. The third and present occupation, which began in July 1944, transcends in severity and horror the two former occupations.

If the present situation behind the "Iron Curtain" be permitted to continue; if the civilized world will not raise its voice in protest and condemnation of the inhuman crimes now being perpetrated in occupied Lithuania and the other Baltic States; if the free nations will not currently take urgent measures to prevail upon the Soviets to withdraw from the Baltic States,—the Lithuanian nation, three million strong, will be stricken off the roll of free and sovereign nations, together with its sister nations of Latvia and Estonia, and the world community will lose forever its numerically small but unique three members—unique by virtue of their origin, their languages, their folklores, their popular arts, customs, and talents.

The Lithuanian people, composed for the most part of peaceful, law abiding agriculturists, has not merited either in its glorious past or the more immediate present such an indescribably horrid fate imposed upon it, and upon its good northern neighbors, by brute force.

In spite of the double Soviet "Iron Curtain," which separates the three Baltic States from the rest of the world, authentic and objective information continues to filter out and brand the Soviet policies in the occupied Baltic countries as insufferable and criminal. The following is a short summary of the more pertinent facts.

(1) In contravention of International Law, the Soviet authorities have drafted and continue to mobilize the country's manpower for military and compulsory labor services, despite Lithuania's neutral status and world-wide non-recognition of the country's incorporation in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, about 100,000 persons of both sexes, between fourteen and twenty years of age, were deported to the remote recesses of Russia, for labor and "re-education," in the course of the one single year of 1945. The deportations were continued in 1946 and 1947.

(2) The prisons and concentration camps are filled to overflowing. The conditions prevailing and the methods of examination employed by the alien masters are more reminiscent of mediaeval than of modern times. Ninety percent of all their inmates is composed of so-called political prisoners. After undergoing physical and mental torture for months on end, they are usually sentenced, without benefit of a public trial, to terms of from eight to fifteen years of forced labor in the infamous Soviet concentration camps in the Arctic.

The prisoners and the other Lithuanians seized for forcible deportation are transported in conditions defying description to concentration camps in the region of Vorkuta, not far from the Arctic Ocean. There they

are forced, despite the murderous and unaccustomed climate and the permanent state of starvation in which they are kept, to perform the very heaviest type of work in the newly opened and primitively equipped mines.

The Soviet concentration camps surpass in horrors and in the heavy toll of human lives the notorious Nazi camps of Buchenwald, Dachau and Auschwitz-Oswiecim.

During the first Soviet occupation (1940-1941), about 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Soviet concentration camps or to Siberia. Since July of 1944, that number has risen to several hundred thousands. Large numbers of Lithuanian intellectuals and educators, administrators and professionals, farmers and industrial workers, nearly all active members of the anti-Nazi underground resistance and people active in political, social, economic and cultural organizations are now starving in the region of Vorkuta and Siberia.

(3) Only a few years ago Lithuania enjoyed the envious admiration of its neighbors, friends and foes, by reason of the flourishing state of its national economy, prudent thrift, balanced budget and its rising standard of life. The unceasing depredations by successive invaders, back-breaking requisition levies, forcible sovietization and pauperization have presently reduced Lithuania to the verge of starvation. The farming population is weighted down by the oppressive burden of compulsory agricultural produce deliveries. Failure to meet delivery quotas is punished by confiscation of all property of the "kulaks," imprisonment of all members of the family and subsequent deportation to certain death. The Soviet periodicals are filled with wild denunciations of the "kulak saboteurs" and joy over the numerous sentences of "loss of personal freedom" for terms of years.

(4) In Western Germany and other European countries there are 80,000 Lithuanians who are unable to return to their occupied homeland. Death by famine or cold, these grisly concomitants of the Soviet prisons and concentration camps, awaits them with the grim relentlessness of doom if any should venture to heed UNRRA's prodding to "return home."

(5) The deportees are replaced in Lithuania by colonists from Russia. At first, the latter were settled in towns and cities, but lately they made their appearance even in the rural areas. By the systematic deportation and dispersal of Lithuanians throughout the Soviet Union and the importation of Russian settlers into Lithuania, the Soviets are putting into operation their plan for the extermination of the Lithuanian people. The number of Russians imported into Lithuania now totals 400,000.

(6) The Lithuanian people are deprived of their most elementary rights and liberties. The educational system, the press, and the administration are under the absolute control of alien Communists and a few native traitors. The people of Lithuania are forced to go through the motions of "voting" in the various Soviet "elections."

This appalling state of affairs is found not in an enemy country, but in neutral Lithuania whose loyal friendship was praised by Soviet leaders—who are still in power in Russia—throughout the two decades of peace and legal order.

The occupation of Lithuania in 1940 was the direct outcome of Soviet Russia's agreement with Nazi Germany. Having suffered many grievous wrongs at the hands of the Soviets in the course of the first occupation, the Lithuanian people refused to exchange one master, the Soviets, for another, the Nazis, when the latter invaded the country as alleged "liberators from Bolshevism." The Lithuanians resisted, with utmost vigor and no mean measure of success, the Nazi efforts to draw them into the war and to mobilize their youths for war against the Soviet Union. The Lithuanian people pinned all its trust in the promise of a better world held out in the Atlantic Charter, which had been proclaimed by the Western Democracies and signed by the Soviet Union as well. Unfortunately, the Government of the Soviet Union has calmly violated twenty-eight international treaties concluded with Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Poland and other countries—and its adherence to the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter brought no change.

I have lived through the Soviet occupation of Lithuania of 1940-1941 and the Nazi occupation of 1941-1944. On the basis of my personal experience and observations, I have arrived at the conclusion that the system of terror and oppression instituted by the Soviets surpassed by far any terror exercised by the Tsarist regime or the worst atrocities perpetrated by Nazi Germany. During the present occupation, Soviet terrorism has not fallen off in the slightest degree. On the contrary, the terror has increased and has attained such a degree of intensity that the Lithuanian people is confronted with a *very real threat of total extinction*.

I am far advanced in age. In the course of my long life, I wrote and fought for my country's freedom and independence, for democracy, for human rights and social justice. I have been detained in the Tsarist prisons, and I have been sentenced to banishment by the Nazis. Today a deadly peril overhangs my people for whose welfare and freedom I worked all my life. For the past five decades, I have been one of the leaders, elected by popular vote, of the vigorous movement of small landholders, farmhands and industrial workers,—of the Lithuanian Farmer Populist Party. Could I remain silent at a time when my fellow nationals and constituents are subjected to unprecedented slavery?

I appeal to all fellow freemen of the world, to all men of good will and democratic convictions: **SPEAK UP IN BEHALF OF FREEDOM!** Demand that the problem of liberation of Lithuania and its neighbors be brought up and discussed in the international forum. Demand that the Soviet occupation forces, both military and the Communist Party police apparatus, be withdrawn from Lithuania and other occupied countries. Demand that the United Nations Charter principles be honored in fact: insist that your Gov-

ernments intervene and dispatch a special international commission to determine the extent of the damage inflicted on the Baltic States by the invader and to investigate the crimes committed by Soviet Russian agents. Demand that all citizens of the Baltic States be released from Soviet prisons, concentration camps and other places of banishment. Demand that the Yalta Declaration to Liberated European Peoples be applied to the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

DR. KAZYS GRINIUS

Former President of the Republic of Lithuania.
Chicago, Ill.

TO THE WOMEN OF THE WORLD

We were not permitted to live for long a free and independent life in our own countries, where the gray Baltic Sea and the forests constantly murmured a reminder: "This is thine own, thy native land." We led peaceful lives and by our willing labor contributed to the welfare not only of our countries but of the whole world.

On August 23, 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union made an agreement to divide our countries between them. A month later, this pact was amended giving the Baltic lands to the Soviet Union alone. The Baltic countries were obliged to accept Soviet garrisons. Finally, after bringing preposterous charges against our countries, including the charge that a Baltic Entente had been formed,—which we had a perfect right to do in contributing our joint efforts to the maintenance of peace,—the Soviet Union occupied our countries in 1940—Lithuania on June 15, Latvia on June 17, Estonia on June 19.

It was the old case of the wolf and the lamb. The Baltic peoples could not defend themselves because there were strong Soviet garrisons within their gates, and along their frontiers were massed thousands of Soviet tanks, planes, and Red Army troops a hundred-fold more numerous than the combined strength of the three doomed countries.

In order to allay the fears of the violated people, the Bolshevik overlords repeated their promise not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Baltic States. But we learned quickly how much trust could be reposed in Bolshevik assurances.

The most brutal self-interest characterized all the actions of the Bolsheviks. We saw everywhere only shameless trickery and cynical mockery of all the values which make our world, while every patriotic Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian was dubbed an "enemy of the people" and mass banishments were instituted.

Thus the storm which overwhelmed Europe caught us, too, in its eddying backwash, and forced upon us events which we had neither wished nor sought and which brought us such misery as we had never experienced in our none too happy history.

The systematic, planned extermination of our people began, accompanied by the most cruel methods: mass arrests of our innocent people, mass deportations to the interior of the Soviet Union, while Soviet colonists replaced the victims on our soil. The exhausted

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trek of our brothers and sisters, slaves in far-off Siberia, echoes tragically in our ears. The East wind brings us the frightened, despairing and heart-breaking wails of our children, so pitilessly torn from their mothers: "Mother, Mother, where are you? . . ."

We, who were lucky enough to be able to flee from the resurgent Red Terror, are homeless, too, and deprived of our elementary rights.

We, women exiles of the Baltic lands, feel the terrible fate of our people even more deeply—if that is possible—than our men. And if the hearts of the statesmen of the world tolerate all that is happening before their eyes despite all the Charters and solemn declarations; if they allow all this inhumanity to continue; if the peace councils forget our tragedy,—we, the Baltic Women's Council, appeal to you, *the women of the world*, who have more sensitive compassion: commemorate with us the tragic seventh anniversary of the iniquitous and unjustifiable seizure of our countries. We are observing the 15th of June the *Baltic Day of Meditation*.

Sister Women of the World!

Join us in prayer, on that day or whenever our message will reach you. Beg the Almighty to restore to our countries their lost liberty and independence, to bring back our children from the tundras of Siberia, to save our fellow countrymen, now slaves of a foreign oppressor, from death which daily threatens them.

Please blaze abroad through your press the wrong that has been done and is being done to us. Please remind the forgetful world of our plight through your representatives in the Parliaments of your countries.

Please use your great influence with your statesmen, ask them to help us regain that which is the birthright of every human being: our native lands and elementary human rights.

When the time comes when we may again order our lives on truly democratic principles, we shall return to our homes without any prompting and will so gladly take up again the life of a free people.

The Presidium of the Baltic Women's Council:

Mall Jürma (Estonia)

Tekla Erdmanis (Latvia)

Marija Žilinskienė (Lithuania)

A PHENOMENON REPEATED TWICE BY "LIBERATED" FINNS

"Mr. William Teeling (Brighton): I am tempted to deal with every one of these Treaties, but perhaps it will be more appropriate if I confine myself to the subject of Finland, in view of the fact that I have just returned from there. . . .

"I am rather frightened, after the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Queen's University of Belfast (Professor Savory), to touch at all on historical matters. . . . Pola had evacuated something like 75,000 people. I would remind him that in Karelia there are just over 400,000 people, and that of that number of those given the option of staying under the new regime, or going into Finland, all have decided to do so with the exception of 17. I made inquiries as

to whether this was not exaggerated would go beyond saying that there might be 100 people left. What does that mean? It means that 400,000 people are going back into Finland, a country with a population of only some 3 million. For those, not only employment, but housing must be found. That is a point of complaint which the Finns might take up. But they are not complaining. . . .

" . . . We can, and should, admire the pluck and courage, even as an enemy, of an enemy who certainly, so far as we know, never did any really dirty tricks. I think Russia would feel the same. . . .

" . . . There is Article 6 by which our representatives will have to be responsible for seeing that Finland takes all measures necessary to secure to all persons under Finnish jurisdiction, without distinction of race, sex, language, or religion, enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the freedoms of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion, and of public meeting. It is, possibly, not known to all Members of this House that there is still in Finland a secret police force. The Parliament of Finland is very anxious about the position of that secret police force, which is employed by the Minister of the Interior. *The Parliament of Finland has actually gone so far as to withdraw funds from the Minister of the Interior for the secret police, in order to try to get rid of that force. Yet those secret police go on. Are they working for charity?* I do not know. How are we going to find out? What is to be done to get rid of the secret police? Because they are a danger to the country. The husband of a British employee was beaten up only the other day for a variety of reasons. . . ."

/Hansard, Commons, vol. 435, No. 78, 28 March 1947, cols. 1580-81/

Manpower Losses Disclosed

"Comrade M. Šumauskas, chairman of the State Planning Commission, reported to the VI session of the Supreme Soviet of the LSSR:

"The enemy destroyed our towns and villages, tortured and deported to slavery more than half a million inhabitants of Lithuania, caused grievous injuries to agriculture, ruined the country's industry. The sugar factory of Marijampolė, the largest metal foundries "Metalas" and "Pergalė" in Kaunas, the textile plants "Drobė" and "Bostonas", the footwear and rubber plants "Batas", "Gūma", "Inkaras", and many other establishments were entirely destroyed. . . .

"Serious damages were caused to the Republic's residential buildings and communal properties. Water supply systems of the large cities were destroyed. About 50% of the residential space of Vilnius was destroyed. Entire cities, like Raseiniai and Vilkaviškis, were blown off the map. The enemy destroyed or removed our entire automobile stocks, including more than 350 buses. The number of cattle, in comparison with 1941, was reduced 50%, planting areas 16%, fertility 22%."

(TIESA, No. 183/1017, 7 Aug. 1946)

P.S.—The Nazis had killed about 150,000 citizens of Lithuania and 80,000 are safe in Western Europe. Consequently, the rest of the "more than half a million inhabitants of Lithuania" were "tortured or deported to slavery" by the Soviets.

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