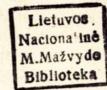
. . . Russia without any prejudice recognizes the self-rule and independence of the State of Lithuania with all the juridical consequences . . . and for all times renounces with good will all the sovereignty rights of Russia, which it has had in regard to the Lithuanian nation or territory.

> Peace Treaty with Russia Moscow, July 12, 1920



Roosevelt and Prime

Churchill:
1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement,

1. Their countries seek no age.

1. 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 August 14, 1941

# LITHUANIAN BULLETIN

233 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

Published by the Lithuanian American Council

Vol. VI

MARCH - APRIL, 1948

Nos. 3-4

# The Iron Curtain

By A MVD Frontier Guard Officer

## **Introductory Observations**

Since the erection of the famous Chinese Wall, countries prospered and declined, administrative frontiers shifted, but boundaries were more or less open to international traffic. Prior to 1914, only Russia and Turkey had maintained internal passport systems. Frontier controls and restrictive immigration measures were strengthened since World War I. Nevertheless, "Green Frontiers" remained open for human "hares" who were impelled to cross international lines illegally. Since then, however, a Soviet "Iron Curtain" descended to cut the huge landblock of Eurasia from other sections of the world.

In what respect does it differ from other state boundaries?

A stranger can hardly visualize the Soviet Iron Curtain. Indeed, the Russians themselves do not visualize this ominous Curtain—and those who had come in contact with it did not live to tell the story.

For about 100 miles, the real Iron Curtain (as distinguished from the "green frontier" Hamburg-Trieste line of the "spheres of influence" created by the late President Roosevelt and former Prime Minister Churchill for the convenience of "Stalinissimo" Stalin) corresponds with the state frontiers of Lithuania. Many Lithuanians since 1940 perished in an attempt to cross these frontiers. Some died by the hand of the narrator who had guarded the Lithuanian-German frontier in 1940 and 1941. In his own words, he guarded the frontier as he would "the pupil of his eye." He held his tommygun firmly while patrolling the line night and day, and he listened closely to the slightest motion from any direction.

The introduction of this novel Soviet system of frontier guarding coincided with the death of Kirov and the resurgence of interest in the NKVD's predecessor, the "Oprichniki" of the Grand Knyaz Ivan The Terrible of Muscovy.

It may be recalled that during the reign of that infamous tyrant in the neighboring Muscovy, the Lithuanians experienced for the first time the Muscovite system of genocide. In fact, the world simultaneously learned about genocide—not then known by its present name—from the very first European newspaper published in Latin in 1563. "Memorabilis et perinde stupenda de crudeli Moscovitarum Expeditione narratio" told the story of the Muscovite invasion of Lithuania, the seizure of "Polotzki, alias Pleskj (Lituaniae oppidum, quod sedecim miliaribus a desertis situm est)". According to that report, the Muscovites had chopped off the arms and legs of 20,000 inhabitants and later hanged them all. In another place, 52,000 women and children were disrobed, tethered by ropes and chains, and were driven into slavery.

In the face of the mass flights of Muscovite serfs into Lithuania and the efficiency of the Lithuanian intelligence service, Grand Knyaz Boris Godunov issued orders to seal the Muscovite-Lithuanian frontier: "not a bird or hare should cross it" in either direction. In all of the subsequent peace negotiations with Lithuania and Poland, the Muscovites stubbornly insisted on the surrender of the refugee Muscovite serfs. By the time of the final dismemberment of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, there had been 300,000 Muscovite fugitive serfs in the Commonwealth, "exclusive of their issue," according to Point 3 of the Russian note to Austria and Prussia dated 9 March 1793.

Upon the stabilization of the Soviet regime following the peace treaties with Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, illegal crossing of the Soviet frontier was made a felony punishable by death.

In 1935, the Soviet government decreed the formation of special NKVD regiments to guard the frontiers. Extraordinary powers were granted to these special units. Strictly secret regulations ("Statut") were issued, which are not known to the regular Soviet armed forces.

Specially qualified youths of 18 to 20 are selected for this duty. The recruits, all former members of the Komsomol (the Communist Youth), are assigned to special training schools where they undergo a thorough examination and surveillance by the NKVD. Only persons of "purely proletarian" stock, members of families which had at no time been subject to repressive measures, are eligible for the service. Candidates are at all times available, inasmuch as hungry kolkhoz inmates and half-starving factory hands are too anxious to enter this privileged service. Their uniform is likewise distinct and quite attractive—a green cap, dark green blouse, blue pants, long soft leather boots with spurs, and long felt coats. No ordinary Soviet Army unit can boast of such an attractive uniform made of good cloth. The ragged citizens of Russia can only admire such elegance. The rations are excellent.

These units are in a class by themselves in other respects, too. They have exclusive clubs, cinema houses, theaters, recreation centers and rest homes. The troopers are well paid. Service in the frontier guard corps is ballyhooed as an especially honorable patriotic service which heroically safeguards the sacred Soviet soil from lurking enemies. And the young Russians actually believe this propaganda.

The youths enter this service not out of fear but by choice. They gain a privileged status and are considered heroes.

Our narrator was one of these credulous youths—one of the many millions of Russians who blindly believed that the Soviet order is the best, that life in the Soviet Union compared with paradise. That is, before he saw the conditions of life in "liberated" Lithuania and in other "liberated" capitalist countries. He was devoted to the Soviet cause and knew why he was serving. In his words, the guardsman's every step was closely watched by alert eyes. Their 100% loyalty to Stalin must be unquestionable—or they would go somewhere from where there is no return.

The rest of the story is told by the Russian officer himself. He is presently safe this side of the Soviet Iron Curtain.

## 1. The Frontier Defense Corps

I was a Senior Lieutenant of the NKVD Frontier Guard Forces at the age of 20. Our regiment was divided into three battalions, and each battalion into four companies of 120-150 men. The companies were subdivided into platoons, and each platoon into squads of 12 men. A platoon with its commander and deputy numbered 50 men. Special "emergency relief" squads were formed in each company; these were under the direct orders of the Regimental Commander and operated as independent units. These "emergency relief" units were each commanded by a Captain or a Senior Lieutenant, while platoons were commanded by regular Lieutenants.

Generally speaking, disciplinary regulations and in-

ternal order in the Frontier Guard Corps are similar to Soviet Army regulations. Nevertheless, there are some distinctive features. For instance, all officers of the frontier guard units have their special individual orders and regulations which they alone know. Furthermore, all officers have to be members of the Communist Party.

General regulations are printed. All officers must carry the booklet on their persons at all times—but the privates are not aware of them. Loss of the regulations booklet means dishonorable discharge and prosecution by a Summary Court Martial. A trial, naturally, ends with a sentence to face a firing squad "for treason" or "for transferring the secret orders to an outsider." The secret instructions embrace not only specific military regulations but also detailed directives for dealing with "diversants," their questioning, organization of the Frontier Guard Corps, treatment of persons attempting to flee from the Soviet Union, etc.

## 2. Dogs in the NKVD Service

Few people outside the Soviet Union realize the important services rendered by dogs of the NKVD units. These dogs were imported from Germany on a mass scale during a dozen years prior to the late war. The dogs became one of the most reliable "pillars of the Soviet regime"—and I do not overstate the fact by any means.

Large dog training kennels and schools are operated by the NKVD in the larger Soviet cities—Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Rostov, etc. The school of Kiev is located in a place called "Pushcha Voditsa." Special NKVD schools are located near these dog training centers. Tens of thousands of these trained wolf-hounds and police dogs perform their "loyal and diligent service" in Stalin's empire, both in the interior and along the frontiers.

For interior service, these dogs are assigned to all NKVD units on a regional basis. Furthermore, the People's Militia—that is, the uniformed police—also have dogs. All of the numerous concentration camps of the Soviet Union have these bloodhounds and trained "flesh tearers." Quite frequently, these beasts are used inside the camps and prisons to "train" the victims among the prisoner personnel—to keep up the ferocious efficiency and blood lust of the dogs. A prisoner song is popular in all of Russia: "We tried to flee but grey dogs nabbed us." During the war, the dogs were assigned to many Red Army units "for special duty."

## 3. Dogs at the Front

These trained dogs performed most unusual missions at the front: they destroyed the most powerful German tanks. A box with explosives was tied to the dog's back. The box was equipped with a short magnetic antenna. When the "charged dog" leaped at the approaching tank, the explosion destroyed both the tank and the dog. These dogs were accustomed to

firing and explosions—they were trained under combat conditions for many months. They raced across the battlefield and lay in wait for the approaching tank. When the tank approached, the dog leaped literally into "death for Stalin and the Motherland" to perform its last duty.

I recall a battle in the vicinity of Kharkov where I saw these dogs in action. They attacked the tanks with such unimaginable ferocity that the fellow lying next to me forgot his own safety and remarked bitterly: "There, that's the way we shall crawl under a tank for Stalin."

### 4. The Dog Culture

Stubbornly determined to promote "dog culture," the Soviet regime created not only special dog training schools but "dog clubs." In these clubs, the elite audience may listen to special lectures regarding a dog's life, manner of training, their feeding diets, first aid to dogs, and their heroism. Here one can exchange his personal pet for another or purchase a pup. Of course, no ordinary Soviet citizen can afford to purchase a wolfhound pup: before the war, one cost 750-800 rubles, while an average kolkhoz dweller earned but 350-400 rubles annually. But money is no obstacle to Stalin's pets, the NKVD men.

The life of a NKVD dog cannot be compared with that of an ordinary Soviet subject. The difference is exceptional in rations and living accommodations. There is a reason for everything in the Soviet empire: if a NKVD dog were to subsist on the diet of an ordinary laborer or kolkhoz man, it could not perform its NKVD duty. No methods of terror could force a hungry dog to do its brutal work. That is why the dogs in NKVD service and the NKVD personnel are treated so differently.

The NKVD-man and wolfhound are two indispensable and inseparable props of the Soviet regime.

## 5. Dogs at the Iron Curtain

Just as every cavalryman is given a horse to take care of, so every Soviet Frontier Guardsman has a dog under his care. Woe unto him who should fail to take

proper care of his dog!

Wolfhounds are precious assets of the Soviet regime. Not so long ago the entire press of the Soviet Union described in most glowing terms the saving of a frontier guardsman, named Karatsupe, by a dog on the Caucasian frontier. The soldier had fallen into the river and was drowning. His dog jumped into the water and pulled the guardsman to safety. Thereafter, both the dog and Karatsupe were awarded special medals for heroism (?).

Dogs assigned to the frontier units are trained in special schools. The training methods are closely guarded "state secrets." It must be supposed that their training is an arduous task, inasmuch as the dogs assigned to frontier guard duty are at least five years old. However, their accomplishments are unbelievable to

a person who had not worked with these canines. Dogs play a very prominent part in guarding the Iron Curtain.

Special quarters are erected for the men and dogs guarding the Soviet frontiers. Each dog is housed in an individual doghouse. Their rations are equal to those of the troopers. Each dog receives 600 grams of fresh meat daily. Furthermore, every dog receives a ration of white bread—considered a great luxury in the Soviet Union,—cream, and a piece of chocolate or sugar "for dessert." It is no wonder that the Russians say: "Chocolate is the privilege of the high ranking Party people and dogs." I recall a complaint I had received once: one of my troopers reported that. his First Sergeant had sent his dog's chocolate rations to the village for his own wife and children, while the poor dog did not taste chocolate for two days. . . .

Each dog is fed by his own "master"—the trooper to whom the dog is assigned. The dog is trained to accept food only from the hands of the master. According to regulations, the soldier must care for his dog most diligently. He is directed to make sure that the meat given his dog is absolutely pure and really fresh. It is explained to the troopers that a dog eating stale flesh might overeat and get sick, and when sick it may not notice an approaching "spy" attempting to enter the Soviet Union. The regulations are most stringent regarding the dog's care, and the culprits face a summary court martial.

### 6. The First "Death Zone"

The Soviet frontiers are guarded by several "waves" of troops. The first sentinels are quartered 700-1,000 meters from the frontier line. From here they man their frontier outposts which are protected by barbed wire, densely wound around the "goats" ("kozly"), or two connected crossbeams. Some distance in the rear lurk the dogs "on guard duty." These dogs lie in spots assigned to them—these spots are difficult to detect and no men are seen near them. In summer, these dogs must lie motionless 3-4 hours, in winter—2 hours. The dogs replace each other without any human assistance: a relief guard simply unleashes his dog which trots out to its post. When the relief dog approaches, the dog on duty leaves its place and runs back to its quarters, while the relief dog remains to lie in his lurking position until relieved by another dog.

In the rear of the dog outpost line, there is another line manned by troopers, also with the assistance of dogs-except in open country. No human being or beast can hide himself or itself as effectively as a watchdog, and dog pickets are a "must" in wooded areas or fields of weed. Persons attemping to cross the Iron Curtain usually select wooded spots or fields overgrown with weeds-and meet their sudden death

In addition to dog and trooper outposts and pickets in the "First Frontier Defense Belt," there are entirely secret outposts known but to a few selected troopers.

or capture.

These outposts are installed in well camouflaged "bunkers." These "special outposts" are under the direct charge of the unit's commander and are called "independent combat teams." The bunkers are guarded by specially selected groups of men and dogs, and are relieved by other special teams every five or six days.

Furthermore, this "First Frontier Defense Belt" is patrolled by individual small patrols. However, these patrols are primarily designed "to distract the attention" of any one presumably waiting for a chance to cross the frontier—or "to disorient" the enemy.

Sizeable NKVD units of all branches—tanks, cavalry, artillery, fighter plane bases—are stationed in the rear of the "First Frontier Defense Belt." In the event of an alarm, these units must rush "to the relief."

### 7. Dog Sentinels in Action

One must admit that these trained wolfhounds perform their special tasks beyond reproach. I am convinced that no human being can possibly survive an encounter with one of these perfectly trained brutes. Their ferocity is well modulated and they have no "humane" feeling.

They are most enterprising. The sentinel-dog lying in wait will never attack a person going past: the dog invariably permits the victim to pass and closely follows his progress. When the victim has passed some distance, the dog trails him and stealthily approaches him from the right-hand side—which allows the brute to determine whether the man carries a pistol, as these dogs smell powder. When the victim approaches an open spot favorable for an attack, the dog strikes the man lightning-quick, felling him to the ground, and the man is helpless.

I have seen many such attacks on men—no man ever managed to defend himself. Ordinarily the man loses his balance by the suddenness of the heavy striking force of the vicious attacker. In the area of my outpost on the Lithuanian-German frontier in 1940, a distance of two kilometers, the dogs either killed or rendered helpless 2-3 persons weekly, mostly people fleeing from Lithuania. About 90% of the victims lost their balance when stricken.

As it strikes the victim, the dog emits a peculiar yelp which summons others to its assistance. The dog holds the man by the throat, pinning him to the ground. Regardless of whether the man retains or loses consciousness, the dog never pierces the victim's throat. Only when a man attempts to rise or fight does the dog slash his throat.

When the yelping signal is heard, the troopers on guard immediately unleash more dogs and rush to the spot themselves. The dogs are trained so well that those in the immediate neighborhood abandon their posts and rush in the direction of the neighboring dog's call. When these "relief" dogs see that the man is safely pinned to the ground, they return to their posts. But if the dog needs help, they attack the man.

During my entire service with the NKVD frontier

troops there was never an instance of a man escaping, killing or attacking one of our dogs upon encounter. The sensibility of these dogs is extraordinary—they first sense combat and then start barking near the spot of the "incident." When the Nazis attacked the Soviets in June 1941, the dogs were the first to sense the approach of the German troops toward the frontiers.

### 8. "Interrogation" and "Body Mechanics"

According to regulations, the man captured by the dogs is taken into custody by the frontier guardsmen who must deliver the prisoner to their guard commander. The latter makes a short report and forwards the prisoner under escort to the unit's commanding officer. The commander sends the prisoner into the interior for "interrogation" at the "Spets-Otdyel" (Special Unit) of the NKVD.

According to regulations, the NKVD men of the Spets-Otdyel are permitted to wear any uniform they may deem proper under the circumstances, in order to deceive the victim. Spets-Otdyel officers may wear uniforms with the insignia of any military rank they may choose. It may be observed in passing that NKVD officers, as a general rule, bear considerably higher rank than their respective counterparts in the regular army. For instance, a NKVD Lieutenant corresponds in rank with a Major of the Red Army.

"Interrogation" in these "special units" is a serious business. As a rule, any one captured while attempting to cross the frontier is sentenced to death. During the first "preliminary interrogation" the prisoner is usually beaten on the soles of his feet. Special rubber sticks are used for the purpose. The prisoner is laid on the ground, his feet are raised and one of the "body mechanics" strikes his soles with the rubber stick. The pain is severe, and this first "treatment" usually brings forth a "full confession."

If the preliminary "interrogation" discloses that the prisoner is an important "enemy of the people," he is not "finished off" at the frontier but is taken deeper into the country. I have known cases where prisoners traveled as far as Moscow. Everything depends on the degree of "interest" placed in the prisoner.

The torture in the frontier "spets-otdyel" is the business of a special personnel called "body mechanics" by the NKVD. Torturing methods are most varied and a person who never observed these methods in operation could never believe such things possible in this "enlightened twentieth century." Just the same, these tortures are ordinary procedures in the daily life of the NKVD men.

### "Tiska"

I will describe just one such "session" which I witnessed in 1940 near Raseiniai in 1940.

A "diversant" was captured by my unit and was brought to the "Spets-Otdyel." I must explain that a "diversant" is any one who disagrees with the bolshevik regime. This particular diversant was first

placed in the "tiska," or "the squeeze"—that is, a small portable booth provided with movable walls, ceiling and the floor which may be adjusted at any angle. The man is placed in the "tiska" where he must stand—there is enough bare floor to place his feet. Long steel nails stick out from the walls, the ceiling and the floor. Either the floors or the ceiling are moved close to the prisoner's naked body but at no point do the nails touch the body. The prisoner is left enclosed in this "cabin" until he either "confesses"-or loses consciousness and slumps on the sharp steel nails. The "body mechanics" told me that a great many lose their minds while in the "tiska." According to them, there never was an instance where a man failed to "confess" after spending an appropriate period of time in the "tiska," unless the person lost his mind and died on the nails.

### "Hot Seat"

The "Spets-Otdyel" of the frontier NKVD have other means of "interrogation" (dopros)—there are special freezing chambers and hot air chambers, or a combination of both in relays. Another "body mechanic" told me that they froze one prisoner to death, "overestimated his resistance." As a rule, no prisoner ever comes out alive from the "spets-otdyel's" interrogation. The torturers know that the victims will never be able to complain. The "body mechanics," experts of their trade, claim that the most terrible torture is that "with instruments."

Occasionally the prisoner is seated on an electrically operated "hot seat" chair. I saw one of these chairs taken apart, but at that time I had no conception of what it was. The chair when taken apart is lodged in a small red valise. The valise stands unobtrusively in the cabinet of the Examiner of the "spets-otdyel"—and a visitor would never guess its contents.

When the chair is put together—it forms an iron chair with arms, all colored in red so as not to leave blood traces. The prisoner is strapped to the chair by leather belts. There are two seats in a double tier. Given the signal, the "body mechanic" presses the handle and the lower seat comes up to contact the upper one. Simultaneously, sharp steel nails protrude through the holes of the upper seat. The pressure is regulated by a "body mechanic" with a certain lever. As the lever is pressed harder, the nails pierce the body deeper,—if the lever is pulled back, the nails leave the flesh. The mechanism of the lower seat is quite intricate. The nails are attached to it and are turned and twisted on screws operated by a small dynamo which is connected with the wires which turn and twist the nailheads. The nails are not ordinary ones—their heads are expandable. When a certain button is pressed, the nailheads release sharp needles which tear the flesh and organs internally and cause excruciating pain, all punctuated by electric shocks.

The "body mechanics" told me that the victims usually shriek in undescribable tones and then lose

consciousness. I once saw a prisoner who had lost consciousness on the chair. The bleeding and inanimate victim was strapped once more, a certain button was pressed and the pain revived him—that is, for a moment.

### "The Red Shaft"

One of the "body mechanics" was very proud of the "high technique" of his instruments. He boasted to me: "An entire academy of science is working on the improvement of our instruments." This was no idle boast: I learned later that the Moscow office of the NKVD operates a laboratory where first class engineers are employed in inventing refined torturing machinery.

Another method of torture, less complicated but just as painful, is "the red shaft." This is a highly polished wooden post painted in red. The victim is stripped and laid on the ground. The sharp end of the shaft is then squeezed into his anus, and the post is driven deeper by heavy wooden mallets. I personally saw a man who had undergone this form of torture. The man, with torn insides, was still able to crawl on all fours. He was shot later.

Only those who had been inside NKVD chambers really know what methods are employed by that nefarious institution. However, almost all such people are doomed to death and are never able to relate their sufferings.

Many of you, Westerners, will refuse to believe me. Of course, I understand. But I have one challenge: the unbelievers should attempt to cross the Soviet Iron Curtain—they will believe, alas, too late. . . .

### 9. Rear "Defense Zones"

The "death zone" ends one kilometer from the frontier and the second zone starts there. In this zone there is—inside the forest or the seemingly cultivated field—a belt of plowed and raked soil. The soil is raked and turned every few days, lest it settle. It shows whether an "enemy" had crossed over unobserved. No civilians are ever permitted to enter this zone stretching 1 to 3 kilometers inland from the actual frontier.

The third zone, 3 kilometers from the frontier, may be entered only with special passes issued by the NKVD. The few civilians permitted to remain there are all tested and trusted communists. This zone is 7 kilometers deep.

At the outskirt of the third zone, 10 km. from the frontier, there is another restricted zone. Non-residents are permitted to enter the zone but they must register with the police and are closely observed.



## Russian War Measures

### Air Bases in Lithuania

montesii bas anibal

cervin button was

A large anti-aircraft base is established in the Garniai (Hornie) Forest, 2 km. from Lyda (Lida) in Eastern Lithuania. A "Special Air Security Staff" (Shtab Spetsialnoy Vozdushnoy Okhrany) of the MGB (Ministry of State Security) is housed there. Several heavy AA batteries, numbering 27 guns, are located west of the city (2,800 meters from the railway station in the southern direction, toward Wolkowysk, about 700 meters from the tracks). Gun emplacements are well camouflaged. Underground shelters for gun crews and munitions dumps are built.

The former Polish military airfield of Lyda, that of the 5th Air Forces Regiment, was demolished by the Germans in 1945. Between April 1946 and August 1947, the Russians brought "labor battalions" numbering 23,800 men, mostly Romanian and Austrian PWs and political prisoners from Kazakhstan and northern Caucasus (Ingush and other tribesmen). These prisoners were moved by the MVD (the former NKVD) from the camps at Kirov (former Vyatka), Sukhaya Bezvodnaya and Vyazma. The labor crews were completely isolated from the civilian population. Airfields and warehouses were constructed by them in the area of Lyda. Some airfields were built underground and each was provided with three exit runways made of steel and concrete. The runways are well camouflaged and appear as ordinary country roads from a distance or from the air.

Rapid-fire AA guns and two American-type radar stations were brought by the Russians from Königsberg in July 1947. Radar equipment is said to be manufactured principally in the area of Leningrad and Kuibyshev.

ASSOVIAKHIM began constructing underground oil storage dumps in the area of Juodoji (Czarny Bór) near Vilnius. These oil dumps serve as fuel supply bases for the troops stationed in Lithuania, Poland and Carpatho-Ukraine.

Zakretas, the wooded suburb of Vilnius, became a closely guarded restricted area, under Air Forces guard. Fuel tanks for guided missiles, the improved versions of the German V-1 and V-2 rockets, are installed in the area between the Konarskis Street and the former Legion Street, where Polish military bakeries had been installed prior to 1939.

Russian "secret weapons" are likewise stored at Zakretas. One of these weapons is an aerial "Thermite" bomb, weighing 50 kg., called PTE-VE, and other heat-shells nicknamed Vanyusha and Katyusha. The "Thermite" bomb contains about 380 capsules each. On detonation, the capsules are said to create heat up to 2,500° Celsius, which radiates to a distance of 39 meters.

According to the story, the "heat shells" are fired to a distance of 9 km. The guns are mounted on 5-ton armored cars, and each gun has 6 barrels. The model

was improved and tested in the period of June-November 1947. These shells are to be used against troops and fortified terrain. The Russians claim that these weapons are exceptionally valuable in positional warfare, and they boast that neither the Americans nor the British have developed anything like it. It is slated to become the standard, though "secret," equipment of the Soviet infantry.

The airfield at Palemonas, near Kaunas, acquired 4 underground storage dumps for high octane fuel, since August 1947. The tanks are covered by 4 meters of topsoil and a crust of lead plates which were brought from the infamous Vorkuta "kombinat." These fuel tanks, according to Soviet intelligence officers in Vilnius, are to service the operational squadrons stationed in the area of Kretinga-Klaipėda, for the pursuit planes stationed at Kaunas, and the related airfields in the direction of Biržai.

Just prior to December 1947, the former Polish airfield at Porubanek near Vilnius was converted into a training field for the Soviet Flying Club of the Komsomol. The "Bloknot Agitatora" (Agitator's Notebook) contains an instruction to select qualified students for the Pilot and Paratroop School in Vilnius, whose students receive technical training at the airfields of Paneriai and Porubanek.

### D.B.A. or German Red Wehrmacht

A staff officer of the "German Liberation Army" (Deutsche Befreiung Armee or D.B.A.) deserted at Königsberg soon after 11,000 German Soviet troops were landed. These troops wear German uniforms and the insignia: the sickle and hammer on the background of the old Imperial (rather, the Teutonic Order) colors of black, white and red. Some of these troops were soon diverted to Lithuania to combat the patriotic guerrillas.

The German deserter stated in conversing with German civilians that the German Communist armed detachments are being trained in northern and southeastern Russia. The staff is said to be located at Dimitrov, a small town north of Moscow. Several close collaborators of the former Marshal von Paulus, "the Hero of Stalingrad," are back in uniform for service with these units. Discipline is said to be more severe than in the former German armed forces. Some Russian officers, probably originating from the former Volga German Autonomous Republic, are dispersed among the German officers. In some instances it is difficult to determine the officer's nationality. For instance, Regimental Commander of the 5th Infantry, who is in charge of the guard at Dimitrov, speaks both German and Russian fluently, without a trace of an accent. Political instructors are placed in each company. Lately these German troops were equipped with artillery and tanks.

The deserter claims that von Paulus had conducted protracted negotiations with the German Communist

leaders, Pieck and Becher. Stalin personally participated in the closing stage of the negotiations when a plan for "D.B.A." was worked out.

### War Measures in Latvia

The port of Liepaja was converted into a naval base for surface craft. Heavy construction was begun in the middle of 1946. Several underground airfields were erected and huge "reparations magazines" of naval equipment were brought from Germany.

In a wide belt of coastal waters in the direction of Ventspils two flotillas of trawlers, in part German and serviced by German crews, train Russian sailors in mine laying and detonation. German mines are exploded.

About 10,000 political prisoners, mostly Latvians, Lithuanians and Poles, were employed at Ventspils until the middle of 1947 in the coastal fortification work. Temporary piers and unloading installations for Soviet transport ships were built by them. A large "park" (base) of heavy and AA artillery, formerly German, is located near the port.

Roughly 60% of the pre-war Latvian population remains at Ventspils. Most of the others were deported, principally to Bernaul and southern Siberia. All of the intellectuals and professionals and their families were exiled. Few if any of the survivors had ever been active in political or social life of independent Latvia. Movements of the civilians are much restricted. A person desiring to leave the city limits or to visit a neighboring township (parish) must obtain a special permit from the MVD.

### In Estonia

In addition to information published in the January-February 1948 issue of the Lithuanian Bulletin, further news is available.

Since April 1946, the Coast Artillery School of Leningrad moved its trainees and equipment to the islands of Naissaar and Osmussaar. Rocket emplacements were erected, and transportable field type electrical power generators—American made—were installed on these islands to service the Soviet Baltic Fleet installations.

The Saaremaa and Hiiumaa (Oesel and Dagoe) islands were taken over completely by the Ministry of War since mid-August 1946. Air bases were rushed to completion and long distance pursuit planes were brought to the islands, in addition to fuel and shell dumps for German-type guided missiles. Taken together with the Finnish Islands and the Porkkala enclave, these islands constitute the so-called "Defensive Belt" or periphery of the Leningrad District.

Armored troop bases are established at Narva and Jöhvi, and at Valmiera in Latvia.

The port of Haapsalu is the naval base for torpedo speedboats and a refueling station for coastal defense vessels. The base is likewise equipped with rocket type AA batteries.

A permanent radar "alert" system is established in the 350-km. arc of Leningrad-Tallinn-Porkkala.

### The Black Sea

Since 1945, the Soviet authorities directed their greatest efforts toward erecting a vast network of airfields, principally underground. Decentralization and camouflaging of the munitions dumps, food and fuel magazines received next highest priority. These "magazines" were steadily evacuated throughout 1946 from the ports and cities and were dispersed in areas easily accessible for transportation by water and surface craft.

The shelters and underground dumps in the Crimea, in the cities of Sevastopol and Yevpatoriya and elsewhere, were erected in the debris of the ruined cities—the towns were not rebuilt, and the native Tatar population was exiled.

The bases are continually improved and supplied with new "secret" weapons, principally the rocket artillery and guided missiles emplacements, and vast warehouses are built. All of the bases are maintained on "combat footing." The most important bases are maintained in northern Crimea on the Sea of Azov coastline. On the Caspian Sea, the most important bases are Kara Bogaz Gol and Fort Shevchenko on the Mangishak Peninsula.

Special "polygons" (proving and firing fields) for long distance rocket artillery are also constructed in western Turkestan, in the area of Krasnovodsk. Large aerial maneuvers were staged there in April 1947. Yak 2 and 4 model planes spread "combat gas" in "shashkas" (capsules) over an area of 9,000 square km. These "bombs" are called "Adamsite."

Sochi is the seat of the Sochi Sector Command. This sector, together with the Batum sector, is equipped with 3 German type radar units. Numerous heavy artillery and AA batteries are stationed around the city. A detachment of the Moscow Meteorological Station arrived at Sochi in May 1946 and erected a weather observation station.

German coastal batteries were brought to Batum in the period of April-July 1946 and were installed in new coastal fortifications. Armored emplacements for coast artillery were also built in the port of Poti. Heavy artillery and rapid fire AA guns were installed there. Three minefields were laid in 1947 between Poti and Batum. German acoustic and magnetic mines were used.

The main HQ is located at Sevastopol in the Crimea.

The former Russian and the ruined German fortifications were blown up in 1946 and new installations were erected. "Anti-dessant" defenses were completed in 1947. The most imposing fortifications seem to be placed in the northern area of the Crimean Sector. Yevpatoriya's installations are connected with the defense system of Perekop. Concrete emplacements for heavy artilley were erected at Kokal, Ak-Mechet, Tarkhankuta, Oirata, and on the bank of the Dunuslav Lake. Coastal batteries, munitions "bunkers" and underground shelters for infantry are erected north of

Yevpatoriya, at Ivanovka, Nikolayevka and the Alma River delta. AA batteries guard Yevpatoriya.

Sevastopol is also the seat of the Engineer Troops Command and of the "Special Chemical Warfare Regiment." Three proving fields for heavy-caliber AA artillery are installed near the city. The Sevastopol Sector is assigned the principal role of defense for the Black Sea Fleet Fueling Base. From May 1946 to March 1947, German coastal artillery batteries—the products of both the Krupp and Skoda plants—were being emplaced.

Steel and concrete emplacements and armored observation towers of coastal artillery were erected, during 1945-1947, in the area (north to south): (a) Kachinsk airfield—emplacements for the heavy AA artillery; (b) heavy artillery emplacements for 8 batteries on both banks of the Balbek River; (c) between the Balbek delta and Uchkoyevka-permanent emplacements for light and heavy AA artillery, 3 heavy coastal batteries, and armored shelters; (d) around Uchkoyevka—numerous stations for automatic (rapid fire) AA batteries of the Czech, German and Soviet type; (e) on an island at the entrance to the Sevastopol Bay, gun emplacements were installed in armored towers and the sites were masked as warehouses; (f) armored towers were built on concrete foundations, and rocket firing posts were installed between the docks and the suburbs of Streletskaya, Kruglaya and Balaklavskaya, and underground shelters were built; (g) underground food dumps were built in the ruins of Kherson in 1946; (h) west of Sevastopol and in the neighborhood of Malakhov Kurhan, eleven underground dumps for explosives and naval mines were completed by October 1947.

### Uranium "Kombinat"

A Soviet uranium "kombinat" (Trust) was put into operation in the area of Kakanda and Namangan, where the frontiers of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kirghizstan meet.

The digging of the uranium ore was begun in 1941. Hired laborers and prisoners, both foreigners and natives, were employed. All of the personnel are housed in the barracks near the mines, and are closely guarded by special detachments of the MVD troops. Hired laborers are well paid and, as an inducement, receive so-called "gold bonds."

The ore is transported to the Novosibirsk District.

## The Training of Provocateurs

The Russians made strenuous efforts to enlist native Lithuanians and Balts in the MVD service during 1947. Offers are made to prisoners, and a network of informers is expanded through Pioneer and Komsomol organizations. People who formerly had been totally inactive in political life are approached. These measures tend to enlarge the numbers of prisoners and deportees, while the morally stronger characters are forced to go underground.

When plain hints and inducements failed, the Russians applied open provocation.

First of all, through "fellow traveler" officials of UNRRA, they acquired the lists of refugee intellectuals housed in DP camps in Germany and Austria. Then they compared the lists with their own rolls of deportees, and concentrated on detecting the whereabouts or determining the fate of other missing persons: whether they were dead or with the guerrillas.

Finally they went into action. Their methods may best be described by reciting several actual occurrences.

An NKVD agent "furtively" visits the family of a missing former Lieutenant. He introduces himself as a "Captain Laurušonis," a former fellow officer and a close friend of the absent Lieutenant X. After exchanging customary pleasantries and dropping hints of the grievous realities of life under the foreign rule, the agent ingratiates himself with the family and then declares his conviction that he "may speak frankly." He confides that he and four other former officers, including their son X, have just returned from Germany and are now operating with the guerrillas, 40 km. from Kaunas. He suggests that Lieutenant X yearns to visit his family in Kaunas—but he has no civilian clothing and no money. The family believes his story. The loving parents give the friendly stranger their son's underwear and clothing and money. — A few nights later a MVD truck arrives, the entire family is detained and banished to Siberia, "for providing clothing to an outlaw."

A Russian Major, Sokolov, organized a "school" to train gangs of terrorist provocateurs. His "academy" is housed on the Filaretai Street in Vilnius and is called "MVD OBO" (Ministry of the Interior, Special Bandit Division—Osobii Banditskii Otdyel).

When a group of renegades is formed, the MVD first of all photograph the gangsters as they are. Thereafter the MVD gives them a bath and decent clothing, and brings them to Soviet MVD "minister Bartašiūnas" in Kaunas. The latter makes a "most cordial" speech, promising them a Soviet paradise, freedom and forgivenness for their former sins. After this ceremonial reception, Sokolov brings his brood back to Vilnius to train them for "heroic deeds." The trainees receive excellent upkeep and are continually shown Soviet propaganda films. Finally, they are dispatched for field operations.

These few Lithuanians together with selected Russians, Poles and Germans, form units of 50 to 100 men. Their assignment is to terrorize and provoke the inhabitants and, when guerrilla units are "unmasked," to destroy them.

Other groups of regular Russian MVD troops, called "mayakovtsy" ("the lighthouse people"), settle down on the abandoned and confiscated farms near the forests. These units are usually accompanied by Sokolov himself and jeeps and motorcycles are in abundance.

At night, the first group—graduates of Sokolov's academy of agents provocateurs—calls on a farmer. They represent themselves as guerrillas from Latvia

or Poland, allegedly dispersed after a losing battle, etc. They inquire about local guerrillas and mention true or imaginary names and aliases of the patriots. In order to prove that they are not provocateurs, they kill one or two local Soviet officials—a "ten-farm plenipotentiary" who is not a communist at any rate, an expendable township chairman or secretary, or the like.

Another version of this initial stage of provocation manifests itself in a genuine attack and robbery of a person suspected of connections with the underground.

Regardless of the one or the other type of the first stage, the alleged "guerrillas" simulate a skirmish with the NKVD in the early morning hours, when Sokolov with his brigands descends upon the "guerrillas" and "encircles them." During the day, some naked corpses are dumped on the plaza of the nearest town—the bodies are those of German prisoners of war who are murdered in cold blood for the occasion. The next night, the provocateurs return to the farmer in question: "You betrayed us! Our comrades were killed thanks to you!" The latter is by that time convinced that he is dealing with genuine guerrillas and attemps to save himself. Victim's hands are tied and he is led away "for execution." When he remonstrates, the armed men demand that he name two guerrillas or good Lithuanians who could vouch for him. When the victim weakens, they release him and call on the named persons to re-enact their lethal farce. In this manner, the numbers of victims are continually multiplied: the MVD troops arrive within the next few days and take the victims away.

Other groups of provocateurs slink in the country-side pretending to be "honest Russian soldiers" drafted for forced labor, or beggars, or individual "guerrillas" whose units had been dispersed, etc. Some pretend to be delegates from the central underground government dispatched to establish a liaison with the local guerrilla units. Occasionally, the provocateurs are dropped by parachutes and simulate "scouts for the Allied landing force due to descend soon." In speaking to each other, these agents toss in English words and phrases—to impress the audience.

Finally, the bolsheviks—as had the Nazi Gestapo before them—resorted to printing a mimeographed "underground newspaper," called "Vienybė." This dirtsheet, violently anti-Russian and anti-Semitic, is allegedly published by "The Lithuanian National Party LTP"—but woe unto him who should gullibly accept the MVD publication. . . .

#### **Embattled Guerrillas**

Russian officials claimed in their talks with native civilian officials that 40,000 Lithuanians had joined guerrilla forces and that 12,000 had been killed thus far. The underground forces, however, admitted considerably larger casualties, without disclosing their strength.

The deadly fighting continues to be waged by small units. In eastern Lithuania, however, larger forces are in the field. For instance, one report alleges that a

large Lithuanian detachment attacked the MVD in the wooded area of Eišiškės on 8 May 1947. About 600 Lithuanians were said to have died in battle, but the MVD lost three times as many men. Another extended battle was fought in November 1947 in the šimonys Forest near Lake Narutis (Narocz). The MVD suffered nearly 2,000 casualties and lost 50 prisoners. The guerrillas "lendleased" from the MVD 3 mortars, 25 jeeps, and destroyed 5 small tanks, but lost almost 200 men. However, operations on as large a scale are no longer typical of conditions in the rest of the country where the Russians are continually obliged to hunt "ghosts." The rank and file of the MVD troops are thoroughly disgusted with their continual preoccupation with futile "chases" and death from ambush.

New airfields were completed in 1948 at Pociūnai and Alksniakiemis in the centrally located Kaunas county. Bomber and fighter planes were observed there.

For some inexplicable reason, the Russians began fortifying the former German-Lithuanian frontier.

### Soviet Saboteurs in Western Germany

In addition to vast-scale training of criminal provocateurs for the nefarious internal employment, the Russians are feverishly engaged in building up a network of agent-saboteurs for operations in the United States, British and French zones of Germany. Besides the most important training center in Moscow (where a former Soviet Ambassador to the United States used to be a teacher) and lesser "academies" in the countries conquered since 1939, the Russians maintain a school in Vilnius and a "post-graduate academy" at Prague, in Czechoslovakia.

The trainees are assigned to carry out the "innocuous liquidation" of the "people's enemies" resident abroad. The executioners are given the victim's address. They then go abroad and attempt to befriend the victim. If the attempt fails, they "case" (study) the victim's daily routine. At an opportune moment, the doomed person is to meet with an "accident," or to be robbed and murdered "by bandits."

These executioners are also trained in methods of sabotage. They are given thorough instruction in handling firearms, explosives, land mines, etc. The latest equipment consists of a novel land mine combining the "hell machine" type. Explosives are stored in a brass container with walls 2 mm, thick. When it is assembled and housed in a quadrangle box, the size of a motorcycle battery, it weighs about 4 kg. The "package" contains a 24-hour clock which is connected with the capsule. The explosive force of this mine radiates 30 meters.

Agents dispatched to Western Germany are instructed to contact German Communists who are to provide lodging, board, arms, cash, clothing, and to facilitate the execution of specific assignments. Every agent memorizes his or her own specific story for the Allied investigators—but the predominant theme is that of an "escaped anti-Soviet guerrilla."

Agents assigned to operate against displaced persons, are instructed to procure complete lists of DP Camp Committeemen, their places of origin and previous employment. Furthermore, they are directed to disclose all of the organizations functioning in the DP camps, their "leadership personnel" (an ominous phrase familiar to those who had studied the secret NKVD orders of 1941 in preparation for the mass deportations from the Baltic States) and their "tasks." They are to report whether anti-repatriation "agitation" is conducted and by whom, the strength of the anticommunist convictions of individual leaders, dates of conversations, etc. The DPs emigrating abroad are to be catalogued—by countries of immigration, the emigrants' place of origin, etc. All former officers of the Lithuanian Army, government officials, professors and teachers are to be carefully listed. The agents are instructed to seek collaborators among the DPs and to transmit all data to German Communist Party's key officials in Munich and Kassel.

These agents are also instructed to collect data regarding identity and strength of the Allied military units and installations, and to enlist agents among the

Allied civilian and military personnel. The agents dispatched for this duty are told that war is imminent and that the fascist-capitalist enemies shall be destroyed.

Specific assignments of sabotage against the Allied military installations and DP camps are given these agents in advance, for execution in the event of the opening of the hostilities. The more important DP personalities are slated for immediate execution—their escape must be prevented at all costs. The assignments must be carried out regardless of the number of casualties among the executing personnel.

The first such agent from Lithuania was observed in 1946. He managed to hoodwink a number of people by his tales from the homeland. Other graduates are known to be operating with the so-called "Soviet repatriation liaison missions"—which the PC IRO is forcing upon the anti-communist refugees. However, the most dangerous signs were noted recently, in March 1948, when a number of young graduates of the Vilnius and Prague "schools" were observed in Western Germany.

# Betrayal of Europe

Comments on the Documentation of the Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939-1941

II.

The first installment of the public and secret records, treaties and declarations pertinent to the subject under discussion, was concluded with the Lithuanian report on the Russo-Lithuanian "negotiations" for a Hitler-blessed Mutual Assistance and Friendship Pact. The report was made by Mr. Eduardas Turauskas, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania at that time.

This pact—one of the many international treaties "sacredly observed by the Soviet Union," as claimed by Molotov and Vyshinsky even at this late stage of the beginning of "understanding Russia"—was concluded with Lithuania on 10 October 1939.

Mr. Turauskas reported: "At 5 P.M. on 11 October 1939, the Kremlin gave a lavish banquet in honor of the Lithuanian delegation. The Soviet leaders delivered their orations. Both Stalin and Molotov strongly insisted that they would 'faithfully and sacredly' observe their obligations and would not interfere in our internal affairs, and that they desired to maintain the traditional Soviet-Lithuanian friendship."

Indeed, the masters of the Kremlin were busy with the "faithful and sacred observance"—of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pacts of 23 August and 28 September 1939, the only pacts they ever observed.

With reference to the Baltic States, this Russian observance immediately took shape in two directions:

(1) The General Staff of the Workers-Peasants Red Army rushed its preparations for the publication of the operational topographical maps of the Baltic States. The maps were drawn some time after the date of the first Hitler-Stalin Pact (23 August 1939), inasmuch as the printed maps bore the imprint: "First Edition 1939." The title of the maps clearly implicated the events which followed a year later. It stated in bold type: "Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR and B (yelorussian) SSR." /See: Lithuanian Bulletin, vol. IV, No. 3, October 1946, p. 23./

(2) The People's Commissar for Internal Affairs (NKVD) does not undertake foreign operations without first receiving instructions from, and co-ordinating the plans with, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs (NKID or the Narkomindyel) Molotov. And so, on 11 October 1939—probably before taking his seat at the banquet table in the Kremlin during the dinner in honor of the Lithuanian delegation or immediately thereafter—the NKVD issued the first secret Order No. θ01223 to launch preparations for the perpetration of the crime of genocide in Lithuania and the Baltic States: starting dossiers and "accounting work" for the liquidation of the "anti-Soviet element" in the sovereign (as yet) Republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. /Ibid., pp. 23-25./

Nevertheless, the pretense of respecting the much talked-about sovereignty as an "inviolable principle of the Soviet policy" was carefully maintained. As a matter of fact, this pretense is still maintained by the selfsame spokesmen of the Soviet Union in other theaters at the present time, i.e., with respect to an attempt in the United Nations to disclose the role

played in the recent liquidation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Zorin.

The prospective victims—the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—were cleverly pacified by the continuous repetition of praise for them by the Kremlin's troupe of star actors. All talk of an intended sovietization or annexations was indignantly and righteously branded as sheer nonsense and warmongering provocation by anti-Soviet capitalist powers. Just the same, Deputy Commissar of State Security (NKGB) Serov and his aides were busy drafting instructions for the execution of mass deportations of the indigenous populations of the Baltic States, "without noise or panic." /See: Lithuanian Bulletin, vol. IV, No. 1, January 1946, pp. 18-35, in Russian original and English translation./

It is a sad reflection that selfsame war criminal and genocide was a year or two later wined and dined in Washington and, later, in Berlin as "General" Serov, a celebrity of our "gallant Russian Allies"....

When Hitler attacked the Netherlands and Belgium and invaded France, the Soviet Government warmly congratulated Hitler "on the splendid success (see item 82, below)—and thence proceeded with the liquidation of the Baltic States. Finland was left alone, for the time being.

By the time the Baltic States were invaded in June 1940, as part of the "faithful and sacred observance" by the Soviet Union of its deal with Hitler who had authorized Stalin to take "special measures on the Lithuanian territory to protect its interests" (item 54 hereof), NKGB Commissar Serov and the NKVD had made much progress in the execution of Order No. 001223 of 11 October 1939. Two million Poles, Ukrainians, White Ruthenes and Jews were already "resettled" in the Arctic and the Russians were ready to deal with new victims.

Lithuania was invaded on 15 June 1940. 26 days later, the night of 11 to 12 July 1940, the NKVD was able to carry out the first wave of mass arrests. /See: Lithuanian Bulletin, vol. V, Nos. 7-8, July-August 1947, pp. 10-11./

Emboldened by its success in effecting its first "operation" on the soil of a foreign nominally independent country, the NKVD made the next step in the graduated series of genocidal operations. On 16 July 1940, a full week before the proclamation of a Soviet order in Lithuania and three weeks before the formal annexation, the NKVD made a written demand for deportation to Russia of the legitimate Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania, "together with their families." /See: Lithuanian Bulletin, vol. V, Nos. 9-10, Sept.-Oct. 1947, pp. 4-5/. While "faithfully and sacredly" observing its Mutual Assistance and Friendship Pact with Lithuania, Russia was swallowing the high ranking officials of a foreign sovereign country—"without noise or panic"....

The second installment of selected documents covers the period of October 1939 through July 1940.

### 68. Molotov Reports to the Supreme Soviet 31 October, 1939

Comrade Deputies:

There have been important changes in the international situation during the past two months. This applies above all to Europe. . . .

First, mention should be made of the changes that have taken place in the relations between the Soviet Union and Germany. Since the conclusion of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact on August 23, an end has been put to the abnormal relations. . . . Instead of the enmity that was fostered in every way by certain European powers, we now have . . . friendly relations between the USSR and Germany. Further improvement of these new relations, good relations, found its reflection in the German-Soviet treaty on amity and frontier signed in Moscow September 28.

This radical change in relations between . . . the two biggest States in Europe, was bound to have its effect on the entire international situation. Furthermore, events have entirely confirmed the estimate of the political significance of the Soviet-German rapprochement given at the last session of the Supreme Soviet.

Second, mention must be made of . . . the defeat of Poland in war and the collapse of the Polish State. The ruling circles of Poland boasted quite a lot about the "stability" of their State and the "might" of their army. However, one swift blow to Poland, first by the Germany Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left of this ugly offspring of the Versailles treaty. . . .

The war between Germany and Poland ended quickly owing to the utter bankruptcy of the Polish leaders. As we know, neither the British nor the French guarantees were of help to Poland. . . .

We know . . . that . . . such concepts as "aggression" and "aggressor" have acquired a new concrete connotation, a new meaning. . . . Today, . . . Germany is in the position of a State that is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France . . . are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. . . . Everybody realizes that there can be no question of restoring the old Poland.

It is, therefore, absurd to continue the present war.

. . . Although the governments of Britain and France understand this they do not want the war stopped and peace restored. . .

The ruling circles of Britain and France have been lately attempting to depict themselves as champions of the democratic rights of nations against Hitlerism; and the British Government has announced that its aim in the war with Germany is nothing more or less than "the destruction of Hitlerism." It amounts to this, that the British, and with them the French supporters of the war, have declared something in the nature of an "ideological" war on Germany, reminiscent of the religious wars of olden times. . . . It is

back to the Middle Ages, to the days of religious wars, superstition and cultural deterioration that the ruling classes of Britain want to drag us?

of this kind. One may accept or reject the ideology of Hitlerism as well as any other ideological system; that

is a matter of political views.

But everybody would understand that an ideology cannot be destroyed by force, that it cannot be eliminated by war. It is, therefore, not only senseless but criminal to wage such a war as the war for "the destruction of Hitlerism," camouflaged as a fight for "democracy." And, indeed, you cannot give the name of a fight for democracy to such action as the banning of the Communist party in France, arrests of the Communist Deputies in the French Parliament, or the curtailment of political liberties in England or the unremitting national oppression in India, etc. . . . It is the fear of losing world supremacy that dictates to the ruling circles of Great Britain and France the policy of fomenting war with Germany. . . .

Subsequent events fully confirmed that the new Soviet-German relations are based on the firm foundation of mutual interests. . . . The German-Soviet treaty on amity and the frontier . . . concluded at the end of September, has consolidated our relations with the German State. . . We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a

durable peace in Europe.

It would be ridiculous to think that Germany could be "simply put out of commission" and struck off the books. The powers that cherish this foolish and dangerous dream ignore the deplorable experience of Versailles . . . may end in disaster for them.

... Today our relations with the German State are based on our friendly relations, on our readiness to

support Germany's efforts for peace. . . .

I shall now pass to our relations with the Baltic countries. As you know, important changes have taken place in this sphere as well,

The relations of the Soviet Union with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are based on peace treaties concluded with the respective countries in 1920. By these treaties Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania became independent States, and ever since then the Soviet Union has invariably pursued a friendly policy toward these

newly created small States.

This was the reflection of a radical difference between the policy of the Soviet Government and the policy of Tsarist Russia, which brutally oppressed the small nations, denied them every opportunity of independent national and political development and left them with the most painful memories of it.

It must be admitted that the experience of the past two decades of the development of Soviet-Estonian, Soviet-Latvian and Soviet-Lithuanian friendly relations created favorable conditions for the further consolidation of political and all other relations between the USSR and its Baltic neighbors. This has been reyealed, too, in the recent diplomatic negotiations with representatives of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and in treaties that were signed in Moscow as a result of these negotiations.

As you know, the Soviet Union has concluded pacts of mutual assistance with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania that are of major political significance. The principles underlying all these pacts are identical. They are based on mutual assistance between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, on the other, and they include military assistance in case any of these countries are attacked....

The Pacts with the Baltic States in no way imply the intrusion of the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as some foreign interests are trying to make believe. . . . These pacts are based on mutual respect for the political, social and economic structure of the contracting parties, and are designed to strengthen the basis for peaceful, neighborly cooperation between our peoples. We stand for the scrupulous and punctilious observance of pacts on a basis of complete reciprocity, and we declare that all nonsense about sovietizing the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs. . . .

The principles of Soviet policy toward small countries have been demonstrated with particular force by the treaty providing for the transfer of the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region to the Lithuanian Republic. Thereby the Lithuanian State, with its population of 2,500,000, considerably extends its territory, increases its population by 550,000 and receives the city of Vilnius, whose population is almost double that of the present Lithuanian capital.

The Soviet Union agreed to transfer the city of Vilnius to the Lithuanian Republic not because Vilnius has a predominantly Lithuanian population. No, the majority of the inhabitants of Vilnius are non-Lithuanian. But the Soviet Government took into consideration the fact that the city of Vilnius, which was forcibly wrested from Lithuania by Poland, ought to belong to Lithuania as a city with which are associated on the one hand the historical past of the Lithuanian State and on the other hand the national aspirations of the Lithuanian people.

It has been pointed out in the foreign press that there has never been a case in world history of a big country's handing over such a big city to a small State of its own free will. All the more strikingly, therefore, does this act of the Soviet State demonstrate its good will. . . .

Our relations with Finland are of a special character... none but the Soviet Government in Russia could tolerate the existence of an independent Finland at the very gates of Leningrad....

I must, however, inform you that even the President of the United States of America considered it proper to intervene in these matters, which one finds it hard to reconcile with the American policy of neutrality. . . . One might think that matters are in better shape

between the United States and, let us say, the Philippines or Cuba, who have long been demanding freedom and independence from the United States and cannot get them, than between the Soviet Union and Finland, who has long ago obtained both freedom and political independence from the Soviet Union...

/"Pravda", Moscow, November 1, 1939./

### 69. Lord Halifax Reflects on Russian Policies— 5 December 1939

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. 340-341.

### 70. Russia Was Expelled from the League of Nations on 14 December 1939

# 71. Sleep, Babies, Sleep . . . Comrade Deputies:

... On the basis of a half-year's experience, one can draw a completely definite, positive deduction about the treaties with the Baltic States—that these treaties ... contributed to the strengthening of the international position of the USSR, as well as of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, that . . . contrary to the fears of imperialistic circles inimical to the USSR, the political independence and independent policy of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have not suffered . . . that on the basis of these treaties one can expect a further amelioration of relations between the USSR and the Baltic Republics. . . .

(Speech of Molotov to the Supreme Soviet at Moscow, March 29, 1940.)

/"Pravda", Moscow, March 30, 1940./

### 72. Russia Bares Its Fangs-May-June 1940

Soviet troops arrived in Lithuania in December 1939. In spite of the strictly enforced restriction of contacts with the local populace, Soviet warriors were quick to note the vast abyss between the prosperity and freedom from fear of the Lithuanian people, and the unspeakable misery in the Soviet "paradise." Numerous desertions occurred. Our authorities were gravely concerned with these desertions.

In February 1940 a junior subaltern Butayev deserted from Naujoji Vilnia garrison. Our authorities were not aware of the fact for a long time. In March, however, a hint was dropped to our Minister in Moscow who was requested to help locate the deserter. Subsequently, local Soviet military authorities adopted a threatening attitude in demanding that we locate Butayev. Our police efforts proved vain. There was a basis to suppose that Butayev, like many other Red soldiers, had fled to Germany.

13

Finally, on the first day of Whitsuntide, our police located the deserter in a suburb of Vilnius. Sensing the danger, Butayev fled. Seeing that the Lithuanian police would overtake him, Butayev shot himself dead in the region of the heart. The suicide was left to lie on the spot, and Soviet officers were summoned. Russian and Lithuanian surgeons jointly performed an autopsy. It seemed that nothing further was to be heard of the incident.

However, on 25 May 1940 Molotov summoned our Minister, Ladas Natkevičius, to the Kremlin and read to him charges, inveigling the charge of "sabotage" of the mutual assistance pact by Lithuania and providing several illustrations of such sabotage. Butayev was spirited away by our security organs and murdered; Shmovginetz, Pissaryov and another soldier were kidnapped by our police, burlap sacks were thrown over their heads, they were taken to an underground cellar and questioned, and later they managed to escape by way of sewers (in Lithuania, four to six inches in diameter). Molotov wound up with a threat of "grave consequences."

The Lithuanian Government learned of the existence of Shmovginetz from the lips of Molotov. A special investigating commission was immediately appointed, with the Presiding Justice of the Circuit Court of Vilnius at its head. The commission established that Shmovginetz had, indeed, spent several days away from his barracks, in company of a prostitute in Vilnius, and left for his "girl friend" several photographs with inscribed appellations "to dear and unforgettable" girl. The girl herself testified that the Red hero was afraid of the consequences of his A.W.O.L and told her that he would concoct some story about having been kidnapped, with a sack thrown over his head, and an escape through some pipe "with water dripping."

And—lo, behold!—the Head of the Government of a great empire repeats, with a stern mien, a hideous fable concocted by an immoral soldier of the "invincible army." . . . Our scrupulous observance of the pact, our exemplary liaison service, our prompt attention to the least desires expressed by the Soviet commanders were shamelessly ignored. In fact, our exclusion of several "laundresses" of the Red garrison in Alytus from the vicinity of the Soviet base was protested by the Russians as "interference" with their "security."

Foreign Minister Urbšys flew to Moscow to assist Prime Minister Merkys. No explanations would help. Mr. Merkys returned to Kaunas, Urbšys remained in Moscow and tried to meet V. G. Dekanozov, OGPU official elevated to the post of a Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Soviet troops were massing on the frontiers, as the German armies rolled across the Lowlands and France. . . .

Late at night on 14 June, 1940, Mr. Urbšys was summoned to the Kremlin. Molotov bluntly stated that he had a serious announcement to make to the Lithuanian Government, in the presence of the Lithuanian Minister to the Kremlin, Natkevičius, and the Soviet Minister to Lithuania, Pozdnyakov.

Molotov read an act of indictment. He charged:

(1) Lithuanian police had been engaged in kidnapping the Soviet soldiers, to wit, Pissaryov and Shmovginetz, who managed to escape, and Butayev, who was murdered by the Lithuanian police, and Shutov, who was not located.

(2) Lithuania had formed a military alliance with Estonia and Latvia, directed against the USSR, which was banned by Article VI of the Mutual Assistance Pact, and secret relations are maintained among the General Staffs of the Baltic Republics.

Whereupon, the Soviet Government demands in an ultimatum:

(1) Immediate trial of Kazys Skučas, Minister of the Interior, and Dr. Povilaitis, Chief of the Security Police (both of whom had resigned on the morning of 13 June, which fact was communicated to Moscow and was known to Molotov), as directly responsible for the "provocative acts" against the Soviet garrisons.

(2) Immediate formation of a new Government in Lithuania which would be able to enforce and to guarantee honorable observance of the Mutual Assistance Pact and to subdue its enemies.

(3) Immediate guarantee of free incursion of an unlimited number of Soviet troops to be garrisoned in the most important centers of Lithuania as a warranty of enforcement of the Mutual Assistance Pact.

The ultimatum recited that a reply was expected by 10 o'clock A.M. 15 June 1940 (Kaunas time 8 A.M.)—the ultimatum was delivered at 12:30 A.M. Moscow time of that day. Failure to reply within the prescribed time would be construed to mean a refusal.

Mr. Urbšys asked for an extension of time. Molotov refused. Inquiry regarding the number of Soviet troops to be brought to Lithuania elicited a curt reply: three or four army corps (200,000 men).

In taking leave, Mr. Urbšys gravely declared that, as a negotiator and signer of the Pact of 10 October 1939, he regretted that this pact had come to this finale within eight months, and that he feared for the future of Lithuania. Molotov rejoined: "Lithuania's future is threatened with nothing except her own provocateurs."

The tragic news was telephoned to Kaunas at 11 P.M. (Kaunas time). The Cabinet was convoked for an all night session. The majority decided to bow to the ultimatum, thinking but of preventing a brutal and bloody occupation. Remembering that Molotov had once spoken favorably of Gen. Raštikis, it was decided that Raštikis would be designated new Premier

and would fly to Moscow. The decision was communicated to Moscow by telephone at dawn.

At 11 A.M. Mr. Urbšys telephoned back to Kaunas: (1) Raštikis was not acceptable to the Soviets; (2) Dekanozov and Pozdnyakov will land at Kaunas in the early afternoon; (3) Soviet hordes will swarm over the frontiers at 2 P.M.; Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Vitkauskas, must present himself at 7 P.M. at the border railroad station of Kena and meet Gen. Pavlov of the invading army to sign a protocol.

The Government was not yet aware at the time that an outpost of the Lithuanian frontier police had been attacked at night by the Red troops—one policeman was killed, one was mortally wounded by hand grenades. This was a Soviet precautionary measure of providing "an incident" in the event of rejection of the ultimatum—the Soviet Union "had been attacked." . . . The invading units included Siberian units which had been marching on foot since May 11, 1940, the day after the invasion of the Lowlands by Stalin's German ally. . . .

EDUARDAS TURAUSKAS.

# 73. Latvian Dementi of an "Alliance" with Lithuania

LTA (Latvian Telegraphic Agency), Riga, June 15, 1940.—The official announcement of the Soviet agency Tass regarding the liquidation of the Soviet-Lithuanian conflict states, among other things, that Lithuania had entered into a secret military alliance with Latvia and Estonia, thereby turning the Baltic Entente into a military alliance of the three States. The Latvian Telegraphic Agency is authorized to announce that this statement does not coincide with actuality, as Lithuania has not joined the military treaty signed between Latvia and Estonia on November 1, 1923, and that no other military agreement exists between the three Baltic States.

/Latvian-Russian Relations, supra, p. 202./

## 74. Nazis Learn of Russian "Special Measures"— Berlin, June 11, 1940.

The Lithuanian Minister called on me today to inform me of the further progress of the discussions with the Soviet Union. After the Soviet Union had raised the question of the safety of the Soviet garrisons in Lithuania and had rejected the suggestion for a mixed commission to investigate the incidents, the Lithuanian Government had of its own accord taken a series of measures which it thought would satisfy the Soviet Union. It might perhaps be admitted that relations between the Soviet garrisons and the Lithuanian population had earlier been treated too casually. Restrictive and control measures had now been taken, and many arrests and house searches made, etc. It was known that no reply was received to the Lithuanian suggestion of sending the Foreign Minister to Moscow. It was, therefore, all the more surprising that not the Foreign Minister but Minister President Merkys was summoned to Moscow.

On June 7 Merkys had had his first conversation with Molotov. The latter had reproached him severely regarding the safety of the Soviet garrisons and in this connection presented a great many detailed incidents. Molotov had in particular maintained persistently that Butayeff, a member of the Red Army, who according to Lithuanian reports had committed suicide, had been shot by Lithuanians. He had expressed his dissatisfaction very plainly and stressed that the Lithuanian Ministry of the Interior was not equal to its task.

In a subsequent conversation on June 9, Molotov had brought up questions of foreign policy, which had increased Lithuanian fears regarding the course of conversations. Molotov had maintained that a military alliance existed between the three Baltic States and as proof had referred to the frequent meetings of the chiefs of staff of the three countries and to other frequent conferences between Baltic personalities. Merkys had replied that there existed neither secret nor open agreements which could violate the letter or the spirit of the Agreement of October 10, 1939. There was the old political treaty between the Baltic States but no military alliance. Merkys had then himself expressed the wish to invite the Foreign Minister to the conversations. The latter had arrived in Moscow yesterday afternoon. Herr Skirpa had not yet received any more recent reports. From the standpoint of protocol, everything had taken place in very polite form.

The Lithuanian Government still did not know what the intentions of the Soviet Union might be. The Lithuanian Government was prepared to do even more for the safety of the garrisons than it had done so far. If the Soviet Union now made broader political or military demands, the Lithuanian Government could not take the responsibility for their acceptance. Thus far, the subject of Lithuania's relations with Germany had not been discussed during the foreign policy conversations. However, it was no doubt to be expected that the Soviet Union would raise questions in this respect, too. Here I interjected that there was nothing in German-Lithuanian relations which was not or should not be known by the Soviet Union.

Herr Skirpa asked whether we had not instructed our Ambassador in Moscow to make inquiries. I replied in the negative and avoided further discussion of the matter with the remark that our Ambassador would certainly make a report of his own accord.

WOERMANN.

/Nazi-Soviet Relations, supra, pp. 146-147./

#### 75. The Nazis Learn the Lithuanian Story

Berlin, June 16, 1940.

With reference to the dispatches from Kaunas No. 96 and No. 97 of June 15 forwarded by teletype.

The Lithuanian Minister called up at about 2 a.m. today and said that, in accordance with a telephone report from Eydtkuhnen, President Smetona, accompanied by an adjutant and members of his family, as

well as General Rastaikis (who was rejected by the Soviets as Prime Minister) and his brother, Colonel Rastaikis,\* with their wives, had arrived in Eydtkuhnen. The Minister, moreover, reported that a number of other prominent Lithuanian personalities were probably staying at the German-Lithuanian border and that they desired to enter Germany. Some of them would be in danger should they fall into the hands of the Russians. The Minister requested that the German border authorities be instructed to let these personalities enter Germany. The official on (night) duty replied that he could not initiate anything independently in this matter and suggested making the request again in the morning.

By order of Under State Secretary Woermann I request instructions as to how to treat the application of the Lithuanian Minister. The question arises in particular whether former Interior Minister Skucas and the former director of the State Security Department, Powelaitis, who were to be tried in accordance with point 1 of the Soviet ultimatum, can be allowed to enter. Powelaitis, regarding whom inquiry has already been made there by teletype, has loyally cooperated with German authorities in fighting Polish intrigues.

Division for Political Affairs, Night Duty Officer, WELCK.

/Ibid., pp. 148-149./

\*Read Musteikis, Minister of National Defence, and his brother. — Lithuanian Bulletin.

# 76. President Smetona Expected Some Troops to Retreat

Foreign Office Memorandum

The High Command of the Armed Forces (OKW) /Colonel von Geldern/ reports that it has received from the Counterintelligence Office in Königsberg, the following communication:

Tonight at 3 o'clock President Smetona with family and entourage crossed the "green frontier." He had given orders to the Lithuanian garrisons of Mariampol and Tauroggen to cross the frontier into Germany fully equipped and armed.

The High Command of the Armed Forces requests instructions as to what action to take if the Lithuanian troops, which apparently have not yet arrived, should wish to cross the border.

VON KESSEL.

Berlin, June 16, 1940.

/Ibid., p. 149./

# 77. Ribbentrop Regarding Lithuanian Refugees Berlin, June 16, 1940.

- 1. I have already given orders through the Gestapo to intern the Lithuanian President, Smetona, with family and other functionaries who have crossed the "green frontier." This will be done by the Gestapo.
- 2. If Lithuanian troop contingents ask permission to cross the German border, this request may be granted. The troops are to be disarmed and likewise to be interned.

3. It is reported that a Lithuanian Colonel offered to have his regiment cross the border. It is requested that the disarming and interning of any Lithuanian soldiers who might cross the border be done by the Armed Forces in collaboration with the Border Police. In agreement with the State Police please take measures necessary so that the border posts concerned may be immediately informed.

It is again pointed out that border crossings are to be permitted only upon request of the Lithuanians and that we, for our part, must not do anything to

encourage such requests.

This communication is to be transmitted at once by the fastest route, orally and in written form, to the High Command of the Armed Forces /OKW/ with the request for further action.

RIBBENTROP.

Minute

The transmittal to the High Command of the Armed Forces /OKW/ was made immediately in accordance with instructions. At the same time, the High Command of the Armed Forces /OKW/ was asked to see to it that in every case of a border crossing of Lithuanian troop contingents a report be made immediately to the Foreign Office.

v. d. Heyden Rynsch. /Ibid., p.150./

#### 78. Hitler Is Interested

Berlin, June 16, 1940.

#### Memorandum

The High Command of the Armed Forces, Foreign Branch /OKW Ausland/, Major Krummacher, transmitted the following at 11:35 a.m.:

#### "Order of the Führer

1. If Lithuanian troops cross the East Prussian border, they are to be disarmed. A further decision as to what is to be done with them should be awaited.

2. At present some German units are returning to their garrisons in East Prussia. They have received instructions not to undertake any maneuvers and to avoid anything which might look as if this return were in any way connected with events in Lithuania.

This is for your information so that possible Soviet Russian inquiries may immediately be answered in

this sense."

VON GROTE. /Ibid., p. 151./

### 79. The Nazis Fishing in Muddy Waters . . .

Teletype to Herr v. Grundherr (of the Political Division of the German Foreign Office, in charge of Baltic affairs) via Minister's Office.

The Reich Foreign Minister requests you to submit a report as soon as possible as to whether in the Baltic States a tendency to seek support from the Reich can be observed or whether an attempt was made to form a bloc. Please transmit your report by teletype.

> SONNLEITNER. /Ibid., p. 151./

### 80. The Balts Suspect the Dirty Deal . . .

The German Foreign Office to the Reich Foreign Minister

Teletype

Berlin, June 17, 1940.

To Baumschule

Reference telegram Baumschule No. 57 of June 16, 1940.

I. The cooperation between the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania is based on the Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation concluded for ten years by these three States on September 12, 1934. In addition, Latvia and Estonia signed a mutual defense pact on November 1, 1923. In practice, the political cooperation consisted mainly of semi-annual conferences of Foreign Ministers and joint press conferences; on the other hand, there has often been an abundance of discord and rivalry within the Baltic Entente. Latvia and Estonia explicitly indicated their disinterestedness in the Memel and Vilna questions, which were important to Lithuania. The assertion, now made by Russia, that Lithuania had joined the Estonian-Latvian military pact, is, according to information available here, without any foundation. Because of the very similar structure of these countries, the economic cooperation between the three States, in spite of much effort during the last few years, made no appreciable progress. Since the conclusion of the Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact with the Baltic countries in September-October 1939 there has been no closer cooperation in an anti-Russian sense among the Baltic States. In view of the occupation of their countries by Soviet Russian troops, the three Baltic Governments were aware of the danger of such a policy.

II. For the same reason, there can be no question—during the last few months—of dependence in foreign policy on Germany by the Baltic States. The Lithuanian Government, to be sure, has probably not been quite certain until the last few days whether or not we were politically completely disinterested in Lithuania, so that in many circles, as for instance in the case of the Lithuanian Minister here, there was perhaps some hope that Germany would, in case of further Russian demands, put in a good word for Lithuania in Moscow, although there was never, of course, any occasion on our part for such an assumption.

On the other hand, our economic relations with the Baltic States have been strengthened very much since the beginning of the war. Regarding the great importance of the Baltic States to the war economy of the Reich, please see the attached memorandum from Minister Schnurre.

GRUNDHERR.

(Annex)

### Foreign Office Memorandum

The economic importance of the three Baltic States for our supply of food and of raw materials essential for war has become quite considerable as a result of the commercial treaties concluded with these three States during the last year. In the course of the last six months, we have furthermore concluded secret agreements with all three States whereby the entire export of these countries, except the small part going to Russia and another small portion which goes to neutral countries, will be sent to Germany. That means for all three States about 70 percent of their total exports. German imports from the three Baltic States will in the current year amount to a total of approximately 200 million Reichsmarks—comprising grain, hogs, butter, eggs, flax, lumber, seeds, and in the case of Estonia, petroleum.

The consolidation of Russian influence in these areas will seriously endanger these necessary imports. For one thing, the Russians will do their utmost to keep the raw materials, and especially food, at home for their own use. On the other hand, if part continues to go to Germany, they will make quite different demands in regard to deliveries of German products from those made in the past by the Baltic States, so that in effect the previous exchange of goods will break down. We were able to make the deliveries desired by the Baltic States much more easily, and in many cases, under the stress of circumstances, we were able to put these States off till later.

In contrast, the economic interests of the Soviet Union in the three Baltic States are of minor importance. The Soviet Union was able to secure only about 10 percent of the export trade of these countries for itself by means of the treaties it recently concluded.

SCHNURRE. /Ibid., pp. 152-153./

# 81. Germany Not Interested in the People's Fate... To All German Missions—Circular telegram

Berlin, June 17, 1940.

For information and the orientation of your conversations.

The unrestricted reinforcement of Russian troops in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and the reorganization of the Governments of the Baltic States, sought by the Russian Government to bring about more reliable cooperation with the Soviet Union, are the concern of Russia and the Baltic States. Therefore, in view of our unaltered friendly relations with the Soviet Union, there is no reason for nervousness on our part, which some of the foreign press has tried to impute to us in only too transparent a manner.

Please refrain from making any statement during conversations which could be interpreted as partisan. Please acknowledge receipt.

WEIZSAECKER. /Ibid., pp. 153-154./

# 82. Congratulations to Hitler—Executioners Named . . .

Ambassador to Ribbentrop

Telegram

Moscow, June 18, 1940—1:10 a.m.

Received June 18, 1940—4 a.m.

Very Urgent

No. 1167 of June 17

Molotov summoned me this evening to his office and expressed the warmest congratulations of the Soviet Government on the splendid success of the German Armed Forces. Thereupon, Molotov informed me of the Soviet action against the Baltic States. He referred to the reasons published in the press and added that it had become necessary to put an end to all the intrigues by which England and France had tried to sow discord and mistrust between Germany and the Soviet Union in the Baltic States.

For the negotiations concerning the formation of the new Governments the Soviet Government had, in addition to the Soviet envoy accredited there, sent the following special emissaries:

To Lithuania: Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs Dekanosov; to Latvia: Vishinski, the representative of the Council of Ministers; to Estonia: Regional Party Leader of Leningrad Zhdanov.

In connection with the escape of Smetona and the possible crossing of the frontier by Lithuanian army units, Molotov stated that the Lithuanian border was evidently inadequately guarded. The Soviet Government would, therefore, if requested, assist the Lithuanian Government in guarding its borders.

SCHULENBURG. /Ibid., p. 154./

### 83. Russian Justification and Worry

Moscow, June 24, 1940.

The following information was published by *Tass* in the Soviet press of June 23, and previously broadcast over the radio on June 22:

"In connection with the entry of Soviet troops in the Baltic countries, rumors have recently again been spread to the effect that 100 to 150 divisions have been concentrated at the Lithuanian-German border, that this concentration of Soviet troops was due to the Soviet Union's dissatisfaction with Germany's successes in the West, and that this revealed a deterioration in Soviet-German relations, and is designed to exert pressure on Germany. Lately, various versions of these rumors are being repeated almost daily in the American, Japanese, English, French, Turkish, and Swedish press.

Tass is authorized to state that all these rumors, the absurdity of which is obvious anyway, by no means correspond to the truth. In the Baltic countries there are actually neither 100 nor 150 divisions, but altogether no more than 18 to 20 divisions, and these divisions are not concentrated at the Lithuanian-German border but in the various districts of the three Baltic Republics, and their purpose is not to exert "pressure" on Germany but to provide a guarantee for the execution of the mutual assistance pacts between the USSR and these countries.

Responsible Soviet circles are of the opinion that the spreading of these absurd rumors aims particularly at clouding Soviet-German relations. These gen18

tlemen, however, pass off their secret wishes as reality. Apparently, they are incapable of grasping the obvious fact that the good neighborly relations, resulting from the conclusion of the Nonaggression Pact between the USSR and Germany, cannot be shaken by any rumors or petty poisonous propaganda, because these relations are not based on motives of opportunism but on the fundamental interests of the USSR and Germany."

SCHULENBURG. /Ibid., p. 156./

#### 84. Nazis Are Grateful to Stalin

Moscow, June 24, 1940.

After the conclusion of our conversation of yesterday concerning Bessarabia . . . Molotov, with obvious complacency, brought up the *Tass* communique of June 22, whereupon I expressed my appreciation.

I infer from the wording of the communiqué that Stalin himself is the author. The refutation of numerous rumors now circulating concerning differences between Germany and the Soviet Union and concerning troop concentrations in connection with Soviet operations in the Baltic region, and the unequivocal clarification of German-Soviet relations ought to be altogether to our advantage at this important juncture. However, the further aim of the communiqué, to emphasize German-Soviet solidarity as a preparation for the solution of the Bessarabian problem, is just as plain.

SCHULENBURG. /Ibid., p. 157./

### 85. Nazi Insider Predicts Incorporation of the Baltic States

Ambassador Schulenburg to Weizsäcker.

Moscow, July 11, 1940.

The renewed diplomatic activity which the Soviet Union has displayed during the last few weeks has naturally become a main subject of discussion among the members of the Diplomatic Corps here. Some things are not yet completely clear, as for instance the question as to why the Soviet Union just at this time proceeded or allegedly will yet proceed against a number of countries. Most of my colleagues are of the opinion that the Soviets, who are always very well informed, know or at least assume the end of the war to be imminent. . . .

The entire political interest in Moscow is now focused on events in the Baltic States and what will happen in relation to Turkey and Iran.

Most people believe that the three Baltic States will be changed into entities completely dependent on Moscow, i.e., will be incorporated into the Soviet Union. The Legations of the three Baltic States here in Moscow expect to be completely dissolved and to disappear in a very short time. It is generally believed that the Soviet Government will demand the withdrawal of all foreign missions in Kaunas, Riga, and

Reval. The excitement among Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians here is extremely great. However, actual developments will have to be awaited. . . .

Count von der Schulenburg. /Ibid., pp. 164-165./

#### 86. Russia Wants the Rest of Lithuania

Moscow, July 13, 1940-7:04 p.m.

Molotov summoned me today and stated the following: Stalin had carefully re-examined the situation with respect to the strip of Lithuanian territory and has concluded that our claim to this strip of territory and the Soviet obligation to cede it are incontestible. Under the present circumstances, however, the cession of this strip of territory would be extremely inconvenient and difficult for the Soviet Government. Therefore, Stalin and he himself earnestly request the German Government to consider whether, in conformity with the extraordinarily friendly relations between Germany and the Soviet Union, a way cannot be found which would leave this strip of territory permanently with Lithuania. Molotov added that we could of course at any time move the population of German origin out of Lithuania, as well as out of this strip of territory. Molotov stressed again and again the difficulties which would at present result for the Soviet Union from the cession of this strip of territory, and he made his and Stalin's request seem very urgent by repeatedly expressing hope of a German concession. Request instructions by wire. Perhaps, the Soviet request can be used to put through our economic and financial demands with respect to the Baltic States.

SCHULENBURG /Ibid., p. 166./

### 87. "The People Helped by the Mighty Red Army"

Now the people, helped by the mighty Red Army, have . . . established in their own country the Soviet Government. . . . If the people have been able to establish in their own country the only just order—the Soviet order—it is all due to the Soviet Union.

/Resolution of the "People's Diet" of Lithuania "requesting" incorporation by the Soviet Union, July 21, 1940./

# 88. The Fraud Demasked by Forced Actors of the Drama Staged in the State Theater of Kaunas

The People's Seimas could not and did not proclaim the will of the Lithuanian people because—

(a) The composition of the People's Seimas was made up in advance by Communist Party, directed by Moscow's representative, V. G. Dekanozov, and by the Soviet Minister to Lithuania, N. G. Pozdnyakov. The candidates could be submitted only by the "Working People's Union," nominated by the Communist Party, and the number of candidates corresponded to the number of the members to be elected to the People's Seimas. (b) As the composition of the members was made up in advance, in order to enhance the effect it was declared that 95.51 percent of all the electorate had voted, whilst in actual fact, as confirmed by the People's Seimas Election Committee and by the statement made by the former People's Commissar, M. Gedvila, and by the President the LSSR Supreme Soviet, J. Paleckis, at the secret meetings, only 16 to 18 percent of valid voting cards were submitted at the polls.

(c) A number of members of the Seimas, who were not members of the Communist Party, were compelled by threats to become members of the Seimas.

(d) When voting on the incorporation into the Soviet Union took place, the votes of the members were not counted, and all strangers present at the meeting (held in a theater) voted together with them. Not a single member of the People's Seimas could protest against the compulsion as, in view of the circumstances, such protest involved danger to his life. Moscow's representative and members of the Soviet Legation openly threatened all those members of the Seimas and their families who would dare to announce that they will not vote for incorporation into the Soviet Union.

Kaunas, August 30, 1942. /Signatures follow./

# 89. "Leaders of the Soviet Union Decided to Incorporate . . ."

Molotov told me in Moscow on 30 June 1940: "If the Russian Tsars, beginning with Ivan the Terrible, tried to establish themselves on the Baltic Sea, they had done this not out of their personal ambitions but in the interest of the Russian State and the Russian Nation. It would be unpardonable if the Soviet Union were not to seize this opportunity which might never recur again. The leaders of the Soviet Union decided to incorporate the Baltic States into the family of the Soviet Republics."

Report by Prof. Vincas Krève-Mickevičius, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania in the interim "People's Government" of June-July 1940.

### 90. Minister Kazys Skirpa Protests to Berlin

Foreign Office Memorandum

Berlin, July 22, 1940.

The Lithuanian Minister called on me today and stated the following:

In view of the important events in his country he considered it his duty not to let these events pass into history without taking action. He had summarized his attitude toward events in Lithuania in a letter to the Reich Foreign Minister. The presentation of this letter amounted to a unilateral act on his part, for which he alone assumed responsibility. He himself did not

wish to cause any embarrassment to German policy by this act.

19

The matter arose in the following way: Some time ago, as a precaution, Foreign Minister Urbšys instructed all Lithuanian Ministers to take such a step in case of a transfer of sovereignty to the Soviet Union. On the basis of a communication between the Lithuanian Ministers he felt sure that a corresponding note would be presented today in all capitals in which Lithuania was represented. The Minister then handed me the enclosed letter, which contains "a most solemn and determined protest."

I told Herr Skirpa that for the time being I wanted to keep the document myself, and I assumed from his statements that he did not expect any comment on it. However, I could not tell him whether as the German Government we would be prepared to accept such a note at all, and we would therefore have to reserve the right to return it to him.

The Minister then stated that particularly in view of the known attitude of Germany he had omitted one point in the note, which the other Lithuanian Ministers would include in their notes to the governments to which they were accredited, namely, the request that the incorporation not be recognized. The Minister asked whether he could not at least orally present this request here. I rejected this, whereupon the Minister stated that the request was to be considered as not having been made. Finally, the Minister said that he intended to make known his action by an announcement from the Berlin office of the Elta Agency, since this appeared to him necessary for the assertion of his personal attitude toward events.

I requested the Minister to refrain from this, and

he promised to comply.

Transmitted to the Reich Foreign Minister through the State Secretary with the request for instructions whether the note should be retained here. The Latvian and Estonian Ministers may be expected to present similar notes here. The Latvian Minister had already made appointment with me for 5:30 p.m. today.

WOERMANN.

### /Enclosure/

Herr Reich Minister: I have the honor, Excellency, to bring the following to your attention:

As is already known, on June 14, 1940, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presented an ultimatum to Lithuania under flimsy and unjustified pretexts, in which it was demanded:

1. that the constitutional government of Lithuania be forced to resign immediately;

2. that the Minister of the Interior and the Chief of the State Security Police be tried without preferring charges based on law, and

3. that free and unlimited entry of Soviet military forces into Lithuania be granted.

On the following day the Russian Red Army, after having attacked the Lithuanian frontier guards, crossed the Lithuanian border and occupied all of Lithuania. Furthermore, a puppet government was forced upon us by a high Soviet official sent from Moscow for this purpose, and the entire administration was put under the control of the Government of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

In order to incorporate Lithuania fully into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, elections to the Seim (Parliament) were ordered on July 14, resulting in the greatest falsification of the will of the Lithuanian population.

In order to quell any expression of resistance, even before the elections all Lithuanian clubs and organizations were suppressed, the Lithuanian press was seized and its editors removed by force, and the more or less influential personalities in public life were arrested. People who previously were considered open enemies of the Lithuanian State were appointed to Government offices, particularly in the State Security Police.

The Communist Party was the only political organization which was allowed to function legally. And it then exerted the decisive influence on the scheduled elections. Only one list of candidates was permitted, namely, the one that was agreeable to the Communist Party.

In order to force the necessary participation in the elections anybody who did not wish to vote was threatened with being declared an enemy of the people, and personal attendance was strictly checked.

It was immediately obvious that the Seim, elected under such circumstances, was only a blind tool in the hands of the Communist Party and thereby of the Government of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Today, on July 21, 1940, the Seim adopted a resolution to establish the Soviet system within the country and to incorporate Lithuania into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia.

All these measures of the Government of the U.S.S.R. amount to a flagrant violation of all treaties signed between the Republic of Lithuania and the U.S.S.R., in particular however:

- 1. of the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, by which the U.S.S.R. as successor of the former Russian Tsarist Empire recognized unconditionally the independence and autonomy of Lithuania, and by which she renounced forever all rights of sovereignty which Russia previously had over Lithuania (see article 1);
- 2. of the Nonaggression Pact of September 22, 1926, and of the renewals of May 6, 1931, and of April 4, 1934. In this Pact the U.S.S.R. obligates herself to respect the sovereignty of Lithuania as well as her territorial integrity and inviolability under all circumstances (see article 2) and to refrain from any use of force (article 3);
- 3. of the Mutual Assistance Pact of October 10, 1939, in which the Government of the U.S.S.R. repeats a solemn assurance to Lithuania not to violate in any way the sovereignty of the Lithuanian State, as well as its internal order.

In view of all these circumstances I feel compelled as the Minister appointed by the constitutional agencies of the Republic of Lithuania and accredited to the German Reich to lodge the most solemn and determined protest against the oppression of my country and the deprivation of sovereignty and national independence of Lithuania by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and to declare that because the abovementioned resolution of the Seim was imposed by Russian occupation authorities it amounts to nothing but the most outrageous falsification of the expression of the will of the Lithuanian people and that it is in the sharpest conflict with the constitution and interests of the Lithuanian State, as well as the free right of selfdetermination of nations, and that, therefore, it cannot be recognized as valid any way.

I avail myself of the opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

K. SKIRPA.

/Ibid., pp. 171-172./

### 91. Latvian Minister Called . . .

Berlin, July 22, 1940.

The Latvian Minister called on me today and gave me the enclosed letter to the Reich Foreign Minister, in which he as Minister of the "legitimate Government of Latvia" protests against the incorporation of Latvia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In this connection the Minister remarked that he would not think of creating any difficulties for Germany. None could, in his opinion, result from his entering this protest here.

I told Herr Kreewinsch that I would keep his letter personally for the time being. I would notify him later whether the letter could remain here or not.

In connection with the memorandum of the conversation with the Lithuanian Minister there is transmitted herewith this report to the Reich Foreign Minister through the State Secretary, with the request for action.

WOERMANN.

/Enclosure/

Berlin, July 22, 1940.

Herr Reich Minister: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency of the following:

The Parliament which convened on the 21st instant in Riga has proclaimed Latvia a Soviet Republic, and it has addressed to Moscow the request that Latvia be incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This resolution lacks any legal basis, since Parliament itself owes its existence to elections which were held under the terror of Russian occupation and which could not in any way be considered a free expression of the popular will. Previous to this the invasion of Latvia by Soviet troops was already a violation of all existing treaties between Latvia and the Soviet Union.

As Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the legitimate Government of Latvia I consider it my duty to inform Your Excellency of my protest against the above-mentioned action.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

EDG. KREEWINSCH: /Ibid., pp. 171-172./

# 92. The United States Adheres to the Principles of Law and Order

Statement by the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Welles (Released to the press July 23, 1940.)

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 neighbors, have been rapidly drawing to their conclusion.

From the day when the peoples of these republics first gained their independent 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.

These principles constitute the very foundations upon which the existing relationship between the 21 sovereign republics of the New World rests.

The United States will continue to stand by these principles, because of the conviction of the American people that unless the doctrine in which these principles are inherent once again governs the relations beweeen nations, the rule of reason, of justice, and of

law—in other words, the basis of modern civilization itself—cannot be preserved.

/The Department of State Bulletin, vol. III, No. 57, July 27, 1940, p. 48./

# 93. Protests "Returned in a Friendly Manner" by the Nazis . . .

Berlin, July 24, 1940.

I returned today in a friendly manner the notes regarding the incorporation of their countries into the Soviet Union to the Lithuanian and Latvian Ministers and justified this by stating that we could accept from Ministers only notes which they presented here in the name of their Governments. At the same time, in accordance with instructions, I did not indicate that they were returned by order of the Reich Foreign Minister.

The Estonian Minister likewise wished to hand me a similar note today. I requested him to refrain from doing so, giving the appropriate reasons.

The Lithuanian Minister informed me that of his own accord he had sent the Lithuanian Government a telegram of protest against the resolution of incorporation into the Soviet Union, stating among other things that he did not consider this resolution binding on the Lithuanian people, the nation or himself. The Latvian and Estonian Ambassadors told me that they had not sent a similar telegram and did not contemplate doing so.

Furthermore, I told the three Ministers that they and the other members of the Legation, including families, if they so desired, could remain in Germany. The three Ministers expressed their very great appreciation for this and also requested me to thank the Reich Foreign Minister.

WOERMA'NN.
/Nazi-Soviet Relations, supra, pp. 172-173./

(To be continued)

### "THIS GIVES US HOPE ..."

Honorable HARRY S. TRUMAN President of the United States White House Washington, D. C.

Chicago, March 17, 1948

We beg to express, Mr. President, our deep satisfaction with the courageous stand taken by you in your great message to Congress in which you called upon the people of U.S.A. to assist free nations of Europe to defend themselves against the totalitarian aggressor.

We especially appreciate the fact that on the same day in your admirable speech in New York you denounced Soviet Union for subjugation of several European nations and expressly mentioned Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia among its unfortunate victims. This gives us hope that in the final struggle for liberation of Europe and establishment of a just peace, all efforts will be made to restore also the independence of the Baltic States.

Lithuanian American Council Executive Board
LEONARD ŠIMUTIS, President
PIUS GRIGAITIS, Secretary
MICHAEL VAIDYLA, Treasurer

## Lithuanian Folk Art

By Jurgis Baltrušaitis, Ph.D. (Continuation)

II.

## Crosses and Chapels

Converted Lithuania often built its chapels in places where the ancient holy groves and other holy sites had been situated. The first Cathedral to which historians refer bore the following inscription above the high altar where the perpetual light had burned in the past:

"Principalem autem aram in loco ubi ignis qui falso perpetuus creditus est, accendebater, constituit, ut error gentilis fieret cunctis petentior."

However, Lithuania is not only a country of wooden churches. She is particularly a land of crosses.

These wayside crosses are inseparable from the landscape. Their silhouettes mark the undulations of the fields and penetrate deeply into the forests. They are guardians of the rural homes. They are to be found at crossroads, near springs, on graves, on the "piliakalniai" (castle hills), in lonely spots or in frequented ones. It is said in the folk legends that in Holy Samagitia there is a cross at every ten paces. They were so numerous in the cemetery at Vilnius that no space was left for trees.

Originally used as tombstones, these crosses became mainly ex voto's. They commemorate a birth, a baptism, or other happy event. They were erected during periods of epidemics or drought. To the peasant they recall either his success or the varied misfortunes of life. Their consecration was accompanied by ancient rites and banquets, at which mead and beer flowed freely. Dancing and drinking sometimes went on for two full days. These shrines often were crosses in name only, and the clergy were opposed to their erection. For a long period since 1426, the Church had banned these crosses. It refused to bless them and they were banished from the vicinity of the churches.

Dr. Jonas Basanavičius has proved that these monumental crosses had originated from the deeprooted primitive beliefs. Poles, a sort of rudimentary stelae, were already found in pre-historic burial places. The archives of the church of Isrutė (Insterburg), in East Prussia, describe the custom which the Lithuanians still followed in the seventeenth century in Prussia—that of placing the carved wooden figurines on their tombstones: horses for the men, birds for the women (Fig. 10). Even today, in the cemeteries of fishermen in the Klaipėda (Memel) District, toads and other fantastic beasts carved in oak and pine are to be observed. They are placed not at the head but at the feet of the dead. There is no Christian symbolism in these monsters crouching over the graves.

Adomas Varnas, a noted artist, has photographed over 2,000 of them, all different yet separable into groups. According to Paulius Galaunė, Custodian of

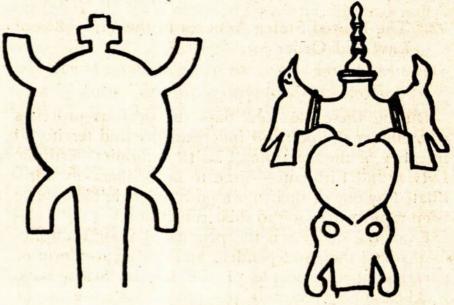
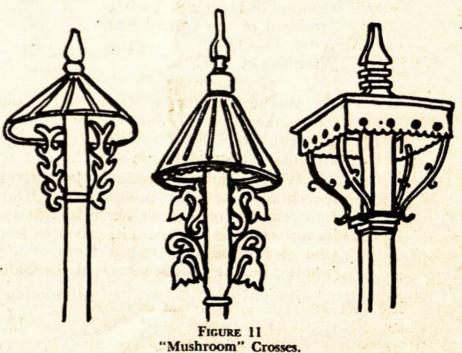


FIGURE 10
Tombstone steles of Prussian Lithuania.

the Čiurlionis Gallery, the most ancient form is that of a totem-like simple treetrunk, rudely squared. Similar tombstone poles have been found in Finland, Hungary and parts of Russia. Some of these poles have tiny roofs, others have small niches. These two archaic models gave rise to two types of shrines adapted to converted Lithuania: the so-called "mushroom" crosses, crowned by a rounded roof, and the "lantern" crosses, consisting of a small chapel on a pedestal. A third group consists of true crosses, a synthesis of the two other groups.

The woodcarver delighted more in designing, redesigning and discovering new shapes for these crosses—kinds of masterpieces of handicraft—than in the construction of churches or homes. The peasants continually changed the shape of the roofs of the "mushroom" crosses, giving them a conical or pyramidical form, shaping them as a star or as a Greek cross (Fig. 11). Cornices were added, supported by ornamental

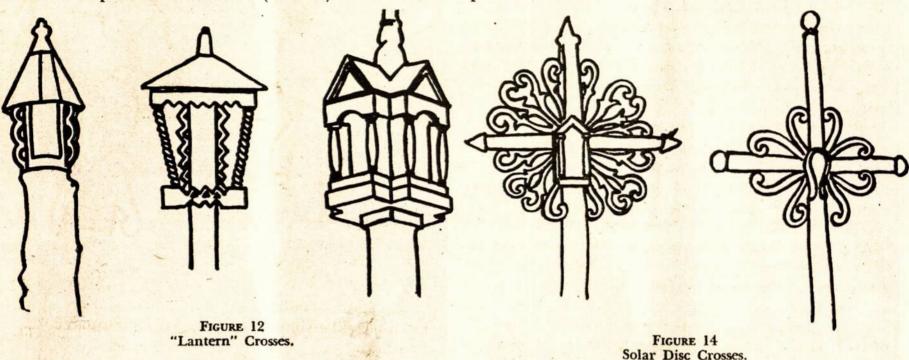


brackets, by foliage, by twisted columns. In reality they are shrines mounted on high poles. One structure is often built over another, constituting curious pagodas.

The "lantern" type was also constructed in a variety of ways. Instead of a simple roof, we find entire tiny houses modeled after the *klėtis* with a distyle pediment; cruciform or polygon constructions, with spires, central cupolas or rotundas (Fig. 12). Pillars were

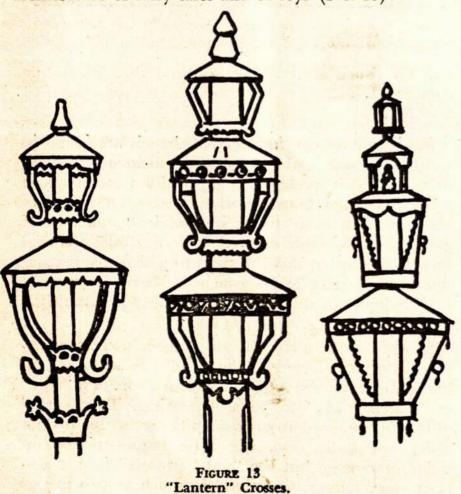
chapel is then placed at the crossing of the arms of the cross. In some instances, even the chapel is omitted, leaving only the rear wall which then becomes an independent element in the scheme of decoration an impressive shield of curious outline set at the crossing of the crossarms.

One would be inclined to suppose that henceforth all traces of the ancient motifs would have disappeared. But that is not the case. Often there are wheels



sometimes substituted for walls. The chapel itself was enclosed in denticulated grilles, tailpieces and openwork ballustrades. The whole seems almost completely submerged by this light burden. This is the architecture of fairy tales and of toys (Fig. 13).

or fire-discs around the cross, with or without a chapel (Fig. 14). As in Ireland, there are circles or fans of arrows, foliage, palm-leaves, or floral motifs. Some-



But it is the third group, that of the cross proper, which is best suited to "wood jewelry craftsmanship." It can be combined with the lantern group. The little

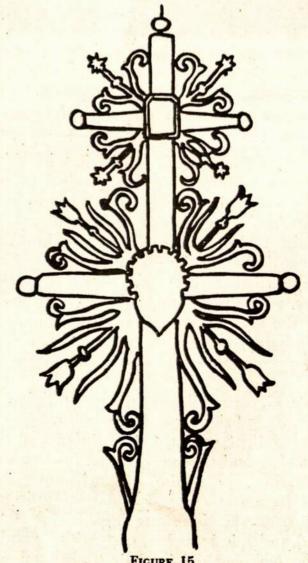


FIGURE 15 A Solar Disc Cross.

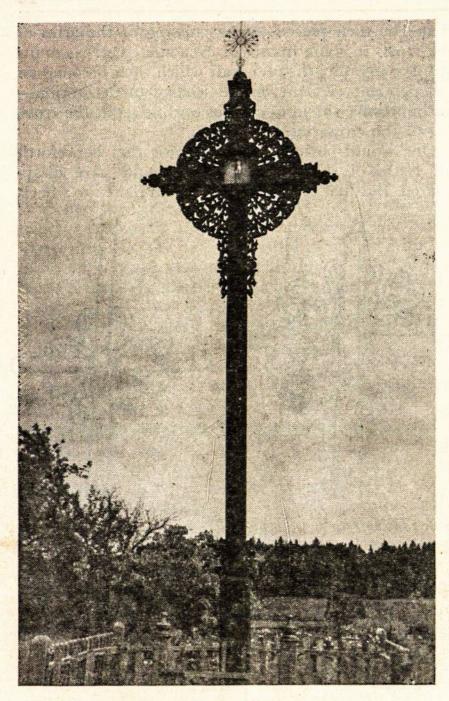


FIGURE 16 A Solar Disc Cross.

times their dimension is that of a simple halo, but in other cases, the cross itself seems to disappear. The hardly discernible Christian symbol becomes associated with an alien element which has its origin in ancient pagan traditions. It is a survival of pre-historic forms and of the ancient beliefs in the heavenly bodies. Sun-wheels are revived which eclipse the symbol of Christ. Did not Jerome of Prague find the cult of the sun still alive in the fifteenth century? Furthermore, the ancient myths survived in the "Dainos" (folksongs) which were handed down from mouth to mouth by the succeeding generations.

There is hardly any reason to doubt that the most ancient forms are those in which the theme of the wheel predominates. Mingled with the flame symbols of the first god, the emblem of the new religion was at first lost in their brightness. Only gradually were the two separated, little by little, the brilliance of the sun faded (Fig. 15) and the sun changed into an aureola. For a long time, the symbol of Christianity and the symbol of paganism enjoyed equal recognition, but finally the cross was victorious (Fig. 16). At first, the crosses had multiple branches, each with several arms. Eventually they emerged in their traditional simplic-

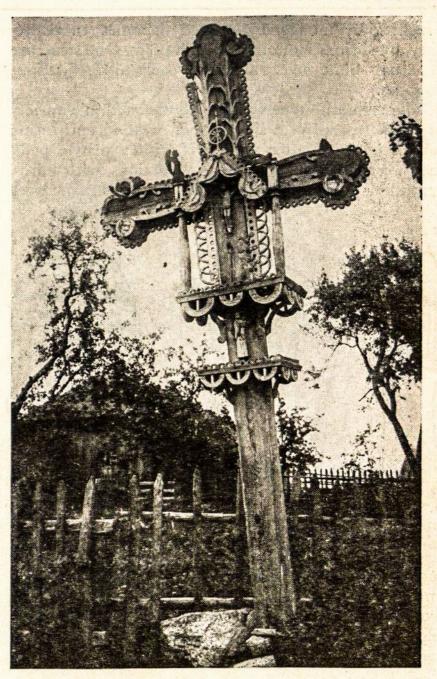


FIGURE 17 A Carved Cross.

ity. The huge austere crosses found throughout the countryside belong to the most recent type. (Figs. 17 and 18).

Small solitary commemorative chapels are found in the forests and in the fields. They belong to a later date and their presence is especially widespread in Samagitia. They house small statuettes. Offerings are brought to decorate them: necklaces of amber or of glass, ribbons, multi-colored bits of cloth, artificial flowers, and often small mirrors to which a particular significance seems to be attached. Mirrors surrounding the figure of the Holy Virgin reflect and multiply Her beloved image.

Sometimes these chapels are lodged in trees, sometimes they are erected on the ground or are raised on the foundation of stones. They form a sort of a "cage" or "watch tower" to house the saints. The "cages" (Fig. 19) attached to an oak, pine or fir-tree do not differ essentially from the little houses placed on stelae or crosses, but the "watch towers" form a distinct type. Larger, sometimes as much as two meters high, they are no longer playthings, but are not yet houses. Sometimes they consist of an old hollow tree-trunk topped by a cone-shaped roof. They might be



FIGURE 18 A Carved Cross.

miniature reproductions of the church—the *klėtis* or its pyramidal steeple or belfry. Sometimes they are shaped as rotundas, hexagons or octagons. Their reduced scale facilitated their construction. At once church and a piece of furniture, they are infinite in their variety. But they are not the creations of ornament workers, as are the lanterns. Decorative elements of the Western architecture are applied to them. Gothic and classic forms are rearranged to suit the taste of the builder.

Spires and flowers cover and surround the little chapels. Broken arches top the walls and join the colonnades. One theme is lost in another and is then renewed again. Out of this medley there grew a little architecture of fantasy, the Pompeian style of the Middle Ages, like that of the tabernacles and of stained glass windows.

Baroque motifs, treated freely but with a sense of measure, were introduced, too. Little is lacking: the gable-end, the split fronton, the lightly outlined roof. The cornices, entablatures, columns, capitals and mouldings were cut with minute dexterity. Real and imaginary, these tempietti lost in the surrounding

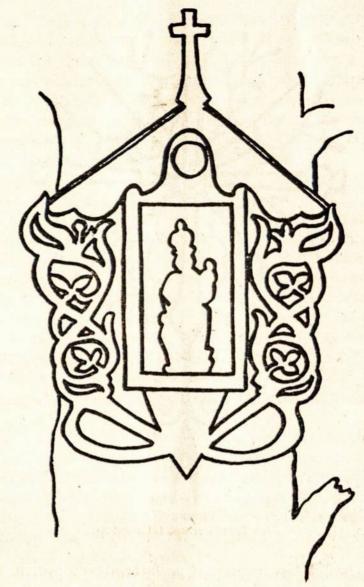


FIGURE 19 A Treetrunk Chapel,

foliage, seem to be made to welcome the little deities of nature. (Fig. 20).

Metal ornaments often decorate the roofs of these chapels, just as they adorn the stelae, crosses and

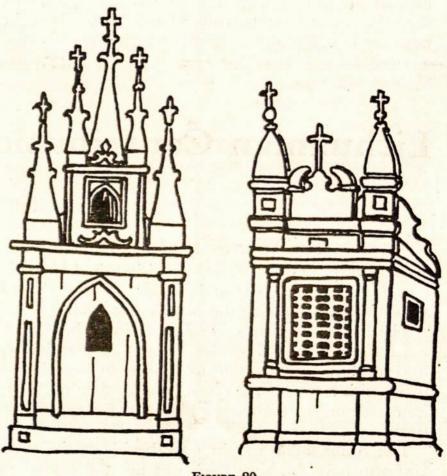
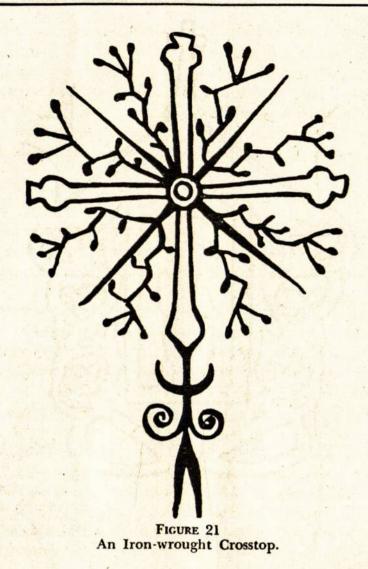
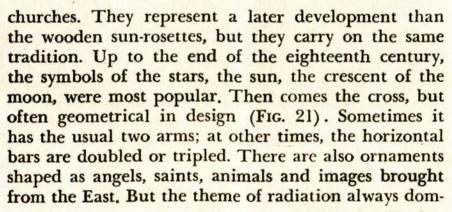
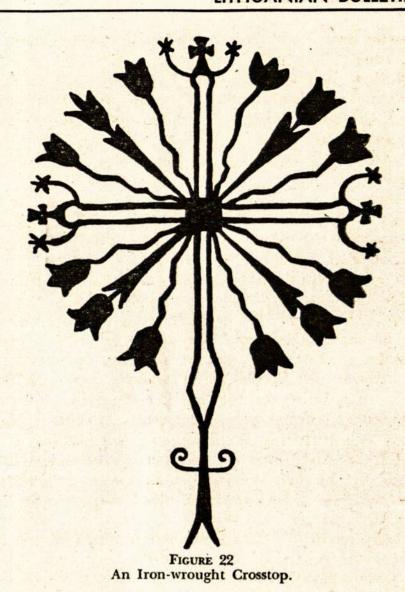


FIGURE 20
Votive (commemorative) Chapels.







inates the design. Darts spout in all directions; blades with regular undulations; conventionalized vegetation; the tulip, already found in pre-historic jewels; the  $r\bar{u}ta$  (rue), which is the national flower; fir boughs. Wrought in metal, they acquired its hardness and its delicacy. In their complex tracery, all the parts are joined most cleverly and are cut with cold precision. The monuments are crowned by iron crystals, which seem very like the blackened crystals of ice. (Fig. 22).

(To be continued)

# Lithuanian Contribution To America's Making

By Constantine R. Jurgėla, LL.B., LL.M. (Continued)

### The War of 1812-1815

Another prominent American visitor in Lithuania was Joel Barlow, poet-Ambassador of the United States to France during the Napoleonic Wars.

The French-English wars seriously hurt the American seaborne trade. The Government at Washington instructed its Ambassador to France to negotiate a treaty with Napoleon, to restore the freedom of American trade on the high seas and on the European continent.

The Ambassador was in poor health at the time. Unfortunately for him, Paris was not the capital of the Napoleonic Empire then. Vilnius, the capital of

the reconstituted Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was Napoleon's capital and headquarters, the seat of the French Foreign Office and foreign ambassadors accredited to Napoleon.

Unwillingly—but dutifully—Barlow undertook the arduous journey across the war-ravaged continent, from Paris to Vilnius, in the fall of 1812. With Thomas Barlow, his nephew, the Ambassador crossed the Nemunas at Kaunas on 17 November 1812 and arrived in Vilnius—only to leave that city on 8th December. His letters from Lithuania depict the full horror of the French retreat: Life and Letters of Joel Barlow, LL.D., Poet, Statesman, Philosopher, by

Charles Burr Todd, New York-London 1886, Chapter IX, pages 276-283.

Barlow died and was buried at Zarnowiec, in Poland, on 26 December 1812. The raids by the marauding Russian kozaks prevented the shipment of his body to the United States.

\* \*

As in the American Revolution, persons of Lithuanian origin or descent fought in the opposing armies. Lithuanian manpower was scattered throughout the Napoleonic, Russian, Prussian, British and American forces in Europe, Asia, Canada, and the Antilles.

On the American side, we may mention some soldiers whose family names—the only available means for predicating the nationality in the absence of more specific evidence—show some relationship with the Lithuanian origin. The list is far from complete, and is based only on the longer list elaborated by a distinguished Polish-American historian, Miecislaus Haiman. Unfortunately, Mr. Haiman is not familiar with the Lithuanian language and personalities, and had made no mention of typically Lithuanian names of non-Slavonic roots which, undoubtedly, are to be found in the records.

Drawing on the list contained in Haiman's Slady Polskie w Ameryce (Chicago 1938, pp. 39-41), we note the following: John Bogas, John Malus (Meilus) and several members of the Sandusky-Sindusky-Sodosky family, of Kentucky militia and cavalry; Lieut. Benjamin Bonawits, George Jasonsky (Jašunskas or Jasiūnas), John Kaskey and Adam Redek (Ridikas), of the Pennsylvania militia; John C. Kaminskie of the Maryland militia; Jason Kranska and William H. Oraskey (Arauskas) of the Massachusetts militia; Schomota (Šemeta—a notable Lithuanian family) of the Mississippi militia; George Zobiskie (Žiobiškis or Zubrickas) of the Norfolk, Va., militia. Finally, Joseph Gabriel, "born in Poland," a veteran of the Revolutionary War.

It is of interest to note that an Assistant Surgeon of the Maryland militia bore an odd name—for an American: Stanislas Combs.

### Lithuanians in British Forces

Following the dismemberment of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Eastern European outpost of liberalism and democracy in a continent dominated by the "Big Three" autocracies of Russia, Prussia and Austria,—masses of patriots went into voluntary exile, as in the post-1939 era. Most of the exiles went to Revolutionary France. They were ready to fight under any flag against their oppressors—war holds no terror for men without a future in the so-called "peace" precariously maintained by the "Big Three" powers. "Polish Legions" were soon formed by the exiles. These forces constantly attracted new volunteers—deserters from the Russian, Prussian and Austrian forces, and men who made their way from Poland and Lithuania.

The "Vistula Legion" of Gen. Dąbrowski was made up almost exclusively of Poles. The "Danubian Legion" of Gen. Kniazewicz, a Lithuanian from Latgale, was made up almost exclusively of Lithuanians, White Ruthenes and Ukrainians from the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Contemporary writers estimated that 12,000 Lithuanians served in the Napoleonic Legions.

Some of these soldiers were taken prisoner by the British in Egypt, Germany, Italy and Spain. The PWs were kept in the rotting and rat infested hulls of prison ships—the horror experienced by numerous Americans during the Revolutionary War. Facing a choice between rotting to death in prison ships, or enlisting in the ranks of the former enemy,—the wretched prisoners elected enlistment in the British service. The records note the earliest "enlistments" in Germany in 1801, at Malta in 1802-1806, in England and Spain in 1806-1811, and some enlistments in India.

Until a few years ago, there was general knowledge that some Polish and Lithuanian legionaries were captured at sea on the return trip from San Domingo; that in 1806 some legionaries were imprisoned at Santa Euphemia on Malta, and that others were imprisoned during the Spanish Campaign of 1808-1812. In fact, some of these Lithuanians and Poles were occasionally liberated—as, for instance, 120 were liberated near Fuentes Onoro in 1811.

Stanislas Broeckere, one of the Legion officers, complained in his "Memoirs of the Spanish War," published in 1877: "Our soldiers . . . were housed here, at Alicante, in dark dungeons and hunger forced them to accept enlistment in the English forces. Place-Adjutant here was a Pole, a former officer of the Lancers of the Vistula Legion who had been expelled from our army for bad conduct. He tormented the prisoners with hunger and penalties, forcing them to enlist, and there was nothing strange if these wretches, committed to his power, cowed before compulsion. This man had no honor. He was a renegade entangled in bad excesses, and I shall not mention his name lest the blot be recorded on his family. As soon as the (English) Legion was formed and clothed, the men were shipped to Lisbon and landed there, to fight under Wellington at Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo and Victoria. Later, however, some of the soldiers crossed over to our lines. Such an incident also occurred during the British landing at Vliessingen in the Flanders." (Pamiętniki z Wojny Hiszpańskiej, Warszawa 1877, pp. 102-103).

While the history of the Legions was fairly completely covered by a number of distinguished researchers, very little was known of the fate of the men who were compelled to bleed for Britain. Recently, however, the British War Office released the rosters of the regiments in which these former PWs served, and more light was shed on the tragic destinies of these Lithuanian and Polish men. The rosters mention the place and country of birth of each soldier.

It appears that the former PWs were concentrated

in two regiments. The de Watteville Regiment, originally a Swiss mercenary unit, was acquired by the British in 1801, and some men from the de Frohberg Regiment were transferred to this regiment. The de Meuron Regiment, originally in Dutch service, was acquired by the British in 1795 during the expedition to Ceylon and was employed in subduing the rebellions in India.

These regiments saw service in rear positions in the Mediterranean area until February 1813, when Wellington ordered the detachments to sail from Cadiz in Spain to Quebec in Canada, to campaign against the Americans. The two regiments landed in Quebec in the early summer of 1813. The rosters listed 529 Lithuanians and Poles at the time of their landing in Canada. The men ranged in age between 20 and 50.

General John Armstrong, Kościuszko's friend and American Secretary of War, soon learned of the presence of the disgruntled foreigners in the British service. Writing 18 September 1813 from Sacketts Harbor, Armstrong urged Gen. Wilkins to attack Kingston, Ont., considering that these impressed foreign troops were a liability to the British.

Indeed, the troopers deserted at first and the British dealt harshly with them—one deserter, Daniel-kowicz, was executed by the firing squad at Kingston, Ont., on 23 October 1813. Eventually, however, these veteran troops recaptured their accustomed soldiering standards and desertions became a rarity.

The de Watteville Regiment engaged the Americans in combat on 26 October 1813, before Chateaugay. Considerable casualties were suffered in the frontier skirmishes. Later, the regiment was moved farther westward, to "The Niagara Frontier." The regiment besieged the American Fort Erie, near Buffalo, N. Y., in the summer of 1814. Heavy casualties were suffered in September 1814, when the Americans raided the British camp.

William Dunlop in his Recollections of the American War 1812-1814 (Toronto, Ont., 1906, pp. 61-74) mentions this regiment and its excellent war record. He noted that the regular English troops suffered sickness and death camping under open sky in a rainy season, in a wild country, while the Canadians and the foreign troops were better trained to provide shelter for themselves in most adverse conditions. He also noted that while the English suffered when their accustomed beef rations were unavailable, the foreigners ably utilized all sorts of herbs (we may recall the Lithuanian national dishes of "rūškiniai", "putra", "lapienė", and the cabbage soup, "bastučiai" or "kopūstai") in their diet. The British officers generally looked down on their serf troops and blamed them for their own errors and misfortunes. Nevertheless, they appreciated the woodcraftsmanship and the culinary improvisation talents of their sturdy conscripts.

The de Meuron Regiment is mentioned less frequently in the annals of the war. It was employed mainly to protect the Montreal area.

The survivors were eventually demobilized and set-

tled along the Red River and in Western Ontario as military settlers—or "British kozaks". The city of Vilna in Canada was probably founded by them. Some of these settlers later moved to the Dakotas, after several years of drought and the loss of their horses.—It may be mentioned that the town of Wilna, former seat of the Jefferson County in New York, was founded independently in 1813, in honor of the "city in Russia" where Napoleon had waged battles a year earlier.

In addition to these two regiments and the de Frohberg Regiment, other Lithuanians and Poles were formed into two cavalry troops, named the "Chasseurs Britanniques." These troops, made up of the heavily depleted remnants of the Napoleonic legionaries captured in the West Indies, were not actually employed in the American campaign. The soldiers openly rebelled when their ships approached the American shores. The British command did not dare risk their landing at Hampton Roads, Va., fearing that the few British officers might be seized and the rebels might surrender to the Americans. The two squadrons were brought, under armed escort, to Halifax, N. S., in July 1813. When rebellion persisted in the ranks, the troops were shipped back to Europe. (William Wood, Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812, vol. III, pp. 784-785).

### Regimental Rosters

Regimental "Registers," "Muster Books" and "Pay Lists" of these various units of the British "Foreign Legion" of the period of the Napoleonic Wars were not published. However, the Public Record Office of the British War Office (Chancery Lane, London, W. C. 2) made these troop rosters available to researchers in microfilm reproduction.

The records of the de Watteville Regiment for the period of 1801-1815 bear code numbers "Registers, Various—Description and Succession Book, Watteville's Regt.—Registry of the Non-commissioned officers. W.O. 25/679" and "Soldiers of de Watteville's Regiment. Description Book. W.O. 25/680."

The records of the de Meuron Regiment of the period 1795-1815 bear code number W. O. 25/677: "Registers, Various—Suite du Controle-Générale du Regiment Suisse de Meuron, au Regimental-Book, fait par rang d'ancienneté à commencer depuis le 14 Octobre 1795."

"Muster Books and Pay Lists of the Chasseurs Britanniques" for the period 1801-1814 bear code number W. O. 12/11628-11641. A statement of the Periods of Service of all N. C. O.s and Men of the Regiment liable for foreign service on 24 June 1806 bears the reference number "Registers, Various—W.O. 25/1099."

"Muster Books and Pay Lists of Froberg's Regiment" for the period 1806-1807 bear reference number W. O. 12/11735.

As the titles themselves disclose, the records were kept in a combination of English and French languages. As a matter of fact, Christian names were spelled in a language most familiar to the sergeants and junior officers in charge of the records—in English, German, French, Spanish or Italian versions, i.e., "John, Johan, Jean, Juan, Giovanni." No uniform rules of spelling of the family and place names were followed. The names were further mutilated by compilers of the master rolls.

For these reasons, regardless of the authenticity of data, it is still difficult to determine proper family and place names and it becomes necessary to suggest speculative assumptions. It is also apparent that the compilers omitted to note in the margin the numerous

deaths in consequence of the heavy casualties suffered by the de Watteville's Regiment in Canada.

The Lithuanians who served in these regiments originated predominantly from Sudavia, or southern Lithuania south of the Nemunas River, which had been a part of New East Prussia between the years 1795-1807 and of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw 1807-1815. Other Lithuanians originated from the Prussian regiments of Lithuania Minor. Still other inidividuals escaped across the Nemunas, the frontier river, to enlist in the Napoleonic armies and to fight against their Muscovite oppressors.

(To be continued)

# The Folk Theater

By Pulgis Andriusis

29

The beginning of dramatic acting among the Lithuanian rustic population is as ancient as their political history. It is difficult to trace the types of dramatic expression prevalent in the distant past since contemporary historical sources did not describe them. Nevertheless, the plentiful treasures of folklore preserve some traces of theatrical development.

The folklore has undergone some changes under the influence of Christianity—which is relatively a recent development in Lithuania. On the whole, however, only the elements of content had changed, while the basic forms and manner of expression remained the same. The Lithuanian marked every important event of his life by elaborate festive plays—the end of the harvesting, the coming of spring, the autumn holidays, the birth of another member of his family, marriage and death.

One of the most outstanding customs are the nuptial ceremonies, the epic portrayal of the newlyweds' joys, sorrows and hopes. Here the Lithuanian theatrical art had its picturesque start and developed an inclination to dramatization. The reminiscences of the older generation indicate that the wedding festival lasted an entire week, each day comprising several acts

of a continually unfolding drama.

The chief protagonist of this drama, Pirslys, the Matchmaker, attracted chief attention,—the tragic, comic and melancholy episodes turned around him. It was a festival of contrasts. It was inaugurated with the lamentations of the Bride, Nuotaka or Jaunamartė, her tearful sorrow in parting with her gray-haired mother and her loved ones as she was leaving her accustomed surroundings for an unknown future in a strange homestead in a distant village, where she was to live among hostile strangers and with an ill-tempered Anyta, the Mother-in-law . . . and the chorus of Bridesmaids, Pamerges, of mournfully tragic melodies. The scene dramatized the Bride's farewell to her carefree girlhood days, to the friends of her golden youth, and to "ruty vainikelis," her wreath of rue, the symbol of chastity. At this point the play assumed the appearance of grim reality. Every participant was deeply and genuinely affected by the tears and lamentations and the recollections excited by improvised songs.

Currently the Bridegroom, Jaunikis, was reminded of what lay in store for him. His boyhood friends and elder counsellors portrayed to him—in song and prose —the experiences and the disappointments of his aged Family Head who had gone through a similar drama some years earlier. The joys and sorrows of married life were beautifully recited, and the most sorrowful moment of the ceremony was reached at this point.

The Bride and her decorated dowry chest, her Kraitis, are taken away from home. Her parents, sisters, brothers and friends sing a moving farewell song. As far as they are concerned, she no longer was to be counted among the living. No longer was she to be a member of her parents' household and her native village's community. Whatever the personal feelings of the Bride, she shed mournful tears. Perhaps she loved her husband ardently . . . perhaps there was joy and much happiness in her heart. No matter: she wept, mourned and ululated. Such was the custom—such was the necessary dramatic setting: if one was taken away from his or her birthplace, one was obliged to weep or at least show a sorrowful mien.

The national character of a people is adapted to the character of the surrounding Nature. First the sky is darkened by gray clouds and rain moistens the green fields. It is sadly dreary. Then, suddenly, the sun bursts forth to kiss gaily the meadows, the forests, and the people. It is gay and cheerful . . . this sudden transition from depressing melancholy to the effervescence of joy.

Similarly, the nuptial wails and lamentations were diluted by the buffoonery of the Matchmaker who played pranks, stole anything he could lay his hands on for the Bride's benefit, and sang comic songs which

Groom, his home, and his farm. As in the customs of other peoples, the Matchmaker was the incarnation of deceit and chatter. His spoken orations, his longwinded speeches, were the apogee of Lithuanian humor and folk poetry. In these versified talks—made up on the spur of the moment and inspired by anything he might observe or overhear—he also praised the Bridegroom's virtues, his great wealth, his charitable deeds and his fantastic accomplishments. The audience, however, could find no substance to his praise, and the Matchmaker was condemned to die amid the most elaborate ceremonies. A sheaf of straw—the procrastinating Matchmaker in effigy—was hanged from a post.

Christianity also introduced opportunities for dramatic expressions in the villagers' life. Even now—that is, before the arrival of the brutal atheistic regime of the foreign occupant—the village youths celebrate the Epiphany, called the Fete of the Three Kings. They dress as the Magi, one with a darkened face. Accompanied by a member dressed as *Velnias*, the devil, they call on neighbors, they sing religious hymns and play comic pranks. The beginning of the fasting season was and is likewise dramatized: Lent struggles with Bacon. In this farewell to meat, so to speak, Bacon always capitulates to Lent.

The Lithuanian people experienced the mysticism of the Middle Ages to a lesser degree than most of the Western European peoples. Fewer traces of church-sponsored spectacles are found, with the exception of the moral plays staged by students of the Jesuit Academy in Vilnius on important religious holidays or in honor of a visiting ruler. But these plays were presented, for the most part, in the scholarly Latin language and could not affect the farming folk.

Nevertheless, puppet shows were presented on holidays in some of the village churches a few score years ago. Marionettes representing Christ, the Apostles and the crucifiers lie piled in a heap in back of the altar in one Samagitian church. These were used to illustrate the sermons, in a popular interpretation of the Scriptures. In some churches performers dressed up as angels and devils and acted out pantomimes before the eyes of the praying faithful. In Salakas parish, a devil used to descend down the rope swinging from the tallest spire of the church and play pranks characteristic of Purgatory. In some parishes, up to the occupation of Lithuania in 1940, people dressed up in the ancient military uniforms and stood watch over the tomb of Christ on Holy Saturday until the first Easter High Mass.

Finally, in some churches, huge centuries-old drums rumble and boom during the important moments of the services on Easter and Christmas. These drums, the būgnas, had seen action in Prussia, Livonia, Muscovy and Tartary some centuries earlier. . . .

The lack of morality and miracle plays is in part explained by the cirmustance that, in the olden times, most of the clergy did not speak the Lithuanian language and the churchgoers had been unable to understand the sermons, much less the plays.

The foundations of the modern professional theater in Lithuania were laid by the new educated class of the end of the 19th century. This was not an outgrowth of the theatrical folk rites and customs and was not prompted by the religious and scholarly plays of the Jesuits.

The universal movement of oppressed nationalities toward freedom and liberation swiftly engulfed Lithuania, as well as all of Europe. The Russian oppressive yoke and cruel repressive measures fell more heavily upon Lithuania than on the other Baltic peoples. The Lithuanians were not permitted to print books in their native language, to publish newspapers, to form political or cultural assemblies. While France was building up her long theatrical traditions based on Moliere's plays, and while the German Meiningenists were successfully developing new methods of stagecraft,—the Lithuanians were not even permitted to gather in a private apartment to exchange ideas in their mother tongue. For 120 years Lithuania lived under a permanent martial law, under the regime of the Russian military police and censorship. The "state of siege" was repeatedly invoked by Russia, inasmuch as each successive generation of Lithuania persisted in taking up arms and conspiring to rid itself of the foreign yoke. There could be no talk of organizing a theater on a commercial and artistic basis.

Lithuanian national renaissance was obliged to thrive as an illicit underground movement. Books, missals and newspapers were printed abroad and smuggled into the country by thousands of Book Carriers. With the movement steadily gaining strength, Lithuanian intellectuals conceived the idea of utilizing the theater in disseminating national ideas. The theater was rightly deemed to be an important political weapon. It was to be an "applied theater" whose mission was not purely one of art. It had to serve as the propagator of the ideas of freedom, the stimulus for the love of the mother tongue and national customs and ways of life.

Naturally, in assuming such weighty responsibilities, the theater could not stress the problem of art standards. A good farmer, a talented writer, a skillful surgeon, or a clever lawyer was not necessarily a gifted actor. Just the same, all of the cultural streams were enlisted in the crucial national cause, for the general good. It was thus during the great French Revolution; it was thus during the years of longing for freedom among all reawakening peoples.

The first play within the territorial limits of the Republic of Lithuania of 1918-1940, was staged in 1899 at Palanga, Lithuania's famous seaside resort of soft blueness and white dunes. Palanga was then a part of the Gouvernment of Kurland.

The initiators had to overcome serious difficulties. After many efforts, they managed to secure the consent of the Russian Governor of Kurland—a development unthinkable in the other "gouvernments" of Lithu-

ania Proper. "Amerika Pirtyje" — "America in the Bathhouse," a comedy by Keturakis, was staged in a barnshed.

It is true that Lithuanian plays had been presented a few years earlier at Sanktpeterburg, capital of the Russian Empire, and in the neighboring Lithuanian-inhabited East Prussia. Furthermore, amateur plays using the medium of the Lithuanian language on the stage had been occasionally produced at Riga in Latvia and in the United States of America. However, all those plays had no direct ties with the main population of Lithuania Proper and could not influence the people living under the conditions of martial law. On the other hand, the play staged in Palanga immediately reverberated in Lithuania as an event of far reaching significance. This was the signal for Lithuanian amateur groups everywhere. It was there, in Palanga, that the national Lithuanian Theater was born.

What was this comedy, "America in the Bathhouse?" Perhaps a hymn of propaganda for a national rebirth? Nothing of the sort! It was the story of simple village life, of a dashing young man who deceived a young girl, took her money and supposedly went to America, allegedly to earn enough money to pay for her passage to join him there later. However, the deceiver of the heart and purse hid in a public bath house instead. He was discovered there and properly punished. The comedy was written in lively dialect. It seethed with lively action and was full of surprises and provoking quid pro quo.

This simple comedy, acted out by amateurs, created a furor. It was viewed by an audience of patriotic Lithuanian aristocrats, by the clergy and a bishop, as well as by the simple rustics from the neighboring farms. The play affected all of this diverse audience in the same way but, at the same time, aroused the disfavor of the Russian police and other government authorities. Nevertheless, the shot was fired and its rumblings echoed throughout the enslaved country. Significantly enough, this first Lithuanian play was witnessed by a group of visitors from Prussian Lithuania, who lived under the administration of the German Kaiser and whose cultural life centered at Tilže-Tilsit.

Between the years 1899-1904, the secret Lithuanian theatrical movement thrived and persisted. Its path was fraught with hardships, persecution and many hindrances. Plays were clandestinely presented in village barns and sheds, and were disguised as "dancing and entertainment soirees." These plays infected the farmers with a longing for freedom. The audience was charmed mostly by the sound of the Lithuanian language itself. Even though some of these plays portrayed historic kings and heroes of the ancient past, it was the language itself that thrilled the audience—as they were denied the privilege of hearing it publicly in the churches, in schools, in governmental institutions. It was only natural that the plays were accompanied by patriotic speeches. The audience stayed

long after the performance to sing folk songs, to dance folk dances, to make merry—as was proper for a "dancing and entertainment soiree." These "vakarė-liai" survived even in the years of independence.

Pressed by political disturbances and the war of 1904, the Russian Tsar finally permitted Lithuania to have its national—though heavily censored by the military—press and to organize economic and cultural affairs on a nationality basis. During the decade of relative freedom, 1904-1914, Lithuanian cultural life blossomed forth and the amateur theater reached the acme of its development. Peasants gathered in the most obscure nooks to satisfy their pent-up dramatic and patriotic feelings. These "soirees" became an indispensable part of every village's social life. The theater of no other nation was destined to play as important a part in the struggle for political independence.

Of course, the theater has its own specific ends and means. No matter how noble the ends,—the means will not be complete if talented expressions is lacking and, in turn, the ends will not satisfy a spectator who is progressively educating his analytical culture. Eventually, when Lithuania regained its independence, all the currents of life returned to their normal tracks and reality replaced amateurism. The amateur theater had honorably fulfilled its missionary duty and a professional theater was established at Vilnius in 1919.

The professional Lithuanian theater was founded by Juozas Vaičkus, a graduate of the Alexandrinsky School of Drama. He brought together the scattered Lithuanian professional actors and actresses who were performing in various theaters of Russia during World War I. At the same time, Vaičkus founded a school for the training of actors. Unfortunately, his successful work was cut short a year later by General Želigowski's "incident".

A "National Theater" and a training school was also founded in 1919 at Kaunas by Antanas Sutkus, a student of Komisarzhevski. This theater proposed to reveal the significance of Man in general and of a Lithuanian in particular. This was a theater of the significant gesture, the striking word, of symbolism in presentation. Alas, times were unsettled. The grim struggle for the nation's liberty was raging in the country and gunfire was audible in the city. This was no time for symbolism, and the theater closed down.

When Vaičkus moved to Kaunas, the Society of Lithuanian Artists came forth with its own project. Konstantinas Glinskis, a gifted actor formerly with the Suvorin Theater of Russia, was invited to direct the productions. This undertaking reunited most of the students of Vaičkus and Sutkus. A year later it became a state-supported enterprise, the State Theater of Drama. It produced a wide variety of national and international repertory for 20 years. But now—its actors are dispersed in consequence of the enslavement of the country. Some actors are DPs, some turned bootlickers of Russia, some languish in Siberian exile in this period of martyrdom.

32 BLp(LKA) 1331 LITHUA BLp(LKA) 1331 1948 Nr3-4

## PUBLICATIONS ON LITHUANIA AND THE BALTIC STATES

- Alseikaitė-Gimbutienė, Dr. ph. Marija DIE BESTATTUNG IN LITAUEN IN DER VORGESCHICHTLICHEN ZEIT (The Burial in Lithuania in the pre-historic Period). Tübingen 1946, 241 pp., 5 folded maps, 26 pp. of illustrations.
- Alseikaitė-Gimbutienė, Dr. Marija—MŪSŲ PROTĖVIŲ PAŽI-ŪROS Į MIRTĮ IR SIELĄ (Our Ancestors' Beliefs on Death and the Soul). Tübingen 1947, 21 pp.
- AN APPEAL TO FELLOW AMERICANS ON BEHALF OF THE BALTIC STATES by United Organizations. Lithuanian American Information Center, New York, August 1944. 54 pp., 25c. SUPPLEMENT TO THE APPEAL New York, November 1944, 31 pp., 20c.
- APPEAL BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BALTIC NATIONS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, Jointly Presented on November 24, 1947. Available at the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Legations in the United States.
- Balys, Dr. Jonas LITAUISCHE HOCHZEITSBRÄUCHE (Lithuanian Wedding Customs). Baltic University, Hamburg 1946, 78 pp.
- Biržiška, Prof. Vaclovas—ABRAHAM KULVIETIS. THE FIRST LITHUANIAN HUMANIST. Baltic University, Pinneberg 1947, 30 pp.
- Centro Por Liberación de Lituania en Argentina—DETRAS DE LA CORTINA DE HIERO. Buenos Aires 1946, 93 pp.
- Chase, Rev. Thomas G.—THE STORY OF LITHUANIA. Stratford House, New York 1946, 392 pp. \$3.50.
- Dreimanis, Prof. Aleksis—POLLENANALYTISCHE DATIER-UNG ARCHÄOLOGISCHER FUNDE VON SARNATE, LETTLAND, UND DIE ENTWICKLUNGSGESCHICHTE DES SARNATE-MOORES (Development of the Sarnate-Bog, Latvia, and dating of archaelogical discoveries from Sarnate Bog by aid of pollen analysis). Baltic University, Pinneberg 1947, 20 pp.
- Dunsdorfs, Prof. Dr. Edgars—A SWEDISH CADASTRAL AT-TEMPT IN KURZEME (COURLAND). Baltic University, Pinneberg 1947.
- Dunsdorfs, Edgars—DIE BEVÖLKERUNGSZAHL IN KURZEME (KURLAND) IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT (16th Century Population Census in Kurzeme). Baltic University, Pinneberg 1947, 18 pp.
- Dunsdorfs, Edgars—MERCHANT SHIPPING IN THE BALTIC DURING THE 17th CENTURY. Baltic University, Pinneberg 1947, 36 pp.
- East and West—FACTS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN: (No. 1) Estonia Today. By Jaak Survel. London 1947, Boreas Pub. Co., 70 pp., 60c.; (No. 2) The Worker in the Soviet Paradise, by Aleksander Kaelas. London 1947, 48 pp., 50c.; (No. 3) Technique of Economic Sovietisation, by Endel Kareda. London 1947, 128 pp., 80c.; (No. 4) The Moulding of Soviet Citizens, by Hermann Rajamaa. London 1948, 60c.—All printed in Sweden, Nos. 2, 3 and 4 available at the Lithuanian American Information Center, 233 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
- Gautherot, Senator Gustave—DERRIÈRE LE RIDEAU DE FER, LA VAGUE ROUGE DÉFERLE SUR L'EUROPE (Behind the Iron Curtain—the Red Wave Unfurls Over Europe). Hermès-France, Paris 1947, 257 pp. and a map (2nd Edition).
- Harrison, E. J. LITHUANIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. 2nd printing, New York, March 1945, 50c. Available at the Lithuanian American Information Center.
- IN THE NAME OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE. Publ. by "Perkūnas," Wolfberg, Germany, 1945, in 2 parts: (a) We aren't going back!; (b) I Accuse!, 72 pp.

- Inari, Prof. Eerik—ZUR KENNTNIS DER WESTKUSTE DES PIHKVAJÄRV (PSKOWSCHER SEE) UND DER IHR VORGELAGERTEN INSELN (Toward the Knowledge of the West Bank of the Lake Pskov and the islands lying in front of it). Baltic University, Hamburg 1946, 19 pp.
- Jurgela, Constantine R.—HISTORY OF THE LITHUANIAN NATION. Lithuanian Cultural Institute, New York 1948, 544 pp., illustrated, \$5. Available at the Lithuanian American Information Center.
- Klimas, Petras—GHILLEBERT DE LANNOY IN MEDIEVAL LITHUANIA. Voyages and Embassies of an Ancestor of One of America's Great Presidents. Introduction by Constantine R. Jurgèla. Lithuanian American Information Center, New York 1945, 96 pp., illustrated, \$1.
- LITHUANIA IN A TWIN TEUTONIC CLUTCH—A Historical Review of German-Lithuanian Relations by Constantine R. Jurgėla, Rev. Kazys Gečys and Simas Sužiedėlis. Lithuanian American Information Center, New York, September 1945, 112 pp., \$1.
- Mauclère, Jean—LE RAYONNEMENT DE LA FRANCE EN LITHUANIE (Radiation of French Influences in Lithuania). Les Éditions Claires, Le Raincy-Paris 1946, 48 pp. and a map.
- Paulson, Dr. phil. Ivar—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ECO-NOMIC ETHNOLOGY OF THE OSTYAK, A SUMMARY. Baltic University, Pinneberg 1947, 7 pp.
- Raun, Prof. Alo—NOTES ON SOME CHARACTERISTIC ERRORS IN THE USE OF RUSSIAN BY FINNO-UGRI-ANS AND TURCO-TARTARS. Baltic University, Pinneberg 1947, 11 pp.
- Slaucitajs, Prof. Dr. math. Leonids—(1) ANOMALY IN MAGNETIC HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL INTENSITIES OF LATVIAN TERRITORY AND ADJACENT SEA. Baltic University, Pinneberg 1947. 7 pp.:—(2) ISOMAGNETIC MAPS OF BALTIC COUNTRIES. Baltic U., Hamburg 1947, 24 pp.;—(4) MAGNETIC MAPS OF LATVIA. Baltic U., Pinneberg 1947, 2 pp. and 5 folded maps.
- Stanka, Prof. Vladas—THE BIG AND SMALL STATES. Theory, History, Conclusions, Outlooks. Baltic U., Pinneberg 1947, mimeographed 78 pp.
- Suduvis, Dr. N. E.—EIN KLEINES VOLK WIRD AUSGE-LÖSCHT—Braune und rote Staatspolizei am Werk (A Small People Shall Be Destroyed—Brown and Red State Police at Work). Zürich, Switzerland, 1947, 99 pp.
- Sturms, Prof. Edwards—(1) DIE ALKSTATTEN IN LITAUEN (The Ancient Holy Sites in Lithuania). Baltic U., Hamburg 1946; (2) DIE ERSTE SCHNURKERAMISCHE SIEDLUNG IN LETTLAND (The first corded-ware Settlement in Latvia). Baltic U., Hamburg 1946. 14 pp.; (3) DIE ETHNISCHE DEUTUNG DER "MASURGERMANISCHEN" KULTUR (The Ethnic Significance of the Mazur-Germanic Culture). Baltic U., Pinneberg 1947, 12 pp.; (4) DIE LAGE VON GERCIKE UND EINIGEN ANDEREN FRÜHGESCHICHT-LICHEN BURGEN LETTLANDS (The Location of Gercike and several other Latvian cities of the early history). Baltic U., Pinneberg 1947, 14 pp.
- Verax, Casimiro—(1) EL PAIS DE LAS CRUCES. M. K. ČIUR-LIONIS, GRAN PINTOR LITUANO (The Land of Crosses. M. K. Čiurlionis, Great Lithuanian Painter). Buenos Aires 1945, 32 pp., illustrated; (2) EUROPA O GENGHIS KHAN? LITUANIA Y LA URSS (Europe or Genghis Khan? Lithuania and the USSR). Buenos Aires 1945, 120 pp. and a map; (3) LITUANIA ENTRE FUEGO CRUZADO (Lithuania in the Cross Fire). Buenos Aires 1944, a bulky and excellently illustrated volume.
- Verbickas, Antanas—ENTWICKLUNG UND AUFBAU DER LITAUISCHEN PFERDEZUCHT (Development and Structure of Lithuanian Horse-breeding Industry). A Dissertation. Giessen, Germany, 1947, 129 pp., a map, illustrated.