

ISSN 1031-3958

# *Lithuanian Papers*

Volume 25 - 2011

ANNUAL JOURNAL OF THE LITHUANIAN STUDIES  
SOCIETY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA



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AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

Volume 25 - 2011

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[www.e.paveldas.lt](http://www.e.paveldas.lt)

**SUBSCRIPTIONS:** Australia, single issue, \$7 posted.

All other countries, single issue by air mail, US\$8. Please direct subscription requests to: PO Box 777, Sandy Bay, Tas. 7006 (Australia).

**PRODUCED and PRINTED** in Australia.

**LITHUANIAN PAPERS** journal is published annually by the Lithuanian Studies Society at the University of Tasmania, **CONTRIBUTIONS** are normally assessed by independent referees before publication.

The **VIEWES** expressed in this journal, unless otherwise stated, are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Editors or the publishers (the Lithuanian Studies Society at UTas).

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Typesetting and graphic design are available at extra cost.

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## Contents - Volume 25/2011

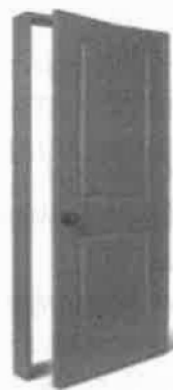
Lithuanians in Australia	<i>Viktoras Baltutis</i>	
	transl. <i>Regina Krutulytė-Share</i>	3
New support for Lithuanian research at UNITAS		11
Australia did not want us	<i>Elena A. Čeičys</i>	13
Thank You for my Lithuanian Honours Scholarship		
	<i>Madeleine Shuey</i>	16
In memoriam: Dr Kajetonas Julius Čeginskas		
	<i>Viktorija Čeginskas</i>	17
Punishment is... <i>Vladas Šlaitas</i> , re-reading by <i>Vince Taškūnas</i>		23
The light and dark sides of Algirdas Brazauskas		
	<i>Audrius Bačiulis</i> , transl. <i>Gintautas Kaminskas</i>	25
Long standing tradition terminated		35
Eglė, the queen of serpents. Re-told by <i>Jessica Hancock</i>		37
W.S. O'Brien and the Rising of 1863	<i>Richard Davis</i>	44
Russia's nuclear projects: A deadly threat to Baltic energy independence	<i>Stanley H. Bačkaitis</i>	52
Teaching Lithuanian in Tasmania	<i>Algimantas Taškūnas</i>	62
Book Reviews: History of Baltic States (Kasekamp, A.), Reviewed by <i>Thomas Poole</i>		66
Welcome to Little Europe (Šeštokas, J.) Reviewed by <i>Algimantas Taškūnas</i>		69
A gentle reminder		71
Our thanks		72

### COVER PICTURES:

After World War II, Lithuanian refugees established a number of schools in West Germany. One of these educational centres, the *Vasario 16* (February 16 / Independence Day) *High School*, is still functioning today, in Lampertheim - Hüttenfeld.

Four current *Vasario 16* students are featured on our front and back covers. The girls were photographed in the school's gardens wearing traditional Lithuanian folk costumes. Photos: Rimas Čuplinskas.

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## Lithuanians in Australia: Who are They?

**Viktoras BALTUTIS**

Adelaide

Every state or nation in the world has lost citizens through migration. Some people leave their country because of a difficult government regime, others because of religious intolerance, yet others simply go in search of a better standard of living. Some Lithuanian historians put the number of expatriate Lithuanians as high as one third of the total number of nominal Lithuanians. Only the Jewish people have a higher per capita rate of emigration.

Lithuanian emigration occurred in three waves: the first before and during World War 1; the second before and during World War 2; the third after the 1990 declaration of (renewed) Lithuanian Independence. The largest of these was the first, which began after the uprising of 1863 and lasted over 60 years. A great many young people left their homeland during this period.

This article will focus on the second wave, which began with Lithuania's Declaration of Independence in 1918 and lasted until around 1945. Those who were forcibly deported by the Soviets to Siberia (in 1941, and again in 1944-53) were not voluntary emigrants, of course, but exiles (also known as deportees). During the Second World War, more than 70,000 other Lithuanians reached Western Europe identifying themselves as exiles. Strictly speaking, however, only some of them had been deported by the Germans for forced slave labour. The rest were refugees who had left their country of their own free will.

Back in 1940, after the Soviets occupied Lithuania for the first time, very few of her citizens then living abroad returned home. These included Lithuanian consular staff, those on trade missions and students. In June of that year, Lithuania's President Antanas Smetona fled the country. With him went his close associates and many others who had actively opposed the annexation of Lithuania to the Soviet Union.

Later (1941), with the Soviets firmly in power in Lithuania, about 52,000 people managed to demonstrate their "German ancestry" and escaped to Germany.<sup>1</sup> Some of them resumed their Lithuanian identity after the War ended and rejoined their fellow refugee communities!

By the end of the War in Europe, most of the 70,000 Lithuanians (and other nationals) refused to return to countries already full of the Red Army troops from which they had just fled. Thus, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) established camps for these "Displaced Persons" (DPs) in German ex-military quarters. Most of the DPs were from Eastern Europe and their number in these camps eventually topped one million. For many, the DP cards they were issued constituted their only proof of identity. Many Lithuanians came from their country's intelligentsia: physicians, dentists, judges, teachers, clergy, as well as merchants, police and army officers, farmers and various tradesmen.

The UNRRA catered for the daily living needs of those who had sought shelter in the camps, but food remained a contentious issue throughout. It must be said that no one actually starved, but daily food rations were somewhat below acceptable calorific standards, and their uneven distribution caused a great deal of conflict and suspicion. In some camps uncooked grocery rations were distributed to individual DPs; in others, there was a communal kitchen where everyone got their food from the central pot. Simply getting enough food was a serious, constant and widespread problem.

While their exact number is not known, we can say that there were about forty of these camps. As larger groups of Lithuanians were formed, sometimes with Estonians and Latvians, cultural and community life began. Schools for all levels from courses and even vocational schools were run.

<sup>1</sup> This was made possible briefly in the first three months of 1941, when a friendly Soviet-Nazi repatriation agreement allowed ethnic German residents in Soviet-occupied Lithuania to move permanently to Germany.



\* Lithuanian refugees had to spend up to five years in DP camps. Instead of wasting their time, these refugees established schools, trade courses and work groups inside their camps. *Pictured: Lithuanian children in the Seedorf DP camp school.*

Source: *DP Baltic Camp at Seedorf*, ed. S.Narkeliūnaitė.

Cultural activities included Lithuanian dancing ensembles, choirs, theatres, sports clubs, scouts, *Ateitininkai*<sup>2</sup> and other youth and professional organisations that had formerly existed in Lithuania.

Despite the serious shortage of paper, Lithuanian language newspapers and journals were published. A Baltic University boasting eight faculties opened on March 1, 1946 in Hamburg, with the Latvian Dr. F. Gulbis at its head. A Lithuanian University Student Society was set up. At the beginning of 1947, the university was relocated to the nearby town of Pinneberg.

All of these activities were sanctioned and supported by UNRRA. Lithuanian police officers were appointed to serve inside the

<sup>2</sup> *Ateitininkai* (lit.: The futurists) - A Lithuanian Catholic students' society. Its origins date back to 1911. The Society's motto is "Renew all in Christ". *Ateitininkai* were banned during both, the Soviet and Nazi occupations of Lithuania (1940-90), but members continued to work in the underground. Many died at the occupants' hands.

camps and had sufficient authority to maintain an acceptable level of order. We even had our own informal law courts and, although their power was strictly limited, quite a few people had to spend a night or two in the so-called "bunker" for disorderly conduct or for breaking the rules in other ways!

Scouts and *Ateitininkai* ran summer camps on a large scale, and members came from all over Germany to take part. No opportunity was lost in strongly emphasising the love of homeland, her enslavement and the heroism of the partisan movement. The young expressed their yearning and nostalgia in music and song, and lit candles on a symbolic partisan's grave. A great deal of weight was placed on the need to continue to fight for the freedom of our suffering and oppressed nation and the personal sacrifices that needed to be made for that cause.

In some camps Scouts raised the Lithuanian flag in the morning and lowered it at night to the strains of the National Anthem and the hymn "Mairija, Marija". Entire camps were saturated with heartfelt emotions, extreme homesickness and what probably verged on boundless patriotism. Any hint of scepticism or differing points of view was regarded as traitorous, so high did feelings run then.

Some D.P. camps were visited by *Politrukai*<sup>3</sup> from Lithuania whose job it was to persuade people to return to the country of their birth. The *Politrukai* had little success because everyone knew full well that therefugees would never see their homes again. Most of us who knew the Soviet system considered that the naïve few who did agree to go home made a suicidal choice. All communication with Lithuania had been severed. It was known that there were over 20,000 partisans hiding in the Lithuanian forests in their uneven struggle against the oppressors.

<sup>3</sup> *Politrukai* (lit.: political instructors) - This somewhat under-stated title applied to the powerful Communist Party supervisors employed in all Red Army units and in other key parts of the Soviet society. The *Politrukai's* officially declared duties were "to protect the Communist state, eliminate all managerial shortcomings and strengthen the discipline of work" (LTE 9, p.97, 1982).

The partisans believed the propaganda that had been put about in the West that World War 3 would soon start so they were in place and ready to offer resistance. Sadly, almost all were hunted out and eventually killed at the hands of the occupying forces and with the collaboration of the *Stribai*<sup>4</sup>.

Life in the camps settled down to something approaching normality, but it was clear that it could not go on much longer.

The Lithuanian expatriate governing body, VLIKAS, claimed it had an *in absentia* mandate from the Lithuanian nation, and spread the word that we would all emigrate '*in corpore*', that is, all together: children, adults and old people.

Sad to say, as soon as migration began, the upper echelons of VLIKAS and other highly placed individuals abandoned the rest, and were often the first to leave. A great many were accepted by the USA because close relatives already residing in that country provided affidavits and guaranteed work and a place to live.

UNRRA was reorganised and became the International Refugee Organisation (IRO). This body began to check DP status, and some Lithuanians who had "repatriated" to Germany during January-March 1941, were removed from the camps. Visits from various immigration commissions from Western countries became more frequent. At first, only young, single people were eligible to migrate to Canada, Argentina, England and later, to Australia.

Migration, of course, weakened the Lithuanian educational institutions used by the DPs, but not before three years of secondary school students had graduated from the self-help camp schools. The Diepholz high school in the English zone was the last to merge with others in 1950. It later transferred to Huettenfeld and was renamed "Vasario 16 gimnazija" (The Independence Day High-school). It is still functioning in Huettenfeld to this day.

<sup>4</sup> *Stribai* is a term of contempt applied to those Lithuanians who sold their allegiance to the Soviets in exchange for better living or working conditions. To this day it carries all the weight of shame that their despicable acts earned for them.

### ***Australia Recruiting Younger Balts***

*The Australian Immigration Commission first appeared in Germany at the beginning of 1947, under the leadership of Minister Arthur Calwell. They visited the larger camps showing short films about Australia's immense spaces, cities free of war damage and a wide-open land full of sheep!*

*Migrant recruitment began. Basic requirements included the following: you had to be in the 18 to 45 age group, single, healthy, have a clean political history (had you served in the German army?) and agree to sign a two-year work contract.*

*439 Lithuanians were on the first transport ship, the "General Heinzelm", which sailed out of the port of Bremenhaven on October 30, 1947, carrying only Balts. Later transports took families and people of other nationalities.*

*Emigration from the DP camps ended in 1952. Those who had not left by then, settled down to a new life in a Germany whose economy recovered quickly.*

On arrival in Australia, the migrants experienced a very different climate and living conditions. They had little or no English and found the simplest daily tasks and necessities difficult to cope with. They were often met with hostility by the local population who still had to learn that the newcomers were not the Germans they had recently been at war with, but Baltic people who had themselves suffered at the hands of the Communists, as well as the Nazis.

So we became "Bloody Balts!" or "New Australians". Talking amongst ourselves in public, we were often told to "Speak English!" How could we, when we did not know any English? The Lithuanian weekly in Sydney, *Mūsų Pastogė*, was obliged to print one quarter of its contents in English. But we did not give in! The Australian government tried very hard to assimilate the newcomers as quickly as possible but things did not go as smoothly as planned. The more pressure they applied, the more resistance they met.

It was only later that the assimilation process was re-assessed and cast into doubt. The multicultural society of the USA is a successful blend of scores of different nationalities. A study of that country's experience made the authorities realise that forced assimilation would be a long and difficult task. So assimilation gave way to a policy of integration.

All newcomers began to be encouraged to maintain their national and cultural traditions, customs and language, thus enriching and widening Australian culture. It was the beginning of a new period. Weekend ethnic schools received government subsidies and Lithuanian, as one of the foreign languages, was approved as a matriculation subject.

Although this complete reversal of policy seemed attractive at first, in fact it turned out to be harmful to the immigrants' language and culture. With the uptake of Australian citizenship in particular and other privileges on offer, people began to forget those values inherent in their native culture. These days, the families of younger Lithuanians rarely speak Lithuanian within their home, especially if they are 'mixed' unions. Lithuanian weekend schools now only teach songs and dances. Some of them work with a few pupils, while others have closed down altogether.

Building Lithuanian family life was, for younger people, problematic in the sense that more young men than women came out to Australia. The strong pressure from parents to marry only Lithuanians was an impossible demand for many. A few young men did sponsor Lithuanian women from the Punska area in Poland, but most chose their life partners for reasons other than shared nationality or religion. The Australian Lithuanian Federal Committee was forced to stipulate in its Statute that members of the Lithuanian communities could also come from mixed families. The young followed their own path, taking new directions and adopting new attitudes necessary for a faster-paced life. Today there are barely two or three Lithuanian weddings a year.

The activities of Lithuanians in Australia reached their zenith in the 1980s. Lithuanian organisations flourished. Folk dancing

groups, choirs, sports clubs, scouts and *Ateitininkai* were all busy organising functions, so much so, that the events calendar could hardly accommodate them all. For example, there were as many as two very well attended dinner dances every month in Adelaide.

The first migrants had worked hard, established themselves and now found more time to devote to Lithuanian social activities. Furthermore, their economic situation had improved as the vast majority had guaranteed or permanent employment. Many professionals such as engineers and accountants had acquired enough English to be accredited to work in their area of expertise.

Their children graduated from universities, technical colleges, teacher training institutes and trade schools. They rose through the ranks of their chosen careers unlike their predecessors who had to work in the lowest and least well paid jobs, regardless of their level of education or previous profession. Even after some inevitable failures and tragic moments, Lithuanians could look back on the achievements of 60 years of life in Australia with pride.

The third wave of immigration to Australia (after the 1990 restoration of Lithuania's Independence) found the Australian Lithuanian organisations, clubs, press and premises in a weakened state due to lack of new members from the younger set. Some had even ceased to exist. These recent arrivals came armed with the very skill that makes settling into a new life here easier – some knowledge of English. In that respect, they were better equipped than the early Lithuanian DPs who came to Australia from Europe.

**Translated from the Lithuanian by  
Regina KRUTULYTĖ- SHARE.**

*Viktoras BALTUTIS has been actively working in the Australian Lithuanian Community (ALB) for many years. He writes on various Community issues for the expatriate press, and has published two books, Išsinešėme tik ilgesį and Akivaras.*

*Regina KRUTULYTĖ-SHARE, B.A., Dip.Ed. (Tas) is a Tasmanian trained teacher of languages. She spent a decade (1991-2000) living and working in Vilnius, as a teacher and translator.*

## New Support for Lithuanian Research

The University of Tasmania (Australia) has recently established a second scholarship, designed to foster the research of Lithuania and its people. The \$2,000 annual award will be called the *V.Patašius Lithuanian Studies Scholarship*. It will be initially offered to students undertaking honours or other postgraduate studies in an area that has a focus on Lithuania. This can be in any discipline, including literature, history, art, politics and science.

The scholarship commemorates Mr Vytautas Patašius, a graduate accountant (UNSW, 1962) and a great worker for the Lithuanian press who died in Sydney last year. Vytautas was also widely known as a champion chess player and an amateur historian.

The new V. Patašius scholarship has been made possible by a generous donation of \$8,000 by Mrs Ona Maksvytis of Sydney. Her gift will fund the scholarship for the next four years. It is hoped that other people will follow Mrs Maksvytis's example and make further donations to extend the life of this new scholarship.

The University of Tasmania has been regularly supporting Lithuanian research since 1997, when the University introduced its first annual award in this field, the \$5,000 Lithuanian Honours Scholarship. (*See also: "Thank You", Page 16 in this issue.*)



\* Research benefactor Ona Maksvytis (second from left), photographed recently with University of Tasmania representatives (from left): Michael T. Weitnauer, Dr Al Taškūnas and Eoin Breen. Photo: courtesy of UTAS.

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# FOUNDATION

## Scholarships for Lithuanian Studies, U T A S 2012

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The Lithuanian Studies Society will offer this scholarship again in 2012. It is available to an honours student from any UTAS Faculty whose thesis involves an aspect of the study of Lithuania and/or Lithuanians.

### *Vytas Patašius Lithuanian Studies Scholarship: \$2,000*

The V. Patašius Lithuanian Studies Scholarship has been established by Mrs Ona Maksvytis in memory of Mr Patašius who was a respected member of the Lithuanian community in Australia.

The Scholarship will be offered to students undertaking Honours or other postgraduate studies in an area that has a focus on Lithuania. This can be in any discipline and may include literature, history, art, politics or science.

**Apply now** by completing the application form for each scholarship, available at [www.scholarships.utas.edu.au](http://www.scholarships.utas.edu.au)

For more information contact Dr Al Taškūnas of the Lithuanian Studies Society in Room 580, Social Sciences (Arts) building, or Phone (03) 6225 2505, or write to PO Box 777, Sandy Bay, 7006.

Applications close on **31 October 2011.**

## Australia Did Not Want Us

Elena A. ČEIČYS

S. Pasadena, FL., USA

*About 10,000<sup>5</sup> Lithuanian migrants came to Australia after World War II. During their first two years in this country, they had to work and reside as directed by the Australian Government. After completion of these "contracts", some 20-25 % of the Lithuanian immigrants did not remain in Australia. They moved on to other countries to live, such as USA, Papua New Guinea, Canada and Germany. There were several reasons for leaving, e.g., non-recognition of qualifications, discrimination and climate.*

*In this first-person account, Dr Čeičys describes why she and her husband left Australia.*

Victor G. Čeičys and I, Elena A. Vitkauskas, were two medical students who found themselves as DPs (displaced persons) in Germany after the Second World War. We were married in 1946. Most of our medical studies had been completed before the war, and only two semesters were left to finish our degrees. We fulfilled this requirement at the University of Heidelberg, in Germany. We then continued our advanced studies and completed our Doctorates at the same University.

We had fled Lithuania for fear of Communism and our desire was to return to Lithuania after the war, as was the wish of many other Lithuanians. However, Lithuania was occupied by Soviet-Communist Russia - so, it was impossible for us to go back home.

The situation in Europe after the war was very unstable and insecure. The question was: what to do next? Emigration was one choice, but the question was, where to? The U.S.A. required a sponsor to be admitted and, since we had no relatives in the U.S.A., this alternative was out for us.

Other countries started opening their doors and Australia was one of those countries. We met the person handling emigration to

<sup>5</sup> The exact number is not known.

Australia and asked him about our profession in Australia. He assured us that there should be no problem, since many Australian doctors had studied in Germany, and especially in Heidelberg, for their postgraduate qualifications.

We arrived in Melbourne, Australia in 1948. Eight other Lithuanian physicians were on our ship. Our next destination was Bonegilla migrants' camp where work allocations were made by Australian immigration officials.

My husband and I were both sent to the Caulfield Convalescent Home in Melbourne: I as a maid, he as a janitor. While in Melbourne, we went first to the Medical Board of Victoria and enquired about our possibilities to practise medicine in Australia. The answer was that there were no possibilities for us, since only Australian, British and British Commonwealth degrees were recognised in Australia. The only way for us to practise medicine in this country was to go and study medicine again in Australia, we were told.

Our next step was to see the Dean of the Medical School at the University of Melbourne. The Dean was very honest. He told us that, even if we did apply for admission to the Faculty of Medicine at his university, our chance of admission would be nil. He was admitting returned soldiers first, he said, then Australians, then British citizens, etc., etc.

On hearing this sad news, we were left with the choice of finding a country where our education would be accepted. We knew that many of our physician friends who had emigrated to the U.S.A. were practising medicine there. We went to the American Consulate in Melbourne and applied for emigration.

Each country has an annual quota of persons admitted to the U.S.A. from that country. Our Lithuanian allotment was very limited. We were asked to be patient and wait for our turn. I was already pregnant and delivered our son Victor jnr. on January 29, 1949. I had to take care of our baby and was not able to work.

So, my husband was the only member of our family who was in paid employment. He worked as a labourer in steel mills, in wool mills and so on. The housing situation in Melbourne was very critical in the 1940s. There were no apartment buildings available; hence, no flats were available for rent. Australians were living in their houses and did not offer single rooms for rent.

A friend of ours who was assigned to work in Sunbury, Victoria in a mental hospital asked us to come to Sunbury to live with them. We went and three Lithuanian families were sharing a very small cottage. My husband and I both started working at the Sunbury mental hospital. I worked the night shift and my husband worked during the day.

Shortly after we had left for Australia, the American Congress passed a Bill, allowing 100,000 Displaced Persons to emigrate to the U.S.A. My sister took advantage of the Bill: she migrated to the United States and settled down in Cleveland, Ohio. As soon as she became an American citizen, she sponsored me and I got my green card - visa to go to the U.S.

While still in Sunbury, my husband and I had filled out the required forms for the Australian citizenship. I left two weeks before becoming an Australian citizen, but my husband who followed me three months later became an Australian citizen.

I arrived in Cleveland, Ohio in June 1955 and started my internship at the Lutheran Hospital one week later. I sponsored my husband and our son; both joined me in Cleveland 3 months later.

I did my residency in internal medicine, and my husband in obstetrics and gynaecology. We passed our Board exams and started our own private practices. I worked in internal medicine, haematology and oncology; my husband in obstetrics and gynaecology. On reaching the age of 65 in 1987, we retired.

We both liked travelling and we used to spend our annual holidays visiting various countries. Australia was one of our most favoured destinations. On our many trips to Australia, we visited all States.

Our son Victor jnr., who was born in Australia, graduated from Case Western University's Medical School (USA). After finishing his internship and residency in Radiology at the Cleveland Clinic is now practising medicine as a Radiologist in the US.

## Thank You

*I wanted to let you know how appreciative I was, and still am, of receiving the Lithuanian Society Scholarship.*

*I knew at the time that I was very fortunate to receive financial assistance and also guidance on a topic for my thesis. But the benefits of the scholarship have proved to be ongoing including speaking at two AABS conferences in Melbourne and at the World Lithuanian Science and Arts Symposium in Vilnius.*

*Since leaving university the scholarship has continued to provide for me. I truly believe that it has assisted me in getting interviews and receiving job offers. The scholarship title has stood out on my resume and made me different to all the other highly skilled people applying for jobs. It has been a great segue in interview when the panel asked about the scholarship and provided an opportunity for me to show my passion and dedication to causes.*

*Now that I'm living in Canberra, the scholarship still impacts upon me. At work I have started an essay club with a few friends. Each week one of us selects an essay which we all read and talk about during the lunch hour. We've covered topics on Puerto Rico, Nietzsche, social theorists Owen and Mill. This week it is my turn to select a topic and I'm selecting extracts from "Letters from the Outside" [a book on the Soviet prisoners of conscience, published by the TUU Lithuanian Studies Society in 2004].*

*I wanted to thank you for the scholarship and to let you know what an impact it has had upon my life and career.*

**Madeleine SHUEY**, B.A.Hons., B.Ed.Hons. (Tas.),  
2004 Winner of Lithuanian Honours Scholarship at the  
University of Tasmania. <madeleine.shuey@abs.gov.au>

## In memoriam: Dr Kajetonas Julius Čeginskas (July 01, 1927 – February 06, 2011)

by Viktorija ČEGINSKAS

*A Cold War warrior, a Lithuanian activist in exile, an idealist, an intellectual, a philosopher, a sociologist with a great curiosity towards people, a hard-working journalist, a man with principles and dedication, a loyal friend, a multilingual talent, modest and sensitive, charmingly old-fashioned, a man between different worlds, times and cultures, the bearer of the Vyčio Kryžiaus Ordinas, Komandoro Didysis Kryžius, and a proud patriarch.*

When I was asked to write an obituary for my father, an obituary that would be different from the official communiqués and other biographical attempts to offer an insight into my father's life and work, I knew that this task would be difficult if not impossible for me who was born nearly 50 years after him. I missed many important facts or, to be frank, I simply did not pay much attention to the significant aspects and facets of his life when I was growing up. I am therefore particularly grateful to some of our closest family friends and to my family for their support.

I began my quest by asking what kind of a person my father was, and how one could describe him best. The first thing that everyone referred to was his absolute dedication to the Lithuanian cause. There was no personal advantage or worldly-minded aspiration connected with his efforts.

Born in 1927 in Alytus, he had experienced a free and independent Lithuania as a child. In his early teens he assisted his teacher Adolfas Ramanauskas, later better known under his partisan alias *Vanagas*, in distributing and printing illegal underground papers against the German as well as the Soviet-Russian occupations. My father's political orientation was certainly affected by his own father's early death in 1942 and the fact of having a famous Lithuanian partisan (Ramanauskas) as a teacher and mentor. It laid the base for his political activism and he remained opposed to all forms of totalitarian regimes.

In the autumn of 1944, together with his friend Juozas Rasydas he decided to join the Lithuanian partisans but eventually ended up moving to the West due to the changing front lines. Consequently, he was separated from his family in Lithuania for the next 50 years. In Germany young Kajetonas was forcefully assigned to an anti-aircraft unit. After an Allied air raid, he happened to remain the only survivor in the unit.

After the war, in 1945, his life returned to normal and he completed his school education at the Lithuanian high-school in the Displaced Persons' camp in Blomberg. He immediately took up his university studies, first in Germany but soon moved to Rome, and later to Strasbourg. In 1956 he finished his Doctoral thesis in sociology on "*Lietuvių tautinis atgimimas*" (the national re-birth of Lithuania), supervised by Prof. Dr. Jonas Girnius.

His studies in Italy proved to be important for his later personal networks. He befriended Prl. J. Vaišnora, Msg. V. Kazlauskas, Prl. J. Aviža and Prl. P. Reklaitis; and gained his first experience in broadcasting while working for Radio Vatican. However, his stay in Strasbourg was particularly significant on a much more personal level. It helped him to regain his youthful joy of living which he still would occasionally display until the last days of his life. And, of course, in France, he met the love of his life, my mother Ebba Hansschmidt-Čeginskienė, who at that time was a student of political science.

During the long years of the Cold War my father continued dreaming of helping to restore Lithuania's lost independence and freedom, and to give a native voice to a country that already seemed to be doomed. During the mid-1950s, he became acquainted with leading Lithuanian public figures and intellectuals in exile who developed into his mentors and friends (Prof. Dr. J. Grinius, Prof. Dr. Z. Ivinskis, Prof. Dr. A. Maceina, A. Landsbergis, S. Bačkis. the latter's son, now Cardinal A. J. Bačkis, S. Lozoraitis, J. Laučka, J. Ambrazevičius-Brazaitis, J. Girnius). My father was a member of the *Lietuvių fronto bičiuliai* (Friends of the Lithuanian Front), succeeding the war-time resistance group



\* **Kajetonas Julius Čeginskas with his youngest grandchild Matthis René Kajetonas Blanc, on December 31, 2010 in Uppsala.**

(Photo: private, Viktorija Čeginskas).

*Lietuvių Aktyvistų Frontas* - LAF) and of the *Lietuvos laisvės komitetas* as well as working for the *Vyriausiojo Lietuvos išlaisvinimo komiteto valdyba* (VLIK – Committee for a Free Lithuania). He also became a founding member and vice-president of the Lithuanian Cultural Institute in Germany (LKI). He considered the preservation of the cultural and linguistic aspects of Lithuanian-ness to be as important as the political work. He therefore organised, as well as contributed to, the annual *Studijų Savaitė* (Study Week) conferences in Germany and Sweden.

My father was an idealist who dedicated all his free time to publishing articles under various pseudonyms, designing programmes, giving speeches, lecturing and reminding everyone that there was still a country called Lithuania in the Soviet realm that struggled for freedom. Kajetonas Čeginskas wrote, published, commented and broadcast under a number of aliases, e.g., Julius Vidzgeris, J. Girkis, Augustinas Liepa and Adas Lembergas.

In addition, he contributed to the "Boston" Lithuanian Encyclopaedia (*Lietuvių enciklopedija*, Boston, 1953-66, 35 vols.) and the *Encyclopedia Lituanica* (EL, 1970-78, 6 vols.).

In 1975 he joined the newly created Lithuanian Service at Radio Liberty in Munich and later became the head of the Lithuanian Service at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL). At last, he could focus on purely journalistic tasks as commentator and analyst. As such, he became a prominent figure among the intellectual Lithuanians in exile. In particular, he never considered himself an émigré although he did remain in exile for the rest of his life. He maintained contacts and collaborated closely with exile Lithuanian organisations in Canada, the US, UK, Australia, Sweden and Germany (collaborating, among others, with V. Mincevičius, Dr. V. Bartisevičius, Dr. J. Norkaitis, V. Banaitis, J. Pajaujis, K. Gumauskas).

In fact, we children grew up with four prominent noises at home: the continuous hammering of the typewriter, on which my father worked until late at night; the ceaseless political discussions in French between our Lithuanian father and our Estonian mother who inspired each other intellectually; the multilingual Babylon at our dining table where often four to six languages were simultaneously used among family members and guests; and, overshadowing it all, the jammed radio broadcast in the Lithuanian language to which my father listened every evening.

My father's life was ruled by the principles he had designed himself. Nevertheless, he was a very sensitive man who was described as a great friend, loyal and warm-hearted, who listened and gave advice. Although he portrayed himself as a "notorious pessimist", it would be more fitting to depict him as an "optimistic pessimist" who never stopped believing in the goodness of others. However, as he later found out, his trust had been betrayed several times. One of his long-time colleagues and a supposed friend, who had been previously imprisoned in Siberia, turned out to be a KGB informer.

There were others who sought to distinguish themselves at his cost. In the early years of Lithuania's restored independence, my father became rather vexed by the attitudes of some people in post-Soviet Lithuania. They went out of their way to diminish the efforts of Lithuanians abroad who had worked for more than 40 years to preserve the Lithuanian language, culture and traditions. The same persons downplayed the exiles' political contribution towards achieving the independence and freedom of their country.

After his retirement from the RFE/RL radio work and witnessing the beginning of the second independence of Lithuania in the 1990s, Kajetonas's energy began to fade. However, he still decided to teach at the Theology faculty of the VDU (Vytautas Magnus University) in Kaunas, and to offer his expertise and skills to the newspaper *Kauno Laikas*, while his wife worked at the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Estonia. However, her rather unexpected death in 1995 became the most important turning point in my father's life and he never fully recovered from this loss.

During their geographical separation, my parents had spun the idea of retiring in Estonia. Contrary to my mother's good knowledge of Lithuanian, my father's spoken Estonian had been rather weak compared with his theoretical knowledge. However, in the 1990s I heard him speak fluent Estonian, though with a strong Lithuanian accent. He prepared for his retirement with my mother among her Estonian friends. Unfortunately, this dream never came true as my mother decided to return to Sweden for the last months of her life, and my father, of course, followed her.

With my mother's death, my father lost his greatest support, comfort and the very person who recreated for him the family life which he had lost in 1944. Subsequently, he withdrew from all social contacts and active participation, and focused on his role as an aged patriarch. Additionally, he became physically overwhelmed by age and the beginning of the Parkinson's disease. However, his mind never became affected by the physical deficits, he kept his curiosity until the end of his life, commenting sharply and accurately on political as well as on personal relations.

He was very moved when he was twice distinguished for his extraordinary merits and efforts towards Lithuania. He received the golden decoration "Už nuopelnus" by Lithuania's Department of National Minorities and Expatriate Lithuanians. Then, in 2009, President Vldas Adamkus rewarded him with the *Vyčio Kryžiaus Ordinas, Komandoro didysis kryžius* (Order of the Vytis Cross, the Commodore's Grand Cross). As my father used to say, he was one of the only still living bearers of that decoration and therefore it had to be a very great honour.

*The larger part of my father's work still remains to be discovered and thoroughly researched.* He has left us four extensive archives on 1) the partisan movement in occupied Lithuania<sup>6</sup>; 2) the Jewish genocide in Lithuania; 3) the Lithuanian exile movement and organizations; and 4) documents concerning Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Kajetonas was certainly a great collector of documents and historical material. **Somebody NEEDS to research all these, before it is too late.**

The last time I spoke with my father he laughed and joked a lot, and he looked forward to my meeting with the Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves, a former colleague from his RFE/RL times. In fact, he was curious to know whether Ilves still remembered him. Ironically, my father died of a brain haemorrhage more or less at the moment when I shook hands with President Ilves, who inquired cheerfully: "Čeginskas! Of course, I remember him! Good man! How is he doing?" My father would have appreciated this.

***Ilšėkis ramybėje, mielas tėte!*** (Rest in peace, my dear Dad).

*Viktorija ČEGINSKAS, M.A. is Kajetonas's youngest daughter and a Ph.D. researcher in Ethnology. She lives with her family in Germany. Email: vlaceginskas@gmail.com*

<sup>6</sup> EDITOR'S NOTE: During the 1990s, Kajetonas Čeginskas lent a part of his Partisans' Archive to Professor Dr. Egidijus Aleksandravičius in Lithuania, for further research. The two men discussed and exchanged their expertise at the time, but the detailed results of this co-operation still remain to be published.

## Punishment is...

Vldas ŠLAITAS

*To punish a man  
more than his soul can bear -  
Don't shoot him,  
hang him,  
or even give him a life sentence.*

*To make it really hurt,  
transport him to an alien place.  
Reduce well-known neighbourhoods  
to ashes, and let crimson run  
Like ink across those familiar green plains.*

*Exiled in an unfamiliar country,  
a thousand eyes - razor-sharp - will constantly shoot suspicion.  
Exotic trees will choke the breath from him every day  
and while his heart still beats,  
this strangeness of home and life itself  
will confine him, isolate him.  
Alone, in the unknown.*

*Punishment,  
banished to a land made foreign,  
wandering daily in the shadows of houses made strange,  
until his parched heart dries out,  
until the last drops of blood go dry in his veins,  
until only a dry shell of his former self remains.  
The human nears inhuman.*

*When your own country is made unrecognizable;  
you, forcibly a stranger in your own home;  
this soul-torture will end up killing you.*

Re-reading in translation from the Lithuanian by Vince TAŠKŪNAS.

*Vldas ŠLAITAS was a Lithuanian poet, born in 1920. He migrated to the United Kingdom in 1947 where he wrote many of his verses.*

*Vince TAŠKŪNAS B.A.(Tas.), MPRIA, MAICD is the Associate Editor of this journal and occasionally a poet.*

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October 2010

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## The Light and Dark Sides of Algirdas Brazauskas

Audrius BAČIULIS

Vilnius

Former President of Lithuania, Algirdas Brazauskas, has been laid to eternal rest. He was one of the two most important politicians of the newly independent Lithuanian Republic. He represented the sector of the Lithuanian community that identified with the Soviet era and considered it to have been 'the golden days'. That sector of the community mourned for itself, as it laid to rest Algirdas Brazauskas. And that sector consisted of more than just the Party and economic élite, who for the past two decades had hidden behind A. Brazauskas' broad shoulders - like a wall that shielded them from the hand of the law and the public's scrutiny.

At least a million people in Lithuania still identify with the Soviet era. To them, the years of foreign occupation are not about freedom-fighting partisans, deportations to Siberia, Communist totalitarian ideology or KGB persecution. No, for them those were years of comfortable living in little build-it-yourself silicon brick cottages on collective farm property and living for free in big apartment complexes in the larger cities, along with free tertiary education and guaranteed employment. It was also possible to earn "a little on the side", as long as you were industrious and didn't get into any disputes with the powers-that-be. And let's face it, country-style industriousness and subservience to the powers-that-be were never lacking in the average Lithuanian.

Most of the people who lived in Lithuania in the late Soviet era – the Brezhnev era – can be described as 'collaborators cursing the régime under their breath'. They politely kow-towed to Moscow, knowing that resistance was futile, they joined the Party in order to get ahead in their career, but they seized every opportunity, however small, to derive some personal benefit; and without the slightest remorse they swindled the State, which they quite rightly considered alien.

Algirdas Brazauskas was precisely one of those: his extensive, élitist career, which eventually carried the hydrological engineer right to the top of government, began about that time. In 1965 Brazauskas was appointed Minister for the Building Materials Industry; and a decade later he was already Secretary of the LKP CK (Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania) and one of the élite that ran life in Lithuania in those days. In Soviet terms, he governed well; something of which he was proud until his dying day.

In 2006, when he was still Head of Government and energetic chairman of the ruling Social Democratic Party, he said this as a summation of his life's work: "I served Lithuania for fifty years."

With these words Algirdas Brazauskas expressed not only his attitude to himself and to his fellow travellers in the Communist Party; he was also expressing his attitude toward Lithuania and its statehood. It needs to be understood that for Brazauskas, working for the various institutions of the LTSR (Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic) and leading the LKP CK were totally the same and no different from being President of the re-established Lithuanian Republic (LR) and leading this country's Government.

As far as Brazauskas and his Communist fellow travellers were concerned, the only thing that had changed in Lithuania was the country's name: previously it was the LTSR, now it was just LR. As Prime Minister, A. Brazauskas even sat in the same office of the same building as when he was First Secretary of the LKP CK in the Soviet occupation era. He did not change his management style and his manner of dealing with people. And therein lies the source of many of the problems that Lithuania is still facing today.

### **The fateful October of 1992**

Lithuania was the first former Soviet state that managed to cast off the Russian yoke over two decades ago, along with its "Baltic sisters" Latvia and Estonia. All three had essentially the same starting conditions as independent republics. So, what was it that



\* **President Algirdas M. Brazauskas, on a visit to the Rumšiškės museum, 1994.** Photo: J.Staselis./LCVA (Lithuanian Central State Archives)

caused Lithuania to finish up only slightly better off than the Latvians (who were always considered to be 'the weak link' in the Baltic chain) and hopelessly behind Estonia? When did it happen?

Why is it that Estonia, the smallest of the three Baltic sisters, the one with the smallest economy, is nevertheless currently suffering least from the financial crisis? It has the best public servants, the smallest budget deficit, one of the smallest national debts in the European Union and could be introducing the euro currency this year (2011)? Above all, why is it that *the Estonian society, almost half of which is not of Estonian origin, is not suffering massive emigration because of the financial crisis, but is looking optimistically on their country's future prospects?* Why is everything quite the opposite in Lithuania?

Comparing the development of the two countries since liberation from the USSR, it becomes clear that Lithuania's and Estonia's paths differ from October 1992 onward. In Tallinn, after the election of 21 October, the young reformer Mart Laar, only 32 years old, was appointed Prime Minister. A few days later in Vilnius, on 25 October, the election for the *Seimas* (Parliament)

was won by the LDDP or Lithuanian Democratic Workers' Party, which was what the Lithuanian Communist Party of the time, led by Algirdas Brazauskas, had renamed itself.

A month later the Seimas appointed Brazauskas President of the Seimas, which amounted to being *de facto* Head of State at that time. Shortly after, in the spring of 1993, Brazauskas was elected first President of the once again independent Republic of Lithuania, an important and influential national position, although the Constitution placed limits – theoretically, at least – on the President's right to interfere in economic management. Nevertheless, leaders of the Government and Lithuania's banks met in President Brazauskas' office every Monday, along with other officials of the executive arm of Government, to arrive at the decisions that were shaping life in our country.

The crucial thing is that the decisions adopted under Brazauskas in Vilnius were totally different from those being adopted in Tallinn by the reformist Government of M. Laar. The latter's principal advisers and the people who administered the privatisation of State enterprises were businessmen and economists from Scandinavia and Germany, while Brazauskas' team had none of those. Brazauskas always liked to claim that he chose people for the leading positions on the grounds of their competence, not their political affiliation; however, in practice it always turned out that *the only competent specialists that Brazauskas could find were always members of the old Soviet Party and the economic élite.*

It did not take long for the consequences to be felt. In Estonia, the most important consequences of M. Laar's reforms, along with quite transparent privatisation and the introduction of a clear and simple single-rate taxation system, were the strict banking regulations, thanks to which Estonia was the only post-Soviet country to avoid a banking crisis.

At the same time as Lithuania's neighbours were implementing reforms that would change the face of their country forever, in

Lithuania the practice of *prichvatizacija*<sup>7</sup> for the benefit of the élite took place (e.g. the scandals with Sekundė and EBSW). The slick wheeler-dealers of Kaunas and Vilnius were welcome and at ease not only in LDDP headquarters in *Barboros gatvė* ('Barbara Street'), but also in the antechambers of the *Prezidentūra* (Presidential offices).

It all came to a head in the banking crisis of 1995, which severely shook up not only the Seimas and the Government, but also the *Prezidentūra*. A decade later, when Brazauskas was Head of Government, people were still reminding him about the relationships between his closest associates and the financial con-men who were one of the main reasons for the occurrence of the banking crisis.



\* The three Baltic Presidents of the day, at a media conference on May 28, 1989. From left: Lennart Meri (Estonia), Algirdas Brazauskas (Lithuania) and Guntis Ulmanis (Latvia).

- Photo: L.Dmuchovskaja/LCVA.

<sup>7</sup> *Prichvatizacija*: This is a word made up by journalists on the basis of *privatizacija* ('privatisation'), with the syllable *vat-* being changed to *-chvat-* as a reference to the Russian verb *захватить* (*zachvatit*), which means 'to grab'. Therefore, *prichvatizacija* means **corrupt privatisation**, with certain individuals benefitting unfairly.

### Survival of the Communist Party and the *sovietukai*<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the most important difference between Lithuania on the one hand and Latvia and Estonia on the other hand was the fact that *thanks to Brazauskas, the Lithuanian Communist Party survived*. After a few cosmetic changes, it became one of the most important political forces in Lithuania.

The Latvian and Estonian Communist Parties, which were full of Russian speakers, rejected sovereignty as a goal; whereas Brazauskas, who had been propelled into the position of First Secretary of the LKP CK on the wave of *Sąjūdis*<sup>9</sup> popularity, managed, along with his entourage, to accept the general public's desire for independence.

The possibility for this to happen was present because of the phenomenon mentioned earlier of so many Lithuanians being 'collaborators cursing the régime under their breath'. It made it possible for the Communist Party to retain most of its old constituency, the majority of society. Brazauskas was not wrong when he declared that the LKP was "the national party" and that most Communists were "normal people".

The Lithuanian Communist Party's split from the CPSU in December 1989 legitimised Brazauskas and his fellow 'deserters' and made it impossible to institute a thorough *liustracija* ('de-Communising' process), since it became impossible to separate 'normal' Lithuanians from *sovietukai*.

In Latvia and Estonia you could still pick the *homo sovieticus* if not from the first glance, then at least from the first word spoken, because it would be in Russian; whereas in Lithuania, thanks to Brazauskas, this was no longer possible.

<sup>8</sup> Another word made up by journalists. It is 'Soviet' with the diminutive ending *-ukai* added. It means, roughly "Soviet creatures".

<sup>9</sup> *Sąjūdis*, or *Lietuvos Persitvarkymo Sąjūdis* ('Lithuanian Reform Movement'), established on 3 June 1988 and led by Dr Vytautas Landsbergis, was the political organisation that led the struggle for Lithuanian independence in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Now the conscientious Lithuanian hoping to build up his country through hard work spoke the same language as the *sovietukas* who was still trying to rip off the system; and they wore the same clothes and sang the same drinking songs and in many cases even hung the same images of ancient Lithuanian rulers on their walls. You could only tell them apart when the subject of conversation was the Soviet occupation era, the partisans' struggles and Vytautas Landsbergis and Algirdas Brazauskas. To the conscientious Lithuanian, the partisans are patriots; to the *sovietukas* they are 'bandits' (as the Kremlin referred/refers to them). To the conscientious Lithuanian, Vytautas Landsbergis was the herald of independence; to the *sovietukas* he was 'a musicologist who destroyed the collective farms'. To the conscientious Lithuanian, Brazauskas was a kow-towing collaborator; to the *sovietukas* he was 'a Lithuanian oak tree'.

Attitudes to Brazauskas and the Soviet mindset that he preserved dissected Lithuanian society into two unequal segments. This could be seen during the first presidential election. About 38% (767,000 voters) cast their vote for Stasys Lozoraitis, who had returned from exile, where he had been a true fighter for the Lithuanian cause. **About 60% (1,200,000 voters) voted for Brazauskas, champion of the *sovietukai*. This split in the society – about one third for a true Lithuanian Republic; about two thirds for a cosmetically touched-up LTSR – has persisted to this day.**

This can be seen from society's attitude to civic duty. Only about one third conscientiously pay their taxes. Only about one third condemn smuggling and bribery. The other two thirds evade taxes and they live a life of swindling, trying to solve life's problems with the help of bribes. And why wouldn't they, when they saw how their 'spiritual leader', the great Algirdas Brazauskas, who had been honoured with so many titles and positions, used to make hush-hush flights to Moscow to help make deals for his favourite businessmen; and how the party faithful paid a tithe to their leader; and how they wine and dined in a grand hotel that



\* Since the restoration of Lithuania's independence, many formerly State-owned enterprises have been privatised. But who has benefited from it? - *Pictured: One of the newer business developments, Europa shopping centre in Vilnius.* Photo: L.Dmuchovskaya/LCVA.

Mrs Brazauskas had gained ownership of through *prichvatizacija*; and how Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, financial crisis notwithstanding, still had bags of State funds to hand over to his building industry buddies who were rebuilding the *Valdovų rūmai* (Ruler's Palace) in his honour?

Yes, Algirdas Brazauskas does deserve some credit as a politician who at the crucial moment chose the same path as his nation and no doubt eased Lithuania's struggle for independence; and as a President who negotiated post-Soviet borders and established good relations with our neighbours; and as the leader of a large segment of our society, who used his authority at critical times to stabilise the country. Finally, he does deserve credit for being sincere in his efforts to act in the best way he understood to achieve benefits for Lithuania and its people, and for striving to be a good leader and administrator.

Nevertheless, we need to remember that he perceived community harmony as best achieved through re-writing history to show the Soviet élite in a good light; that his economic decisions threw the country into crisis; and that after ruling the country for 12 years out of 20, Algirdas Brazauskas left Lithuania divided and broken. But he remained firmly convinced that others, not he, were responsible for all the problems.

### The future of the Party

It needs to be pointed out that the death of Algirdas Brazauskas is quite a loss for the party he established and led for almost two decades. Even after the merger of 2001, when the LDDP amalgamated with the LLP and became the Socialdemocrats, the combined party was still thought of as "Brazauskas' Party". It fought elections using his name and appealed to him to solve internal disputes.

Even though there were rumblings against Brazauskas during those two decades, he and his supporters always emerged victorious. If necessary, he resolutely expelled party members who had tried to plot against his leadership, as happened with ex-Prime Minister Adolfas Šleževičius. It's true that in 2006, Gediminas Kirkilas, the new leader of the Party élite, organised a more or less successful coup in the Government and in the Party; but it was seen as Brazauskas' tactical withdrawal in the face of the looming crisis. However, the result of the most recent election for Party President was that Brazauskas' favoured candidate, Zigmantas Balčytis, was thoroughly defeated by the new generation of Socialdemocrats, led by Algirdas Butkevičius.

Will Butkevičius be able to keep the Party unified after the death of Brazauskas? Recent events have shown that there is no true peace between the Brazauskas camp and the supporters of Butkevičius. And now there will be a battle over which of the Brazauskasites will be considered his informal successor within the Party. Will it be Brazauskas' friend and hunting mate, millionaire Bronius Brazauskas? Or Milda Petrauskienė, who is called the Party's 'Finance Minister'? Or Seimas veteran Česlovas

Juršėnas? Or maybe the young millionaire Andrius Šedžius, who has been openly advocating restoration of the old LDDP name for the Party? Without a doubt, now that Brazauskas is no longer there to pound his fist on the table, G. Kirkilas will once again try to raise his head and cook up plots.

In any event, it is clear that the Social Democrats, even though they are still one of the biggest political parties in Lithuania, have not been able to cultivate, - in the shadow thrown by Algirdas Brazauskas, - any new leader that could be his equal.

**Translated from the Lithuanian by Gintautas KAMINSKAS.**

*Audrius BAČIULIS is a senior political writer for Veidas (The Face), a weekly journal printed in Vilnius. The original Lithuanian article was previously published in Veidas. Its English translation appears here with the Copyright owners' permission.*

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Since the first appearance of *Lithuanian Papers* in 1987, every Australian Prime Minister has written for this journal. Their messages have been positive and encouraging, irrespective of each Prime Minister's party political affiliations.

During Australia's Bicentennial year (1988), for example, Prime Minister Bob Hawke wrote, "Lithuanian Australians have made major contributions to our art, sculpture and dance. Many have also achieved distinction in sport, and in Australian business and commerce. Your community can be proud of its contribution".

In 1994, Prime Minister P.J. Keating was impressed by the work of the Lithuanian Studies Society at the University of Tasmania. He felt that "the Society's achievements were a good example of the Commonwealth's Productivity Diversity concept at work".

Prime Minister John Howard sent his congratulations in 2000 and stated that "many Lithuanian Australians had become prominent and respected community members and continued to enhance the diversity of our society".

Prime Minister Kevin Rudd wrote in 2008, "I take this opportunity to reflect on the significant contribution which Australians of Lithuanian descent have made to this country's economic prosperity and rich social tapestry."

**In 2011, after more than two decades, this unbroken tradition of Prime Ministerial endorsement has now ceased.** An undated letter from the Prime Minister's office arrived on our Editor's desk on May 6, 2011. A/g Departmental Liaison Officer Jordan Devine, on behalf of the current Prime Minister, Julia Gillard, wrote:

*"As you will appreciate, the Prime Minister receives numerous requests from a large number of organisations and individuals for messages and letters of support or endorsement for a variety of purposes, including commemorative events, and very special occasions involving national organisations or representatives of Australia at major international events. You will understand that it is not possible for the Prime Minister to agree to all the requests she receives. On this occasion, I regret that the Prime Minister is unable to provide a message."*

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## **Eglė, the Queen of Serpents**

*An ancient Lithuanian fairy-tale, retold by*  
**Jessica HANCOCK**  
**University of Tasmania**

Eglė watched with admiration as her eldest sister climbed the strong, firm branches of an aspen tree, and leaped gracefully from it into the water. Her other sister squealed and giggled as the splash washed over her, splashing her elder sister in return as she resurfaced.

"Come now, Eglė, jump from the tree!" the eldest sister insisted. Eglė shook her head furiously, preferring to remain paddling in the water. "Oh, never mind then. We should probably be getting back soon anyway. These long summer days always make us late for dinner!"

With that, the two elder sisters dragged themselves from the water, wringing their saturated hair as they emerged. They began dressing, giggling and admonishing their hair for being so tangled, when they realised that Eglė was staring mutely at her blouse.

"Eglė?"

"Serpent!" whispered Eglė, her eyes never leaving the blouse that she had just seen a snake slither into. Her eldest sister fearlessly grabbed the blouse and shook it viciously, before throwing the item to the ground and stamping it. From within the blouse, the undamaged head of the serpent appeared.

"Eglė," the serpent hissed at the girl. Her two sisters jumped backwards from the blouse with cries of alarm. Eglė gulped.

*"Eglė, promise to be my bride and I will gladly come out."*

Eglė turned wide eyes to her sisters. They shivered and held onto each other, but could offer no advice. Tears began to well in Eglė's eyes in desperation.

"Please, please give me back my blouse and return from where you came!" she begged, the tears sliding down her cheeks. But the serpent would show no mercy.

*"Nay, nay Eglė. You shall never be rid of me so long as you live, so it would be better to become my bride. Promise to become my bride, Eglė, and I will gladly come out."*

Eglė let out a miserable sob, and though she shook her head sadly she agreed to become the serpent's bride. Her sisters could only watch on, tears welling in their own eyes.

\* \* \*

Three days passed. Eglė cried for many hours, until she could cry no more. After that, she could only watch with rising horror as every serpent in the land gathered at her house. Her father had been furious with the serpents, but there was little that he or his twelve sons could do. Finally he gave in and discussed the terms of the union, but the evening before his daughter was to be taken he sought out the local wise woman. She insisted that serpents were easy to trick, and that all the man had to do was to dress a goose as Eglė.

The sun was barely over the horizon when the father and 'daughter' climbed into one of the serpent's wagons. The man had only just started chuckling to himself at the deception when a coo-coo bird sung out the terrible truth, *"Coo-coo, coo-coo, the trick is on you! The clothes have no bride, but a goose there inside! Coo-coo, coo-coo, coo-coo!"*

Mortified, the father and goose were taken back to the farm. Though the goose was thrown angrily from the wagon, the next 'daughter' to trot back in was a white sheep, on the advice of the wise woman. Eglė's father sat calmly by the sheep, a smile playing across his lips at this second deception, when the coo-coo bird broke in with song.

*"Coo-coo, coo-coo, the trick is on you! Let me silence not keep, for the bride is a sheep! Coo-coo, coo-coo, coo-coo!"*

The serpents were furious at having been tricked once more, and angrily demanded the bride. Though the white cow in Eglė's clothing made it into the wagon, the coo-coo bird refused to let it



\* *"Eglė, the Queen of serpents"*. A sculpture by Lithuanian artist R. Antinis (1968). - Photo: B.Aleknavičius/LCVA).

pass, *"Coo, coo, coo-coo, the trick is on you! You must turn back now, for your bride is a cow! Coo-coo, coo-coo, coo-coo!"*

There was no choice: the serpents threatened famine for the disrespect shown by the parents. Eglė's tears returned as she was dressed by her two weeping sisters and was shown to the cart. Beside the cart, the coo-coo bird's mocking refused to cease.

*"Coo-coo, coo-coo, no honk, bleat or moo. Though the bride will be late she's tied to this fate! Coo-coo, coo-coo, coo-coo!"*

As the sun finally began to set, Eglė arrived at the sea and was surprised to find a handsome young man waiting for her at the beach. He gently kissed her hand and explained that he was the serpent that had slithered into her blouse. A little overcome, Eglė was shown underground into a magnificent palace of amber under the sea. For three weeks the wedding celebrations went on, and as

the guests danced, drank and feasted, the tears dried on Eglè's cheeks, and she began to forget her homeland.

\* \* \*

"Mother, will we ever meet your parents?"

Eglè looked up, startled by her eldest son's question. It had been nine years since the wedding, and though she'd had three sons and one daughter she had forgotten about her own family. Memories, both sweet and bitter, now flooded back.

"Yes, my son," answered Eglè, softly, as she gazed at him. She could see her father in his dark eyes and strong face. "We shall see my parents. Soon."

Eglè was surprised that her husband had not been angrier at her proposition. He had indeed thrown a rage, but finally he had relented and allowed Eglè to take herself and the children to her homeland. "*Of course, you must first spin this tuft of silk,*" he insisted slyly, showing Eglè to the spindle. Eglè agreed to his condition.

But the days of spinning slid by, and still the silk would not be spun. Eglè did not go to bed, but sometimes found herself asleep at the spindle, her raw and tired fingers still vainly working to spin the silk. When she could take no more, Eglè turned to an old woman whom she knew to be a sorceress, and told her of the trickery.

"When next the fire is kindled, throw the silk upon it," answered the sorceress with a knowing smile.

Eglè immediately returned home and threw the tuft of silk into the recently fired bread oven. The silk burst into bright flame and shrivelled, leaving a toad where the silk had been. Eglè, curious, picked up the toad and realised that it was creating silk from its own body, and she was able to spin this silk without difficulty.

After Eglè had shown the silk to her husband and begged that she be allowed to return to her home for a few days, he simply sighed deeply, "*I must relent. You may travel, once you have worn down these boots,*" he agreed.

Eglè threw the boots upon her tired feet and set out to pace across the stone floor. But the hours fled by as she paced, the moon came and went, and when Eglè woke up from where she had fallen asleep on the floor, the thick, heavy boots showed no signs of wear.

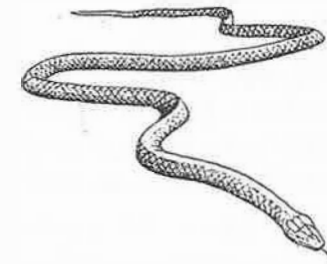
Desperate, Eglè turned to the sorceress again. The old woman admired the boots for some time, and then laughing, instructed, "Take these to the blacksmith and ask that he wear them down in his furnace."

The blacksmith worked well, and within three days the boots had been well heated and thoroughly worn down. The serpent nodded at the boots when they were shown to him.

"*Of course, you are ready to leave.*" Eglè turned towards the door, but her husband put a gentle hand on her shoulder, "*But what shall you give to your brothers and their children? You must make at least a rabbit pie before you travel!*"

Excitedly Eglè raced to the kitchen, only to find that all her utensils had been hidden. Though she tried to make the pies, she found it impossible to collect water without a bucket and to make the dough without a bowl. Once more she pleaded for the help of the old sorceress, who answered, "Spread out the sifted leavening, immerse the sieve into water, and within it mix the dough."

Soon enough the pies were baked and prepared for the journey. The serpent, dejected but fair, led his wife and children across the sea, and made them promise that they would return in no longer than nine days.



*"You must return to this beach with only yourself and the children. Then call for me:*

*Žilvinas, dear Žilvinas,  
If alive, may the sea foam milk,  
If dead, may the sea foam blood.*

*And then you will know whether or not I am alive. Children, you must never, never tell anyone how to call me. Farewell. May you return to me soon."*

As Eglė approached her homeland, beautiful memories of her childhood returned to her. Finally, they reached her father's farm, and found that all her relatives, all her in-laws, and all her neighbours had gathered to welcome Eglė and her small family home.

Eglė hugged the two sisters that she had not seen for so many years, and praised the strong and handsome men her twelve brothers had become. The gathering settled into food, exchanging greetings and news while they all sat around together, and Eglė felt her heart swelling with their love.

Her parents and siblings keenly felt their love for Eglė, too, and sought to retain her. They planned to find out from her children how she was to call her husband, so that they might kill him when he surfaced. Quietly they dragged Eglė's eldest son, Ažuolas, away from the gathering. They showered him with blessings and praise, but to no avail, for when questioned he insisted that he did not know the call. They threatened him to not tell his mother of their actions, but they were not ready to give up. The next day they called for Uosis, and then Beržas, Eglė's other sons, but they, too, refused to reveal their father's secret.

Drebulė, Eglė's young daughter, was a shy girl, and very intimidated by her mother's family. When cornered, her first response was to deny that there was any such call, but after being threatened with a rod, she burst into tears and revealed everything.

Eglė's twelve brothers wasted no time in marching to the sea with their scythes. They successfully called the serpent, and immediately fell upon him. Ruthlessly they slashed the serpent to

pieces, releasing the anger that had smouldered for many years at the seeming abduction of their sister, until there was no anger left and no life in the serpent. When they returned home, they kept their deed from Eglė.

For Eglė, the nine days passed far too swiftly, but even so she returned with her children to the beach. There, she called her husband. The sea shook violently, and suddenly the waves were crested with bloody foam. Eglė collapsed to her knees, not understanding, until the voice of her husband called out.

*"Twelve brothers with twelve scythes cut me down,"* the voice declared angrily. *"But the greatest pain was that the call was given to your brothers by our beautiful daughter, Drebulė!"*

Eglė regained her feet, her dress dripping with salt water and the foam of blood. Tears, which she had not shed since she was a young girl, rolled down her face. But she was also consumed with an anger that she had never felt before, as her eyes came to rest on trembling Drebulė. Eglė snarled the curse on her daughter,

***"May you turn into a quaking aspen.  
May you shiver day and night,  
May the rain cleanse your mouth,  
May the wind comb your hair!"***

Eglė then turned more calmly to her sons. "Stand, my sons, strong as trees," she whispered. And she faded away into a fir tree, while her sons became the strongest trees: an oak, an ash and a birch.

Only the aspen would no longer be a strong and firm tree like the one Eglė's sister used to climb many years ago.

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## William Smith O'Brien and the Polish-Lithuanian Rising of 1863

Richard DAVIS  
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In May 1863 the Poles and Lithuanians broke into a gallant but unsuccessful eighteen month rebellion against Russian autocracy. Two months later an Irish patriot, William Smith O'Brien (1803-1864),<sup>10</sup> entered 'into a region in which danger at present awaits the traveller at every step.' His contemporary journal and subsequent public lecture in Ireland showed the development of passionate enthusiasm for the insurgents' cause and tactics.<sup>11</sup>



\* Irish patriot, William Smith O'Brien (1803-1864)

An Irish Protestant aristocrat and MP for County Limerick in the British parliament, O'Brien joined the Repeal movement for Irish self-government. Horrified by the British government's failure to take adequate measures to relieve the disastrous Irish famine of 1845-9, O'Brien led the Young Ireland forlorn hope insurrection of

<sup>10</sup> See Richard Davis, *Revolutionary Imperialist: William Smith O'Brien 1803-1864* (Sydney, Crossing Press, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> Smith O'Brien Papers, National Library of Ireland, MS 46/829-8. All quotations from O'Brien not otherwise indicated are from this source.

July 1848. After his motley and ill-equipped followers failed to dislodge a party of well-armed police from a house in Tipperary, O'Brien and other associates were in 1849 transported to Van Diemen's Land. Released in 1854, O'Brien continued to speak out on behalf of Ireland. Travelling widely in Europe and North America he kept a series of journals in which he compared conditions with those at home.

After a lengthy tour in 1862-3 through France, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Austria, O'Brien in May 1863, avoided the direct route back from Vienna to Ireland, instead he entered Russian occupied Poland from Cracow, then part of the Austrian Empire. 'My object in making this deviation' was to ascertain 'the true character of the Polish insurrection'.<sup>12</sup>

The 1815 Congress of Vienna at the end of the Napoleonic Wars had established what became known as 'Congress Poland', controlled by Russia but nominally separated from her general empire. The autocratic Tsar Nicholas I, who had brutally put down a Polish rising in 1831, died in 1855. His reformist successor Alexander II created unsatisfied expectations of self-government. Rebellion broke out in January 1863 and spread to Lithuania, now integrated into Russia, but once part of a Polish-Lithuanian state.

Resisting heavy-handed Russian attempts to deprive him of his collection of newspapers, O'Brien took a train from Cracow to Warsaw. Approaching the Polish frontier he talked to a rich young landowner in then Prussian Posen, Count Czapski; 'fully convinced that he was exposing his life in a just and holy cause, he preferred a camp in the forests of Poland to the Sybarite pleasures of the banquets and of the drawing rooms in which he had ready access.'

Czapski described in detail the hardship and privations of the guerrilla life under the leadership of Marian Langiewicz (1827-87), briefly the revolutionary 'dictator', which had brought him on

<sup>12</sup> Letter written at Königsberg, 31 May 1863, *Freeman's Journal*, Dublin (and other papers) 19 June 1863.

twelve occasions under Russian fire.<sup>13</sup> At Warsaw O'Brien learnt that a secret Polish government, backed by guerrilla bands in the country, was successfully keeping the Russian 'tyranny' at bay. In the earlier rebellion of 1831 the insurgents had failed in pitched battles against the superior Russian forces. Distribution not concentration of force proved effective. Taxes were denied the Russians but levied by the clandestine administration, employing 8000 financial clerks. Traitors to the revolution were ruthlessly eliminated. The secret intelligence of the patriots appeared to outclass that of the Russians. O'Brien was impressed by the mourning black worn by local ladies in protest against Russian atrocities.

The Irish patriot contacted a number of aristocrats who had moved from moderation to almost full support for the revolution. 'Knowing that they could repose entire confidence in the sympathy and honour of an Irish gentleman they spoke to me without reserve.'<sup>14</sup> Although reluctant to inscribe insurgents' names in his private journal, liable to fall into Russian hands, O'Brien nevertheless cited several important people. He rejected renegades like Count Alexander Wielopolski who had worked for Tsar Alexander II to bring reform, backed by repression, to Poland.<sup>15</sup> O'Brien believed that by attempting to enforce Polish conscription as an antidote to rebellion, Wielopolski had brought it to a head.<sup>16</sup> An O'Brien contact of particular importance was Wielopolski's opponent, Count Andrzej Zamoyski, who had founded the influential Agricultural Society and was a leader of the rebellion's white as opposed to red faction.

Count Roniker, an authority on hypnotic magnetism, suggested that O'Brien visit a family connection, Patrick O'Brien de Lacy,

<sup>13</sup> W.S. O'Brien, *Lecture on Poland, delivered by William Smith O'Brien in Dublin. Wednesday, July 1st 1863* (Dublin, Goodwin, 1863), p. 25. For Langiewicz see Norman Davies, *God's playground: a history of Poland in two volumes*, vol 2, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981, p. 353.

<sup>14</sup> O'Brien, *Lecture on Poland*, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup> Davies, *God's Playground*, pp. 349-352.

<sup>16</sup> O'Brien, *Lecture on Poland*, pp. 7-8.

who held extensive lands near Grodno, then part of Lithuania.<sup>17</sup> Lithuania had made common cause with Poland in the current insurrection. As O'Brien said, though British diplomacy recognised only 'Congress Poland', the Lithuanians supported the rising with 'as much zeal' as the inhabitants of the former.<sup>18</sup> Of the 1,229 engagements of the sixteen-month insurrection, there had been 956 in Poland and 237 in Lithuania.<sup>19</sup>

Maurice de Lacy, an Irish general in the service of Russian Tsarina Catherine the Great, had been awarded extensive lands and a chateau once belonging to the Kings of Poland in the Grodno region beyond the boundaries of 'Congress Poland'. Lacking heirs, de Lacy invited his brother-in-law Patrick O'Brien of Co. Limerick to adopt his name and succeed him. By 1863 Patrick had enjoyed forty years possession. As a Limerick landowner and possible relation Smith O'Brien was keen to visit his namesake and inspect Polish-Lithuanian lands. His memoir did not mention that a most successful guerrilla leader was Lt Tytus O'Brien de Lacy of the Polish Zouaves of Death.<sup>20</sup> At Zyrzyn in August, after Smith O'Brien's return home, a large Polish force of which O'Brien de Lacy was second in command destroyed two companies of Russian infantry and a Cossack squadron, seizing the 200,000 roubles they guarded.<sup>21</sup>

Such actions made Smith O'Brien's efforts against England in 1848 appear puny indeed as he sought the truth of the Polish-Lithuanian insurrection. In his subsequent lecture in Dublin on behalf the Polish-Lithuanian cause, Smith O'Brien declared that had his age been 25, rather than 59, 'I should certainly have made a campaign in Poland before my return to Ireland.'<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Grodno (Gardinas), near the Polish and Lithuanian borders is today part of Belarus.

<sup>18</sup> O'Brien, *Lecture on Poland*, 23.

<sup>19</sup> Davies, *God's Playground*, p. 356.

<sup>20</sup> See *Wikipedia*.

<sup>21</sup> Davies, pp. 356-7. Davies refers to O'Brien de Lacy as 'an Irish volunteer' but he is almost certainly a member of Patrick O'Brien de Lacy's family.

<sup>22</sup> O'Brien, *Lecture on Poland*, p. 25.

Accompanied by Jules Olendski, a volunteer interpreter who proved a mine of information on the secret government and the state of Lithuania, O'Brien entrained for Grodno. The journey was not without hazard. Though the Russians protected the train with over 150 soldiers, the insurgents could disrupt traffic at will. O'Brien saw the ruins of a train derailed by sabotage and heard that revolutionaries frequently fired into the carriages. No such shooting occurred on this occasion but the Irishman saw the strangled corpse of a railway guard executed as an informer on the orders of the secret government.

For a former rebel, strongly criticised for his refusal in 1848 to allow his followers to commandeer stores, O'Brien considered 'this system of warfare is very shocking, very revolting to human feeling but it is not so shocking, nor so revolting to my feelings as are the atrocities which have been and still are perpetrated daily by the Russians against the Poles who are bravely contending for their homes and altars against the intrusion of foreign barbarians.' Polish and Lithuanian Catholic clerics were targeted by the Orthodox Russians and often joined the revolution. Far from condemning the insurgents, O'Brien considered them too lenient in treating wounded Russians as humanely as wounded Poles. 'I confess that if I were a partisan chief I would leave to the Russians the task of taking care of their own wounded companions; and for every Pole being shot or put to death in cold blood a Russian officer should die the death of a dog by way of reprisal.' This was a very different O'Brien from the overscrupulous leader of July 1848 in Tipperary.

Arriving late in Grodno, Smith O'Brien was unable to proceed immediately to O'Brien de Lacy's chateau Augustoweeke. Instead, Count Victor Starzenski, recommended by Count Zamoyski, accommodated him for two days. Starzenski, originally a moderate, had visited the Tsar to persuade him to accept reform. Not long after O'Brien's visit he was restricted to Grodno and then imprisoned at Wilna. The next day O'Brien was shown over the O'Brien de Lacy estate by his host's son. As a Russian officer

Pierre regretted holding down Hungarian and Circassian nationalists 'who were struggling for their freedom'. The exploits of Tytus O'Brien de Lacy were no doubt mentioned but carefully not recorded. Pressed for time, Smith O'Brien was unable to accept an invitation by Pierre's father, Patrick, to stay at Augustoweeke. Born close to Smith O'Brien's estate of Cahirmoyle, Patrick had left Limerick as a young child. Other members of the local nobility impressed the Irish nationalist by their high intellectual attainments.

Continuing by the comfortable first class carriage of the train to Wilna (now Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania), O'Brien carried a letter of introduction to O'Brien de Lacy's son-in-law (Count Kosakowski). He found Wilna 'situated on the banks of a beautiful river in an undulating country which is diversified by woods intermingled with cultivation.' With some very large churches 'its appearance is decidedly pleasing.' The Irish patriot enjoyed two nights there and rambled about the town. He took 'a delightful walk by the side of the river'. Less delightful was the arrival, two days earlier, of the 'diabolical monster' General Muravyev as Governor-General. He knouted women and encouraged the peasantry to plunder and murder both their landlords and their Catholic priests.<sup>23</sup> Historians agree with O'Brien's depiction of Muravyev's brutality in the suppression of both the 1831 and 1863 risings.<sup>24</sup>

Travelling by train from Wilna to Königsberg, via Kaunas, O'Brien learned that there was a large band of insurgents in the forest near Kaunas. It was, however, his fate to leave Poland without witnessing a bloody battle, thus making his account less interesting. Even better, thought O'Brien, if I had 'myself received a wound'. In Königsberg O'Brien composed a strong letter, distributed to European newspapers, fully endorsing the Polish-

<sup>23</sup> O'Brien, *Lecture on Poland*, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> Davies, *God's Playground*, p. 365, Muravyev 'launched a reign of terror, where people were killed, tortured, and exiled, villages were razed, and estates confiscated, with no thought of, or recourse to, the law.'

Lithuanian resistance and calling for international support. Back in Dublin he called for financial support and suggesting that young Irishmen might physically engage in the struggle under French auspices if Napoleon III intervened.

But there was, as O'Brien feared, no international intervention and the Russian forces gradually obtained full control. In late 1864 the members of the clandestine government were captured. Five leaders were publicly executed and thousands were transported to Siberia. Resistance was brutally crushed and Poland was totally incorporated into the Russian Empire. Smith O'Brien, who died in June 1864, did not see this unhappy outcome. But the spirit of nationality did not die out in Poland, Lithuania or Ireland. After World War I Poland and Lithuania for a time obtained freedom. In Ireland a struggle for independence developed, similar in many ways to the 1863 revolt against Russia. An attempt in 1916, similar to the 1831 Polish war against Russia, to fight conventionally against Britain failed; after 1919 an Irish clandestine government operated in opposition to the British administration, raising its own finances and backed by guerrilla warfare based on units distributed through the country. The insurgents effectively penetrated British intelligence. As in Poland and Lithuania, British agents and informers were ruthlessly gunned down. Tit-for-tat killings and the destruction of property occurred on both sides. When the British executed insurgents, British prisoners in Irish hands were shot,<sup>25</sup> thus emulating O'Brien's demand that 'a Russian officer should die the death of a dog by way of reprisal.'

The Irish insurgents of 1919-1921 were more fortunate than their Polish and Lithuanian counterparts of 1863. The brutalities of the British Black and Tans in Ireland were broadcast to the world, while news of Russian atrocities was more effectively suppressed. In 1922, the Irish Free State was established and the British Army withdrew from most of Ireland. Poland gained full independence

<sup>25</sup> For Irish Revolution, see Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 2004).

from the Soviet Union in 1989. In Lithuania there was a similar pattern of resistance to that of Ireland. In May 1945 local partisans and Russian forces fought a celebrated battle in the Kalniškės Forest. As in Ireland the static defence gave way to merciless guerrilla warfare.<sup>26</sup> In 1992 the Russian forces finally withdrew from Lithuania.

Smith O'Brien's report of his visit to Poland and Lithuania in 1863 tended to confuse Polish and Lithuanian national identities. It did nothing to change the course of history, being unknown to subsequent Irish revolutionaries, who nevertheless adopted similar tactics. But the recent rediscovery of his diary highlights the common problems of countries fighting for their freedom against powerful adversaries. As Jonas Ohman says, the past 'holds more lessons of consequence than one might at first conclude.'

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: We thank Janina Giedraitytė-Falkowski and Ramona and Dr Ramutis Zakarevičius for their help in reconciling some names in O'Brien's diary.

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Type in your browser [www.slic.org.au](http://www.slic.org.au)  
and follow the prompts.

<sup>26</sup> Jonas Ohman, 'Silent Resistance: The anti-Soviet guerrilla war in Lithuania', *Lithuanian Papers*, vol. 20, 2006, pp. 51-62. The initial anti-Soviet campaign ended in about ten years.

## Russia's Nuclear Projects:

### *A Deadly Threat to the Baltic States' Energy Independence*

Stanley H. BAČKAITIS

Washington, D.C.

*Russia can turn out the lights on Lithuania and on the other two Baltic States at any time it pleases. And the Baltic States cannot turn them back on, without Russia's permission.*

*Lithuania also depends on energy supplies from Russia to power Lithuania's own electricity generating plants: power that is needed for energy and economic independence. Lithuania and the other Baltic countries, being poor in energy resources, are facing a tough future and are seeking solutions. What would **you** do?*

#### Background

Lithuania's Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant (INPP), a Soviet Union built installation with two RBMK-1500 reactors, was finally shut down on December 31, 2009 (Figure 1). Closing down INPP was one of the conditions of Lithuania's accession to membership in the European Union (EU). Overnight, the shut down has changed Lithuania from a country exporting large amounts of electricity to a huge importer of electricity, mainly from Russia. Russia is seen as an unreliable supplier, driven by political motives.

#### Abbreviations

**BNPP** = the proposed new Russian *Baltiiskaya* nuclear power plant, to be located in the Kaliningrad region and to consist of 2 reactors.

**ENIM** = the Energy Ministry of Lithuania.

**EU** = European Union.

**INPP** = the original Ignalina nuclear power plant in Lithuania.

**LTL** = *Litas*, the unit of Lithuanian currency, equivalent to 40 cents Aust.

**NPP** = (any) nuclear power plant.

**Ostrovets NPP** = Another nuclear power plant to be established by the Belarus Government at Ostraviec, in Grodno region

**VNPP** = Visaginas nuclear power plant, one of potential replacements for Ignalina NPP.



**Fig.1.**The former Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant, near Drukšiai Lake. The plant was closed down on December 31, 2009.

Unfortunately, most of the remaining Lithuania's power plants that produce electricity are fired by imported natural gas. Russia is the only accessible supplier of gas, too.

To break away from this dependence, Lithuania and its partners Latvia and Estonia announced their intention in 2004 to build a new nuclear plant. However, for nearly four years, while the second reactor of INPP was still operating, Lithuania showed little initiative in firming up the plans to build the new NPP.

In 2008, Lithuania's Government created a semi-public utility corporation, the LEO.LT and the VNPP project office, to take care of Lithuania's energy needs and the raise funds for the new VNPP. Two years later, in September 2010, the Kubilius government dissolved the LEO.LT for its ineffectiveness. The two main LEO.LT shareholders, the government and a private "NDX Energija" corporation, turned out to have totally different interests. The government interest was to ensure energy security through the construction of a local nuclear power plant, while the private investor's interest was to maximize profits primarily by importing electricity. To make matters worse, NDX Energija was meant to lead the technical effort of building the NPP. Instead, it was later discovered that this corporation's staff did not have the financial or technical expertise needed to build a nuclear power plant.

In June 2009, Prime Minister Andrius Kubilius indicated that a new NPP, serving all three Baltic countries as well as Poland, would be built and put into operation in 2018-20. In December 2009, the newly formed Lithuania's Energy Ministry (ENMIN) called for tenders for the development, design, construction, and management of a new NPP at Visaginas (VNPP). Some 20 responses were received, but only five were worthy of further consideration. In September 2010, ENMIN asked them for their binding bids. Two of the five parties replied, but only one of them, South Korea's "Korea Electric Power Corporation" (KEPCO) was found to comply with the terms of the tender offer. Two weeks later, on December 10, 2010, KEPCO withdrew its bid, too.

This mini study recognizes several causes of the failure of this tender offer. They were due partly to Russia's controlling influence on the existing electricity system, and partly due to Lithuanian politicians' and energy planners' insufficient appreciation of how large international corporations and financial institutions operate.



**Fig 2. Russian-controlled electricity infrastructure in the Baltics.**

### Political factors

Although Lithuania and the other two Baltic states have been politically independent for over 20 years, they still belong to Russia's sphere of influence, because of their electricity and gas imports. (Fig.2). Apparently, Russia has no intention to strong-arm the Baltic states over energy issues, since the sale of energy to

the Baltics provides Russia a substantially better margin of profit than their sales to Western Europe. Being the sole supplier of energy resources, Russia has a tremendous amount of leverage over the three Baltic countries in terms of their price and delivery.

*Until 2008, Russia had no apparent intention of building a new NPP in the Baltic region. Realizing that Lithuania's plans for a new NPP were in disarray, Moscow took the bull by the horns and announced in early 2009 its decision to construct a two-reactor NPP in the Kaliningrad region, to be known as the Baltiiskaya nuclear power plant (BNPP). The first new BNPP reactor is aimed to begin operations in 2016 and the second one in 2020. This will give Russia a strategic advantage: it will reinforce Russia's position as an overpowering electricity supplier to the Baltic region and eventually to Western Europe.*

*This situation has become even more complex by another announcement, in 2009, of Belarus's intention to build its own new NPP in Ostroviac in the Grodno (Gardinas) region, in close proximity of the Lithuanian border.*



**Figure 3. Putin and Lukashenko agreeing on Ostroviac finances.**

Russia's Putin and Belarus's Lukashenko (Fig.3) signed an agreement on March 16, 2011, securing Russia's financial backing to the sum of US\$9 billion and technical assistance for the Ostroviac project. In return, Russia will own a 50% share in this future NPP and may sell some of its output in Europe.

It now appears that Lithuania's desire to build the new Visaginas plant (VNPP) might be a very desirable and valiant goal, but it is not very realistic in the current environment of energy politics. The situation could change, of course, if the European Union agreed to provide substantial funds for this project. However, there are no current signs for this kind of support.

**Economic factors**

Shortly after closing INPP's first reactor in 2004, Lithuania had a relatively easy opportunity to resolve its energy problems by building a new NPP. Its economy was strong and growing, raising the needed finances was relatively easy, and its neighbours, Latvia and Estonia, were very interested in participating in the project as receivers of their share of electricity. Construction of NPPs in the world until 2007 was in relative stagnation, and numerous NPP construction companies were eager to compete for new jobs.

In the latter part of 2007, however, and in later years, the emerging economic crisis in the Western World and escalating energy demands had begun to radically increase the number of NPP constructions, particularly in China and India. Over 60 new NPPs have been started worldwide in recent years: many more are planned. Such rapid escalation of construction activity, coupled with less than a dozen companies capable of building NPPs, has resulted in large increases of NPP construction costs. Lead times needed to manufacture major reactor and power plant components are now well over five years.

The current environment for the construction of a new NPP is particularly unfavourable to small, highly indebted countries. The proposed Lithuanian VNPP's competitive viability has become highly questionable, especially now that Russia has decided to build competing NPPs in the Kaliningrad enclave and in Belarus.

Russia's skills to use various opportunities to its advantage should be considered normal commercial practice, but with added political overtones. Russia is capable of offering a variety of economic and financial enticements to attract business. For example, Russia had offered a long-term low interest loan to the Czech Republic if Russia was awarded the contract to build a two-reactor power plant. As a sweetener, the Czech industry would be invited to build a number of large NPP components for other NPPs constructed by Russia in various parts of the world.

Russia foresaw a considerable power shortage developing in the Baltic region after the closure of INPP. It also foresaw that

Lithuania, by delaying action to replace the INPP with a new NPP, would allow Russia to fill the energy void and gain a price advantage with its new two-reactor power plant in the Kaliningrad region. This Russian development would also be a considerable deterrent to future investments in any NPP venture in Lithuania.

The Russians have another advantage: they will build their BNPP with non-returnable state funds, while Lithuania's planned NPP will need borrowed private capital. This will impose hefty surcharges on Lithuanian consumers and VNPP will find it difficult to compete against the Russian energy suppliers.

It can be agreed with ENMIN claims that the direct cost of producing electricity at VNPP would be relatively low. However, the cost to the consumer would be significantly higher because other operating and maintenance expenses would have to be added: plant and equipment amortization, transmission and distribution, reserve power plants, treatment and storage of nuclear waste, repayments of borrowed capital and interest, very extensive interior and exterior safety provisions, and so on.

The previous comparable price to the Lithuanian consumer of one kilowatt hour (1 kWh) of electricity was approximately 30 Lithuanian (LTL) cents, when produced by INPP. This was equivalent to 12 US cents. After the closure of INPP, the price of 1kWh rose to 45 cents (LTL). Future costs to produce one kilowatt hour of electricity at the future VNPP are unknown.

In any case, Lithuanian repayments of interest on the loan would start before the first watt of electricity could be generated. Assuming that the construction of the VNPP required some 18 to 20 billion Litas (US\$7-8 billion), expected interest payments in the high-risk category would be 2 billion Litas (US\$800 million) annually. This would add some 15 to 20 cents (LTL) to the normal price of imported or conventionally generated electricity.

**Financing Considerations**

Lithuania's politicians regarded the Russian and Belarus leaders' statements of intention to construct the BNPP and the Ostrovets NPPs as bluff, even as late as mid-2010. Moscow was quite clear

that Russia's new BNPP would generate electricity mainly for export to Western European and the Baltic countries and not for Russia's internal needs. This was confirmed in the March 2011 agreement between BNPP and *Lietuvos InterRAO* to import 1000 MW of electric power to Lithuania.

As a further move, Russia recently invited both Poland and Latvia to participate as partners in the construction of BNPP in an attempt to wean them away from Lithuania's NPP project. In addition, Poland was offered not only low electricity prices by the BNPP, but also the opportunity to earn more money for the transmission of electricity to Western Europe through Poland's existing power transmission network.

Significant international investors now view Lithuania's and the Baltic states' commercial energy viability as highly risky. Considering that the EU had most recently to rescue a number of euro zone member countries from bankruptcy, it would be extremely difficult to find banks willing and capable of providing high-risk loans to additional EU countries that are drowning in debts and for projects that might not be financially viable.

#### **Indecision: a detriment for the future**

Lithuania, upon attaining independence in 1990-91, had inherited a number of large industrial enterprises such as INPP, electric power and gas facilities, an oil refinery, a large fishing fleet, sizeable electronics industry, etc. A number of them were mis-managed and not developed to their full potential. Numerous others were either privatized, sold as junk property or went into bankruptcy and disappeared as functioning entities.

Similarly, the government delays in planning the new NPP and failures to take timely action were not in the best interests of the country and its people. The public and the partner countries were kept at a distance; while the organization and management of the project were continuously revamped. It appears that the opportunity was shattered by competing interests between political parties, personal ambitions, disregard of partners' interests, and

manipulation by powerful and resourceful interests of the neighbouring country to gain strategic advantage.

Apart from commitment to the EU to close the INPP, it is not clear what rationale guided the planning or the absence of planning of Lithuania's energy future upon closure of the INPP first reactor in 2004. One line of thought was that Lithuania had a reliable natural gas and fuel supplier as well as a sufficient power generating capacity of its own to produce adequate amounts of electricity well into the mid 2030s, using Russia's gas and oil. Another line of thought was that, shortly before the final closure of the INPP, EU authorities in Brussels could be asked to allow the INPP to continue the production of electricity for several more years beyond 2010. Unfortunately, the people of Lithuania, who are paying the electricity bills, were never asked what *they* thought.

This line of wishful thinking or self-deception prevailed for nearly four years until the arrival of the Kubilius government in late 2008. The previous government's "National Energy Strategy 2007" (NES 2007) document covered the new NPP topic by only one sentence. By contrast, the same document described, in considerable length, the future development of Lithuania's energy in line with EU directives, plus expanded electricity generation "Lietuvos Elektrinė", whose operation is based on imports of natural gas from Russia.

It is not clear why the Government of Lithuania did not consult its Latvian and Estonian partners in the spring of 2007, by unilaterally including Poland into the partnership. This greatly alarmed both Latvians and Estonians who started publicly discussing smaller nuclear power plants for their future needs. (cf. Energy conferences in Tallinn and later in Washington, D.C., both in 2007). Latvia did not hide its frustration, at the time, with Lithuania's indecision and fogginess.

After Andrius Kubilius's takeover of the government in late 2008 and upon establishment of the ENMIN, an extensive review was initiated to determine Lithuania's current state of affairs in the energy sector and its future needs with particular concern on steps

to be taken to attain energy independence. The ENMIN published a new document on October 6, 2010: "The National Energy Strategy 2010" (NES 2010). A couple of months later, the ENMIN separated Lithuania's electrical grid into East and West sectors which just a year earlier had been merged into one conglomerate. Once again, the Lithuanian authorities employed similar bulldozer tactics as had been used by the previous government. They did not consult either the public or the private sector energy users.

In future, the next round of negotiations with potential contractors might be very difficult and expensive. For this reason, it would be prudent for the ENMIN to tell the nation the true status of the country's energy, realistic projections of future needs, and an array of alternative measures. Lithuania's taxpayers and energy users should be given the responsibility to decide if they would choose to remain a nuclear country and whether other alternatives should be pursued. Lithuania is in dire need of such public discussions.

Recent nuclear plant disasters in Japan, necessitate an in-depth safety review of nuclear technologies for the generation of electric power and their internal and external safety provisions. It is essential to re-examine the need for and the safety of nuclear power plants not only for use in Lithuania, but also the two NPPs that Russia intends to build in the immediate proximity of Lithuania's major population centres and at locations with marginal water resources. The sufficiency of water resources to fight NPP fires, potential meltdowns and radiation effects must be considered for all extreme climate conditions and for other types of destructive emergencies. Lithuania must request an assessment by an independent international team, at the highest level. Such assessment must cover all safety provisions that the Baltiiskaya and Ostroviec NPPs will be equipped with.

Self-certifications by the building and operating countries of the NPPs are just not sufficient when the lives of the entire nation and its habitat are involved. Furthermore, inasmuch as a nuclear disaster can have devastating effects on neighbouring countries, the country that owns the reactor should establish adequate

financial insurance deposits at the World Bank or a similar institution to cover possible losses.

The Lithuanian government in general, and ENMIN in particular, are relying too much on studies produced by foreign consultants while disregarding the analyses and recommendations of qualified experts in the country. It is known that in many instances external consultants tend to produce studies supporting the purchaser's desired outcome, knowing that a satisfied customer would give them a much better chance to win subsequent studies. Similarly, it is known, but not well publicized, that none of the world's existing nuclear power plants can survive without financial support of their respective governments.

To assure energy independence, a large-scale nuclear power plant might be the most logical and cost-effective solution for Lithuania, a country poor in energy resources. However, such comparative studies have not been made available to the public. It is the author's professional and considered opinion that Lithuania should evaluate and make public all available options for its citizens to decide the alternatives they would be willing to support, rather than being bulldozed into a possible financial quagmire by bureaucratic decree.

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## Teaching Lithuanian in Tasmania

Algimantas P. TAŠKŪNAS

University of Tasmania

After the Second World War, about 400 Lithuanian migrants had settled in Tasmania, Australia's smallest state.<sup>27</sup> As of 2011, the number of Lithuanians still in Tasmania has shrunk to about 40.

But let's not get carried away by numbers, or by the lack of them. Lithuanians may be rare in this State, but more Lithuanian research has been successfully completed at the University of Tasmania than anywhere else in the whole Commonwealth of Australia. One of six different forms of Lithuanian studies in Tasmania<sup>28</sup> is the *language learning programme* for non-Lithuanian beginners. The programme is taught for two semesters: it has been offered almost annually since 1992. Over one hundred non-Lithuanians have completed the course, to date.

This experience has provided new insights into teaching Lithuanian to a foreign audience and in total isolation from its natural environment, Lithuania. This paper briefly surveys only three of these insights: 1. the student pool; 2. teaching English-speakers; and 3. Lithuanian tutor books.

### 1. The Sources of Our Students

Whenever we mention our language classes to strangers, people invariably ask, "How can you find students for Lithuanian language courses in Tasmania - in a state that has barely forty Lithuanians?"

<sup>27</sup> Tasmania's size is similar to Lithuania's land area (65,300 sq. km).

<sup>28</sup> The six avenues of study are: (1) Supervised postgraduate research in existing university departments. This leads to conventional University of Tasmania graduate research degrees. (2) Lithuanian language classes. (3) Lectures. (4) Lithuanian library [mainly in English, this specialised collection of over 1000 books is the largest of its kind in Australia]. (5) A refereed annual journal in English, *Lithuanian Papers*. (6) Two annual academic scholarships: the \$5,000 Lithuanian Honours Scholarship and the \$2,000 V. Patašius Lithuanian Studies Scholarship.



\* Lithuanian Studies Society at the University of Tasmania has sponsored and financed the teaching of the Lithuanian language since 1992. Pictured: Vince Taškūnas, B.A., MPRIA, MAICD. the Society's President.

This question assumes, of course, that Lithuanian language lessons are intended only for Lithuanians. Which is wrong. In fact, statistics confirm that nothing is further from the truth, at least in this part of the world. In a typical class of ten students, we have rarely had more than 1 or 2 Lithuanians. The remainder - that is, the majority of our language students - were "dinkum" (genuine) Australians, with a sprinkling of Chinese, Dutch, Malay, Indian, Latvian, Canadian and Italian students.

Indeed, the demand for the Lithuanian language classes in Tasmania is not determined by the students' ethnic background. Students are attracted by the intellectual strength and the educational value of the subject itself. Word has spread over the years that Lithuanian is as solid as the best of other academic courses. It requires undivided concentration, discipline and regular practice.

Zhonguan Jia, a Chinese student of the Lithuanian language in our 2010 course, told us recently, "In my leisure time, I am very fond of brain-teasing games, such as Sudoku, crosswords and puzzles. So, I find Lithuanian exactly like those games: Lithuanian lessons bring me a lot of challenging fun".

Another student, Jessica Hancock, had this to say: "Lithuania has a novelty value. How many people could point out Lithuania on a map, let alone recite a single word of that language? Lithuania also has a rich, interesting and ancient history, and in learning the language, I soon discovered that I was learning the mythology and the culture of this fascinating nation, as well."

## 2. Teaching English-speakers

Teaching Lithuanian as a second language is not the same as teaching Lithuanian to native speakers. A native English-speaker joining a Lithuanian class already knows one language, English. Because of this, he/she is likely to bring with him, or her, a normal (but unrealistic) assumption that all languages are structured in the same way as English. At some stage, he or she will attempt - perhaps subconsciously - to apply certain English language principles to their Lithuanian, and get stuck.

For example: We are in a room. When the temperature around us drops, I will say, in English, "I am cold". This perception seems to come from **inside** me, "**I** am cold". For a Lithuanian, on the other hand, the chill is perceived from **outside** his/her body, "*Man šalta*", it is cold **for me**...

There are dozens of other differences of this kind, between English and Lithuanian. So, it is not enough for the teacher to know just the Lithuanian language well. The teacher must also be aware of those typically English ways of thinking; the teacher must know the reasons why such language structures cannot be translated literally; and what makes them difficult, or even insurmountable, for the students of Lithuanian. It is then up to the teacher to choose the best method and solve the problem.

## 3. Text Books

Every student wishing to learn Lithuanian should have an adequate text book and use it regularly. Modern technology has produced many other aids for studying languages: Internet, CDs, E-mail, etc. However, there is still room for a good book.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the pros and cons of the individual language books; and Lithuanian text books in particular. However, two general points must be mentioned here.

Firstly, a text book must address its correct audience. A number of otherwise satisfactory textbooks have been written by Lithuanian authors who tend to view some linguistic aspects primarily through the Lithuanian prism. This does not allow them to cater sufficiently for the students' entry language (in this case, English).

A similar problem arises when an attempt is made to translate a Lithuanian language tutor book from a third language. For instance, *Easy Way to Lithuanian*, adapted in 1990 from Liga K. Streipa's *Easy Way to Latvian*.

Secondly, every worthwhile Lithuanian language book for foreign students must have intonation marks (*kirčiai*) in all its Lithuanian texts. It is an essential need - not only for the students, but sometimes also for the teachers.

## 4. Joint Research

In 2011, the Lithuanian Studies *katedra* (department) of the University of Vilnius and the Lithuanian Studies Society at the University of Tasmania started a joint teaching research project. The aim is to develop an advanced Lithuanian language course for English speaking students, using the existing tutor books as well as creating new teaching aids.

A small experimental students' group with prior training meets every week at the University of Tasmania and deals with the problems mentioned here. This should lead to a more comprehensive collection of new and revised teaching materials

that will be available also to other foreign universities running similar Lithuanian programmes.

\* \* \*

This paper has barely touched the surface of a broader and most exciting topic - *teaching and learning Lithuanian*. When next in Tasmania, you must visit the University of Tasmania at Sandy Bay and spend some time browsing through the Lithuanian Library in Room 586, Arts building.

*Dr Algimantas (Al) TAŠKŪNAS OAM is Honorary Research Professor in the School of Government at the University of Tasmania. The above article is partly based on Dr Taškūnas's earlier paper presented at the 2010 AABS conference in Melbourne.*

## Book Reviews

### *Three Histories in One*

**Andres Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, Essential Histories Series, 2010). ISBN-13:978-0-230-01941-6, 251 pp.**

The writing of a 'History of the Baltic States' presents many challenges. Although close neighbours, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have strikingly different linguistic, religious and cultural histories, with even the meaning of 'Balt' changing over the centuries.

Yet the author of this impressive text, Andres Kasekamp, has surmounted this challenge and written an integrated history of the Baltic peoples from the end of the ice age to the present that lucidly and coherently makes clear how geographical propinquity, shared political misfortunes and coordinated liberation movements forged a common regional identity and solidarity, symbolised by the inspirational 'Baltic Way' of September 23, 1989, when nearly two million Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians held hands in an unbroken 600 kilometre-long human chain, stretching between Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, to protest the signing fifty years earlier

of the heinous Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact that soon afterwards led to their mutual subjugation under the heel of the Soviet Union.

The Estonian author has striven, with much success, to write a professional and objective study of the dramatic and often tragic political events that have convulsed the Baltic region over the centuries. Depending largely on English-language sources, Mr Kasekamp has included well-detailed maps, comprehensive references, and itemised suggestions for further readings in this highly informative volume. In short, he has authored a concise and clearly written introduction to the history of an often neglected section of Eastern Europe, a work particularly suitable for undergraduate students and for general readers.

Unlike other historical works devoted to the Baltic region, this is not a parallel history of three autonomous nations, but a fusing of the national narratives of these intertwined peoples. Still, a Lithuanian reader might take pride in reading that Grand Duke Vytautas's Lithuania at the end of the 14th century was the largest multi-ethnic country in Europe; that the University of Vilnius, founded in 1579, was the most easterly of European universities and one of the most prestigious; and that a visitor to Vilnius, Napoleon Bonaparte, was so impressed with St Anne's Church that he desired to relocate it to Paris.

But the high-point of this historical narrative was undoubtedly the heroic efforts of the Baltic peoples and their popular fronts during the years 1986-91 in converting environmental protests, 'calendar demonstrations' and the 'singing revolution' into the real thing.

The lead role was handed from the Latvians, to the Estonians and finally to the Lithuanians, in a process similar to a team cycling race, according to Kasekamp, where one cyclist does the hard work for several laps and then passes on the burden to a team mate. Another way of looking at it was the Estonians were the brain, the Latvians the organisational spine and the Lithuanians the heart of the movement, according to a saying at the time (not mentioned in this book).

Whatever the figure of speech, Kasekamp strongly argues that the political 'breakthrough' for the Baltic Republics occurred a year before the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. Moreover, their achievement of independence in August 1991 was not a consequence of the collapse of the USSR but in fact it was the Baltic popular movements that had "hastened the pace of democratisation within the USSR and undermined the foundations of the Soviet Empire."

The overwhelming jubilation of the Baltic peoples at their stunning triumph in 1991 soon gave way in subsequent years to widespread despair, as it became apparent at how difficult it was to create a new nation, or restore an old one. Kasekamp also displays a certain amount of disappointment at the result, and mentions the crime, corruption and personality politics that ensued. The Baltic tradition of social responsibility seemed to become a casualty of the new consumer society, he writes.

The 'Sleeping beauty' of the past (not his image, but meaning the supposed traditional traits and virtues of the Balts) did not awaken quickly, as some had expected. Instead, there were disputes, sometimes heated in nature, over property rights, language laws, citizenship eligibility and lustration, all of which receive scant attention in this volume.

This reviewer would also have appreciated more analysis of the decimation of the Jewish community in the war years (surely the empowerment of Soviet Jewish commissars in 1940-41 is not a sufficient explanation for significant outbreaks of anti-Semitism in Lithuania). The ethnic cleansing ('repatriation') of Poles in Vilnius and other locations also calls for more explanation. In addition, Mr Kasekamp's contention that those individuals who cooperated with the Nazis in the Baltic lands cannot be considered 'collaborators' (meaning traitors), as the Soviets had already destroyed their state, is an argument that seems rather specious to this reader.

So many complications and so many controversies. It is unfair, admittedly, to criticize Mr Kasekamp for not producing an

argumentative volume that he never intended to write. His scholarship leans to the 'cool' side of a historical landscape that is rent by passionate disputes. But he is certainly correct in stating at the end of this volume that the legacy of history is almost omnipresent in the Baltic lands: "It affirms identities, inflames passions and directly or indirectly influences policy-making. It is thus prone to use and abuse as an instrument of political manipulation, which denies its multilayered nature." Amen.

This is a text that deserves to be in every library concerned with Baltic affairs, but it should be read in conjunction with other, more focused works on some of the outstanding issues in Baltic historiography.

**Reviewed by Thomas POOLE.**

*Now retired, Thomas POOLE, BA (Princeton), MA (Kansas) PhD (Mass.) is a former Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Queensland. His areas of specialization include Russian-Australian relations and the Baltic region.*

### ***Little Europe Revisited***

**ŠEŠTOKAS, Josef, *Welcome to Little Europe: Displaced Persons and the North Camp.* Sale, Vic.: Little Chicken Publishing, 2010. ISBN 9780646534381 (pbk.).**

It has been said that Australia's population consists of the Aborigines, immigrants and their children. This is why the various migrants' multifarious inputs over the years are an essential part of the Australian history. Regrettably, the general public does not know enough about the non-British migrants who came to this country after World War II. The information gap is particularly noticeable in regard to the 170,000 or more of the so-called DPs (Displaced Persons) who arrived between 1947 and 1951.

Josef Šeštokas's descriptive book, *Welcome to Little Europe*, is a valuable addition to this field. A strong focus in the book is on the 48 Baltic men who were the first DP "contract workers" to be sent to Yallourn North, on January 16, 1948, to work for the State Electricity Commission of Victoria (SECV). Each of the forty-eight is named in the book: 36 Lithuanians, 9 Estonians and 3

Latvians. Their early years, at work and at play, are then described, using documents and immigrants' own recollections.

The 48 Balts did not, of course, remain isolated. They kept interacting with other workers, with town residents and with new migrants who continued arriving throughout 1948 - 1952. We read of local people's dislike of Balts, of Nazi accusations (p.131), dissatisfaction with accommodation, tents, fights, depression, suicides, separation of families (p.130, 157), assimilation, strikes, mixed-up contract periods, discrimination in employment (p.153).

While the author has deliberately confined his migrants to a small geographical area, the book also contains a great deal of other information of universal interest. There are detailed descriptions of Europe's DP camps; of Yallourn's coal mines and SECV works; of Australia's changing immigration policies, etc. We are reminded that, in 1945-47, the Balts and other refugees from Eastern Europe were living in a constant fear of being forcefully handed over to the Russians - and to certain death. There was nothing imaginary about that: some two million Cossacks, Ukrainians, Anti-Communist Russians and others *had* already been handed over (cf. N.Bethell, *The last secret*. N.Y.: Basic Books, 1974).

There are a few errors of spelling and translation; but they do not detract from the overall high standard of the book. The diacritical signs in the Reference list (pp.265-268), however, are not consistent: they are correct in some entries, but missing in others.

I recommend this book to all Australians, old and new: it is a well balanced introduction to the " world of migrants" for everyone.

**Reviewed by Algimantas TAŠKŪNAS.**

*Dr Algimantas (Al) TAŠKŪNAS, OAM is an Honorary Research Professor in the School of Government, University of Tasmania.*

This book is available from Little Chicken Publishing, PO Box 967, Sale, Vic 3850 for \$45 plus \$10 P&H in Aust or as an eBook from Palmer Higgs Books Online and Amazon UK or GER for \$9.95.

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