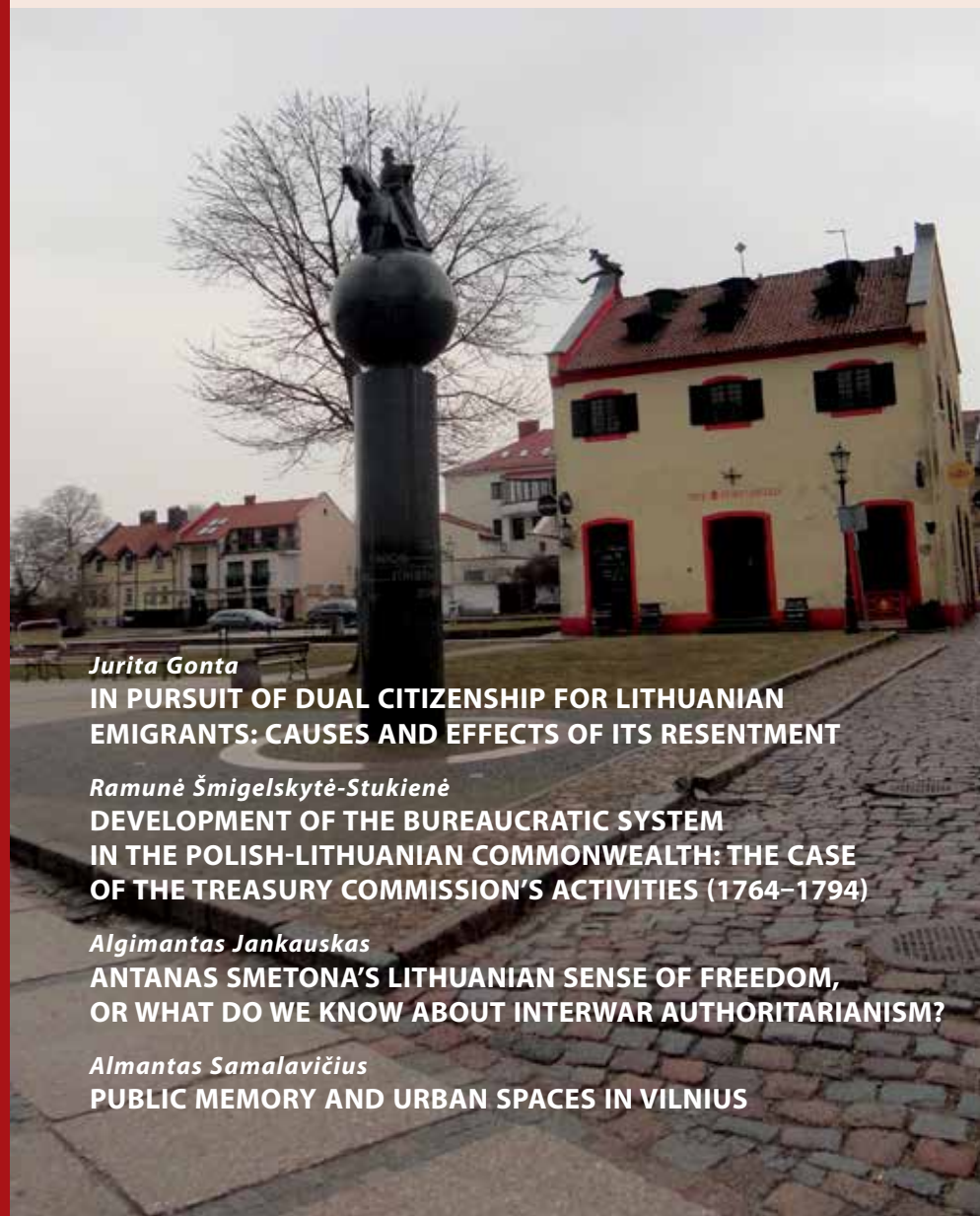


# LITUANUS

THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY

VOLUME 64:3 (2018)



*Jurita Gonta*

**IN PURSUIT OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP FOR LITHUANIAN  
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# LITUANUS

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Square on the junction Pylimo and Stepono streets in Vilnius.  
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## In Pursuit of Dual Citizenship for Lithuanian Emigrants: Causes and Effects of its Resentment

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JURITA GONTA

### Literature Review

The main debate within the field is whether dual citizenship is an inevitable solution to the increased migration. A review of scholarly articles, books, and various other articles in magazines and newspapers about Lithuanian citizenship laws uncovers common themes addressed by proponents, opponents, and regulatory authorities. These themes include the increasing tolerance towards dual citizenship, and its advantages and disadvantages.

The analysis of the works written by international and Lithuanian scholars reveal the increasing tolerance towards dual citizenship and the reasons behind it. Constantin Iordachi argues that “globalization, labor migration, the need to integrate permanent residents, and increasing cultural pluralism,” have influenced the rise of dual citizenship.<sup>1</sup> Professor Glazer emphasizes the need for dual citizenship because many people now “belong to more than one society and have collective identities.”<sup>2</sup> Peter Spiro thinks that “dual citizenship should be protected as

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<sup>1</sup> Iordachi, “Dual Citizenship,” 106.

<sup>2</sup> Glazer, “Dual Nationality,” 6817.

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a human right.”<sup>3</sup> In addition, there is an agreement in the field that economic, cultural, and social benefits to the citizens and the country of citizenship, have contributed to the liberalization of citizenship laws. Jean Folger argues that dual citizens can vote, invest, run for office, inherit, and own property in either country.<sup>4</sup> Regina Narušis adds that emigrants “enhance the country’s economic growth and cultural survival.”<sup>5</sup>

Opponents argue that dual citizenship may be a possible threat to the individual’s loyalty and dual obligations are impossible to perform. Professor Sinkevičius claims that the citizens “bound by the requirements of loyalty of other states, and who no longer have factual ties with Lithuania” should not be making “decisions determining the fate of the people residing in Lithuania.”<sup>6</sup> Professor Alfonsas Vaišvila adds that very rarely a person “is capable of simultaneously performing his/her duties to two or more states.”<sup>7</sup> According to him, the second citizenship then becomes a privilege, which is prohibited by “the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania and international legal acts as in violation of the principle of equality of all citizens.”<sup>8</sup>

It is clear from the sources that international scholars are stronger supporters of dual citizenship than Lithuanian scholars. The articles reveal that the liberalization of dual citizenship laws is based on increased migration, integration of immigrants, economic benefits, and increased protection of citizenship as a human right. However, additional research may be useful with respect to the laws of the countries which do not allow dual citizenship in order to understand Lithuania’s position better. Also, further research may be needed to get a clearer understanding to how many countries in the world allow dual citizenship.

<sup>3</sup> Spiro, “Dual citizenship as Human Right,” 111.

<sup>4</sup> Folger, “Advantages and Disadvantages of Dual Citizenship.”

<sup>5</sup> Narušis, “Dual Citizenship.”

<sup>6</sup> Sinkevičius, “Integration Processes and Dual Citizenship,” 34.

<sup>7</sup> Alfonsas Vaišvila, “Double Citizenship,” 109.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 12.

## Methodology

Document analysis was the main methodology used to collect information for this study. This paper uses modern day statistical data on population, historical, legislative, and testimonial evidence to assess the situation in Lithuania, examine international citizenship tendencies, and to provide solutions. I focused on public records, such as various laws and regulations. I specifically examined the Constitution and citizenship laws of Lithuania and European Union countries. I extended my research and analyzed the Constitutional Court’s rulings, international conventions, cases, and information posted on embassy websites. First, I have applied content analysis, which helped me to identify relevant information. I’ve also used a data reduction method to limit my investigation to the core themes, thus helping me to narrow down my research and stay on the topic. In addition to the physical and electronic data, I have interviewed a Constitutional Law attorney and a leader of the World Lithuanian Community, Regina Narušis.

Many primary sources revealed a global trend of liberalization of dual citizenship laws. For example, pursuant to the 2013 amendments to the Latvian Citizenship Law, dual citizenship is permitted “with the European Union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member states,” and a few other authorized countries.<sup>9</sup> The increased tolerance towards dual citizenship has been reflected in international conventions as well. Specifically, the 1963 Convention on the Reduction of Cases of Multiple Nationality and Military Obligations in cases of Multiple Nationality claims that upon naturalization a person “shall not be authorized to retain their former nationality,”<sup>10</sup> but the 1997 Eu-

<sup>9</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, “Amendments to Citizenship Law Come into Effect on 1 October 2013.”

<sup>10</sup> Council of Europe, “Convention on the Reduction of Cases of Multiple Nationality.”

ropean Convention on Nationality, leaves the freedom for the countries to “determine under its own law who are its nationals.”<sup>11</sup> However, Lithuania’s Constitution and Citizenship Law continue to promote the tendency of singular citizenship.

## Analysis

This paper argues that the continuous refusal to legalize dual citizenship in Lithuania does not benefit the country and Lithuanians living abroad, falls behind international dual citizenship tendencies, and threatens the survival of the country due to high emigration rates. The main research problem is to identify the reasons of Lithuania’s opposition to dual citizenship and to provide recommendations.

### **I. Dual citizenship provides many benefits to the country and its citizens. Lithuania deprives its citizens of these benefits by refusing to relax its dual citizenship laws.**

(i) *The Definitions of Citizenship and Dual Citizenship.* There is no agreement among scholars on a definition of citizenship. However, the majority of them agree that “citizenship consists of rights and duties which are defined by law and protected by the institutions of the state.”<sup>12</sup>

Dual citizenship occurs when an individual holds citizenship status of more than one country at the same time. The phenomenon has not been globally accepted for a long time. Spiro refers to it as “an anomaly,” which has since been embraced as a natural consequence of globalization.<sup>13</sup> The global acceptance of the phenomenon is reflected in liberalization of the citizenship laws of different countries and international conventions.

(ii) *The Drawbacks of Dual Citizenship.* Scholars argue that the concept of dual citizenship is often recognized as unacceptable due to the impossibility to be loyal to two countries. Loyalty to another government can be “threatening” to the country and change the “understanding of national identity.”<sup>14</sup> Many politicians and lawyers believe that only people living in Lithuania are truly loyal to their country and are afraid to extend citizenship rights to individuals living abroad. The understanding is that emigrants will not have to live with the consequences of the decisions they make, thus “they should not have responsibility for Lithuania’s present or its future.”<sup>15</sup>

Another compelling argument against legalization of dual citizenship is that it is impossible and impractical for an individual to perform dual obligations. It was previously determined that citizenship consists of rights and duties. A citizen has a duty to his or her country to pay taxes and to perform military service. Dual citizenship translates into dual obligations, which may cause a conflict of interests at the time of war. Double taxation may be a financial burden on a citizen as well. For example, “the United States imposes taxes on its citizens for income earned anywhere in the world.”<sup>16</sup> Consequently, a naturalized Lithuanian emigrant may owe taxes to Lithuania and the United States for the income earned in Lithuania.

The findings show a few disadvantages of dual citizenship. It is unnatural to be loyal to both countries of citizenship at the same time. In addition, a citizen cannot perform dual obligations, thus his/her original citizenship becomes citizenship of privilege and convenience.

(iii) *The Advantages of Dual Citizenship.* The research revealed many benefits a dual citizen could enjoy. These benefits consist of rights and social guarantees offered by each country.

<sup>11</sup> Council of Europe, “European Convention of Nationality.”

<sup>12</sup> Isin and Turner, *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, 318.

<sup>13</sup> Spiro, “Dual Citizenship as Human Right,” 111.

<sup>14</sup> Glazer, “Dual Nationality,” 6813.

<sup>15</sup> Sinkevičius, “Integration Processes and Dual Citizenship,” 34.

<sup>16</sup> Folger, “Advantages and Disadvantages of Dual Citizenship.”



Jean Folger in his article "Advantages and Disadvantages of Dual Citizenship" claims, that "citizens have access to two social service systems, can vote and run for office in either country, depending on the law."<sup>17</sup> Citizenship usually provides the right to reside, work, invest, inherit, and own property. It also gives political, civil, and social rights to individuals, such as social security, educational, and healthcare benefits. Individuals who naturalize, often experience "employment and earning gains, together with drops in welfare use."<sup>18</sup>

Lithuania is a member of the European Union. This membership extends the right to live, travel, work, study, and set up business in any of the twenty-eight countries of the European Union. This freedom of mobility enhances Lithuanians' employment and education opportunities. This is a tremendous benefit for the Lithuanian emigrants living in the United States and the United Kingdom. Since the United States is not part of the European Union and The United Kingdom has elected to leave the European Union due to Brexit, emigrants do not want to lose the liberties and benefits tied up to Lithuanian citizenship.

Besides the legal status and its provided benefits, citizenship encompasses an emotional attachment as well. Dual citizenship strengthens emotional ties between emigrants and their home country. Many emigrants have emotional attachments, multiple loyalties, and involvements in different countries.<sup>19</sup> When an emigrant cannot retain his citizenship of origin, he feels rejected and betrayed by his own country. The recognition of dual citizenship would stand as an official "legitimization of citizens' multicultural identities and transnational living circumstances."<sup>20</sup>

Legalization of dual citizenship may not only be beneficial to the citizen but to the country as well. Regina Narušis believes that emigrants enhance their native country's "economic growth and

cultural survival."<sup>21</sup> Emigrants provide financial support to their family members living in Lithuania, invest, teach their kids Lithuanian, and many intend to come back to their native country one day. Dual citizenship promotes integration of immigrants into the society and strengthens the country's ties with its emigrants.<sup>22</sup>

Dual citizenship could save Lithuania from the population loss. The number of emigrants continues to increase each year. Due to strict citizenship laws, the number of Lithuanian citizens losing their citizenship is increasing as well. According to the data, "Lithuania has an estimated population of 2.8 million, which is significantly lower than the estimated population of 3.7 million in 1990."<sup>23</sup> For such a small country, population loss is harmful to its "economic growth and cultural survival."<sup>24</sup>

The studies have identified many benefits of dual citizenship. It advances economic possibilities and promotes social rights. It also strengthens the emigrants' ties with their homeland. By continuing to restrict dual citizenship, Lithuania is losing citizens along with many economic benefits and is weakening its representation in the world.

## **II. Many countries in the world have adopted dual citizenship as a remedy to meeting challenges presented by globalization and increased migration.**

(i) *Dual Citizenship Laws in the Baltic Countries.* Latvia and Estonia are the Baltic countries which share the same historical path with the Republic of Lithuania. Estonia's citizenship laws generally do not permit dual citizenship. However, these restrictions do not apply to native Estonians because chapter II of Estonia's Constitution provides that "no person may be deprived of Estonian citizenship acquired by birth."<sup>25</sup> According-

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Mazzolari, "Dual Citizenship Rights," 169.

<sup>19</sup> Faist and Gerdes, "Dual Citizenship in an Age of Mobility," 10.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Narušis, "Dual Citizenship."

<sup>22</sup> Spiro, "Dual Citizenship as Human Right," 117.

<sup>23</sup> World Population Review, February 13, 2018.

<sup>24</sup> Narušis, "Dual Citizenship."

<sup>25</sup> The Constitution of the Republic of Estonia, June 28, 1992.

ly, Estonian law provides that an individual who was born in Estonia cannot have such a right taken away, and thus is eligible for dual citizenship.

Latvia's citizenship regulations do not provide for dual citizenship. However, Latvia's strict laws pertaining to dual citizenship do not apply to emigrants. The 2013 Amendments to the Citizenship Law in Latvia permit dual citizenship with NATO, "the European Union, the European Free Trade Association member countries," and a few other authorized countries, such as Australia, the Federative Republic of Brazil, and New Zealand.<sup>26</sup>

The analysis reveals that Latvians can enjoy dual citizenship benefits with the European Union, NATO, and a few other countries, and native Estonians are guaranteed birthright citizenship. Currently, Lithuania is the only Baltic country stringently restricting its dual citizenship laws, thus falling behind the progress of its neighboring post-communist countries.

**(ii) Dual Citizenship Laws in Western and Central European Countries.** After the fall of the Soviet Union and Lithuania's acceptance into the European Union, Western and Central European countries started to attract many Lithuanian emigrants. The laws of most of these countries provide for dual citizenship.

France has permitted its citizens residing abroad to acquire second citizenship and retain their French citizenship since 1973.<sup>27</sup> Czech and Slovakia's laws guarantee dual citizenship to their ethnic citizens, which "can only be lost upon one's request."<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, since 2001, Sweden has allowed its nationals to apply for different citizenship without losing their Swedish citizenship.<sup>29</sup> Lastly, Spain allows dual citizenship for all Spanish citizens by origin, so long as they declare their will

to retain Spanish citizenship within three years of acquiring another citizenship.<sup>30</sup>

Dual citizenship has been allowed in the United Kingdom since 1948.<sup>31</sup> The country's citizenship laws are very liberal and inclusive because of its past colonial experience. The future of dual citizenship status is currently unclear in the United Kingdom, because the 2016 referendum resulted in an overall vote to leave the European Union.

**(iii) Dual Citizenship Laws in The United States of America.** The United States has been the most popular country among Lithuanian emigrants for decades. While the country allows its citizens to naturalize in other countries and retain American citizenship, its citizenship laws pertaining to immigrants are not very clear. The examination of the Immigration and Nationality Act proves that it "does not define dual citizenship or take a position for or against it."<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the United States has never required its immigrants to renounce their original citizenship upon naturalization.

The research of the American and European laws shows an increasing tolerance towards dual citizenship. The research reveals that Lithuania went in the opposite direction. Lithuania constitutionalized its decision to deprive its emigrants from their birthright, and continues to disregard international tendencies towards liberalization of dual citizenship.

### **III. Constant threat to the sovereignty of the country was the main factor influencing the development of strict citizenship laws in Lithuania. The current absence of threat has removed the obstacles to liberalize citizenship laws.**

**(i) Dual Citizenship Restrictions in Lithuania.** As a legal principle, dual citizenship is not allowed with a few exceptions.

<sup>26</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia.

<sup>27</sup> On-line, accessed on April 28, 2018.

<sup>28</sup> Narušis, "Dual Citizenship."

<sup>29</sup> On-line, accessed April 28, 2018.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Mazzolari, "Dual Citizenship Rights," 177.

Paragraph 2 of Article 12 of the Constitution indicates that “a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania may be a citizen of another state at the same time only in individual cases provided for by the law”.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the Constitutional Court has said on multiple occasions that “dual citizenship could not become a widespread phenomenon,” therefore people who had emigrated after March 11, 1990, and acquired citizenship of another country, could not retain their Lithuanian citizenship.<sup>34</sup> The Court’s ruling has caused a great disappointment among Lithuanian emigrants because it denied them their birthright to Lithuanian citizenship.

**(ii) Explanation of Opposition to Dual Citizenship in Lithuania.** Many historic and political factors had influenced Lithuania’s citizenship laws, specifically, the World Wars, loss of independence in 1940, the acquisition of Soviet citizenship, and the restoration of independence in 1990. In the literature, Lithuania’s citizenship laws are usually divided in two phases. The first phase covers citizenship laws from Lithuania’s independence in 1918 to the occupation of Soviets in 1940. The second phase covers the laws from regaining independence in 1990 to 2018.

Lithuania had existed as an independent country between 1918 through 1940. Because of the insecurities and consequences created by World War One, specifically Russian troops residing in the country, the country has never allowed dual citizenship during this time, with one exception in the 1928 Constitution. The 1922 Constitution established an “absolute prohibition of dual citizenship.”<sup>35</sup> The 1928, the Constitution continued the same legal tradition with one exception. It permitted dual citizenship for its nationals who had acquired American citizenship.<sup>36</sup> Lastly, the 1938 Constitution established that the citizen would lose Lithuanian citizenship upon the acquisition of foreign citizenship, but the prohibition was not absolute. The retention of Lithuanian

citizenship was possible “upon receipt of permission from the Minister of the Interior.”<sup>37</sup> The findings indicate that Lithuanian citizenship laws were limiting dual citizenship prior to the Soviet occupation, thus making it a constitutional tradition.

Soviet citizenship was imposed on the people of Lithuania from 1940 through 1990. After the fall of the Soviet Union and the restoration of independence, Lithuania was faced with the task to recreate the legal system. Citizenship laws were created based on the legal tradition of citizenship before the Soviet occupation. In addition, Russian minorities and troops residing in Lithuania represented a threat to Lithuania’s regained independence. Accordingly, the laws adopted after the restoration of independence continued the precedent of intolerance towards dual citizenship. The Constitution of 1992 confirmed the prior established understanding that no person could have dual citizenship with a few exceptions established by law.<sup>38</sup>

The seriousness of the position concerning dual citizenship was evident in the ruling of the Constitutional Court on December 30, 2003, which led to an impeachment against the President. The case was about the President’s right to grant citizenship by way of exception. The President granted citizenship by exception to one of his advisors, Jurij Borisov, without verifying his links and service to Lithuania. The Court emphasized that cases of dual citizenship, even when granted by the President, must be exceptional and rare in accordance with the Constitution.<sup>39</sup>

The most crucial decision in Lithuania’s laws of citizenship was the Constitutional Court’s ruling of November 13, 2006. The Court declared that instances when a Lithuanian citizen could be a citizen of another country should be very rare. The only way to change the law was to change Article 12 of the Constitution. “The only way to change the Constitution was by refer-

<sup>33</sup> The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, October 25, 1992.

<sup>34</sup> Sinkevičius, “Integration Process and Dual Citizenship,” 45.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Lithuania, Ruling on a Decree of the President of the Republic, Case No. 40/03, December 30, 2003.



endum.”<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the Court established that people who left Lithuania after March 11, 1990, were not allowed to have dual citizenship in order to avoid dual citizenship becoming “a widespread phenomenon.”<sup>41</sup> The Constitutional Court reaffirmed its decision in 2013 and 2017. The Constitutional Court’s ruling of November 13, 2006 is still in effect and all further attempts by Parliament to expand the group of emigrants eligible for dual citizenship were held unconstitutional.

An investigation of the sources concludes that the legal tradition based on geopolitical insecurity, specifically perceived threats from Russia, was the main factor influencing the strict citizenship laws of Lithuania. Besides the 1928 Constitution, which allowed people to retain Lithuania’s citizenship after their naturalization in the United States, all other laws supported the concept of singular citizenship as a legal protection against the threat from Russia. The legal obstacles were incorporated into the Constitution to restrict dual citizenship in order to serve as a strong defense mechanism against such possible threat.

Currently, Lithuania is a member of NATO and the European Union, therefore, is a beneficiary of the military benefits, including state protection. NATO provides defense, stability, and security to its member countries and fights terrorism. This membership has eliminated any possible threat from Russia, thus removing the obstacle to change its citizenship laws to comply with the dual citizenship demand and the realities of globalization.

**(iii) Proposed Solutions.** The analysis of sources reveals that there are three possible scenarios to liberalize the laws pertaining to dual citizenship in Lithuania. The first one is to hold a referendum to change Article 12 of the Constitution thereby granting dual citizenship for emigrants who left the country after March 11, 1990, and to change the referendum statute. The

second option is to enact a change in Citizenship Law by including new additional exceptions to the prohibition of dual citizenship. The third suggestion is to modify Article 18 or 32 of the Constitution, which do not require a referendum.

The Constitutional Court suggested the first option in 2006, 2013, and 2017. The Court ruled that Paragraph 2 of Article 12 of the Constitution must be altered by a referendum in order to establish a law allowing citizens of Lithuania who had departed from Lithuania after March 11, 1990, and had acquired citizenship of another state, to retain their Lithuanian citizenship.<sup>42</sup>

The Lithuanian emigrant community fears that the referendum may fail due to stringent requirements of the Referendum Law, which currently requires participation and approval from more than a half of registered voters. Experts claim that the Referendum Law should be changed to require at least one third of the registered voters to vote and one half of the voters to approve of the change in the Constitution for the referendum to be valid. Similar requirements were implemented in legislation involving a referendum pertaining to the ratification of Lithuania’s “membership in the European Union.”<sup>43</sup>

The second option is to change the Citizenship Law without a referendum. During my interview with Regina Narušis, a leader of the Lithuanian World Community, she explained that there was no need to change Article 12 of the Constitution, and she recommended changing the Citizenship Law instead.<sup>44</sup> Mrs. Narušis claimed that the Court’s prohibition of dual citizenship was not absolute. According to Narušis, Parliament could change the Citizenship Law by adding to the exceptions several small classes of emigrants in order to comply with the Constitutional requirement. She suggested that the amendment of the Citizenship Law could limit the retention of Lithuanian citizenship to those ethnic citizens who had emigrated after 1990, and obtained

<sup>40</sup> The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Lithuania, Ruling on the Compliance of the Provisions of the Legal Acts Regulating the Citizenship relations with the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, Case No. 45/03-36/04, November 13, 2006.

<sup>41</sup> Sinkevičius, “Integration Processes and Dual Citizenship,” 49.

<sup>42</sup> The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Lithuania, Ruling on Citizenship relations with the Constitution.

<sup>43</sup> Regina Narušis, “Yra būdas išplėsti dvigubą pilietybę.”

<sup>44</sup> Narušis, Regina. Personal interview by Jurita Gonta. Chicago, March 18, 2018.

another citizenship under specific conditions. These conditions include emigrants, their parents and grandparents who were Lithuanian citizens prior to June 15, 1940. In addition, the requirement must include having a family in Lithuania, paying taxes in Lithuania, or owning property in Lithuania.

The third option is to change Article 18 or Article 32 of the Constitution. This change does not require a referendum. According to Mrs. Narušis, Article 18 indicates that a “person’s rights and freedoms are birthrights” and Article 32 allows a Lithuanian citizen to live wherever he chooses to live.<sup>45</sup> Narušis suggested to include the statement into the Constitution that everyone who was ethnically Lithuanian must have a right to settle in Lithuania and retain its citizenship.<sup>46</sup>

This paper presented three suggestions for liberalizing laws of dual citizenship in Lithuania. The first option does not guarantee the result regarding dual citizenship, as it requires a referendum. The second and third options make the legalization of dual citizenship possible without a referendum. The lack of political will may be the one real obstacle Lithuania needs to overcome. There are two ways to legalize dual citizenship for the ethnic Lithuanian emigrants without a referendum. Politicians and lawyers should consider the best interests of the country and its citizens, and take the necessary action leading to liberalization of citizenship laws in Lithuania.

## Conclusion

The goal of this paper was to reveal the origins of political and legal resistance to dual citizenship in Lithuania, to identify the consequences of such resistance, and to provide suggestions of how to liberalize dual citizenship laws in Lithuania. The paper investigated global trends of dual citizenship, including the laws

of individual countries and international conventions. In addition, the study examined advantages and disadvantages of dual citizenship and provided recommendations. The investigation of the sources suggests that geopolitical insecurity was the reason of Lithuania’s strict citizenship laws. Furthermore, by incorporating legal obstacles into the Constitution, the country chose a very strong legal defense mechanism to protect its national identity against the threat from Russia.

The paper highlights that Lithuania had eliminated any possible threat to the sovereignty by joining NATO and the European Union. Research suggests changing the situation in Lithuania pertaining to its dual citizenship regulations. Three practical solutions exist. The first proposition is to change Article 12 of the Constitution via a referendum and to relax the Referendum Law. The second suggestion is to change Citizenship Laws by narrowing down the group of people eligible to retain their birthplace citizenship. Lastly, the third proposition is to modify Articles 18 or 32 of the Constitution, which do not require a referendum.

Therefore, the premise of my statement is correct. The research proved that the continuation of the legal tradition of restrictive laws towards dual citizenship does not serve the interests of Lithuanians both home and away, falls behind international dual citizenship tendencies, and threatens the survival of the country due to high emigration rates.

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<sup>45</sup> The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania.

<sup>46</sup> Regina Narušis, Personal interview by Jurita Gonta. Chicago, March 18, 2018.

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## Development of the Bureaucratic System in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: the Case of the Treasury Commission's Activities (1764–1794)

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RAMUNĖ ŠMIGELSKYTĖ-STUKIENĖ

### Introduction

The foundations for the formation of the early modern state, which stimulated economic growth and facilitated the country's political emergence, were laid by radical transformations of the public sector: centralization and specialization of governance, integration and territorialisation, hierarchical subordination, and the introduction of a developed bureaucratic apparatus. The rule of Louis XIII (1601–1643) and Louis XIV (1643–1715) marked the rise of specialized governance, which became one of the key elements in the public administration system of the early Modern Ages. Performance of administrative state functions was gradually transferred to collegially managed structures that were mutually independent: the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Treasury, War, Internal Affairs, and Justice.

In the early eighteenth century, governance specialization and new administrative institutions emerged in Prussia, Austria, Dukedoms of Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Russia and other European countries. In this context of governance reforms, the administrative apparatus of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations, which had formed during the period of estate monarchy,

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did not undergo fundamental reforms and fell substantially behind the government structures of the contemporary neighboring states. It was only when the ideas of the Enlightenment started spreading in the Commonwealth of the Two Nations that the first reform projects of the state system were initiated alongside other changes. Political *publicistic* writings in the Republic promoted the projects that aimed to establish collegiality-based central administrative state institutions and a strong central government; these projects laid the foundations for the vision of the Republic's reformation as outlined by the Czartoryski Dukes. It is therefore no surprise that the implementation of the central government reforms began when the Czartoryski family's candidate Stanisław August Poniatowski was elected king in 1764. Four new governance institutions were established that year: the Treasury and War commissions, two each in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The centralization of governance was clearly evident in the Education Commission, the joint institution established in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1773 which was devoted to the organization and supervision of the education system. With the creation of the first joint central executive body of the Polish-Lithuanian state, the Permanent Council, in 1775, the principles of the integration of governance and the hierarchal subordination were implemented. The Permanent Council became the central collegial institution of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations, subordinating the entire administrative apparatus of the state to its own jurisdiction. The Permanent Council's activities facilitated the development of professional pragmatism in Poland and Lithuania and established the principles of advancement and remuneration for the occupied post.<sup>1</sup> The implementation of governance territorialisation began in the last decade of the eighteenth century, when the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792) adopted a new law on administrative organization of the state, which harmonized the number of administrative units in the three prov-

<sup>1</sup> Czaja, *Miedzy tronem, bulawą a dworem petersburskim*, 360–361.

inces of the country: the Greater Poland, the Lesser Poland, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The centralization and hierarchization of state institutions continued throughout the entire period of Stanisław August's rule, but, for a long time, these reforms were not researched systematically from the perspective of the genesis of bureaucratic structures. More widely discussed subjects included only the activities of the Permanent Council,<sup>2</sup> the Education Commission,<sup>3</sup> and the work of the Treasury and War commissions in certain fields.<sup>4</sup> The new outlook on the genesis of the bureaucratic system in the Republic was introduced in 2014, when Polish law historian Marek Krzymkowski published an article dedicated to this issue<sup>5</sup>, and a collective of Lithuanian scientists published a monograph as the conclusion of long-term research on the development of state institutions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1764–1794.<sup>6</sup> Both publications were united by identical methodological approaches: the problem's analysis through the concept of bureaucracy formulated by German historian and sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920), which treats bureaucratic governance as organization of group activity via strict regulation with rules, standards, and instructions.

Based on the research of the development of state institutions in the Commonwealth of the Two Nations in 1764–1794 and the archived material from the Treasury Commission of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, this article will seek to demonstrate the

extent to which the administrative reforms conducted in the second half of the eighteenth century brought the organization of the central government closer to the classic model of modern bureaucracy. Following the principal elements of the modern bureaucratic system distinguished by Max Weber (impersonal government structure, governance specialization, clearly defined governance hierarchy, regulation of the employees' duties, remuneration for the carried-out work, introduction of the criteria of qualification in order to occupy the position),<sup>7</sup> special attention will be given to the hierarchy of duties, subordination, and the principles of staffing.

### **Governance Specialization. Impersonal Government Structure**

As noted previously, the implementation of the principles of governance specialization in the field of finance of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations began in 1764, during the Convocation Sejm in Warsaw, when treasury administration and control institutions under direct authority of the Sejm were established: the treasury commissions of the Kingdom of Poland (the Crown) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Law on the Establishment of the Treasury Commission of Lithuania defined the following areas of the institution's activity: 1) to properly tend to the treasury income and its increase; 2) to prepare a new general instruction for the customs, which is to be printed and sent out to all customs authorities and all castle courts; 3) to manage customs activities, i.e. "to instruct all customs scribes to non-anonymously (contrary to past practice) and mandatorily issue the receipts confirming the payment of the import tax to each individual who pays the tax, assuming full legal responsibility of the Treasury Commission"; 4) to ensure and oversee that equal volume, weight and length measures are used in the entire Grand Duchy of Lithuania;

<sup>2</sup> Notable works in this field include writings by Władysław Konopczyński and Aleksander Czaja.

<sup>3</sup> The history of the Education Commission as an education management institution has been discussed in the works by Irena Szybiak and Jonas Račkauskas.

<sup>4</sup> It is worth highlighting the works dedicated to the activities of the Treasury Commission of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by Stanisław Kościolkowski, Iryna Kiturko and the author of this article as well as the research analysing the War Commission's activities by Katarzyna Bucholc-Srogosz and Valdas Rakutis.

<sup>5</sup> Krzymkowski, "Kształtowanie się system biurokratycznego," 81–99.

<sup>6</sup> Šmigelskytė-Stukienė et al., *Modernios administracijos tapimas Lietuvoje*.

<sup>7</sup> From Max Weber: *Essays in Sociology*, 196–198.

5) to oversee that merchants transport goods only on trade routes approved by law and confiscate goods transported on other routes; to send auditors to all voivodeships and powiats and instruct them to describe the trade routes in writing, indicating the bridges, ferries, and the bridge and ferry tolls; 6) to oversee the development of river shipping and river bed cleaning in order to ensure the expansion of river trade; 7) to assemble staff adequate for the institution's activities and dismiss the treasury administration officers that lack the qualities required for the job or fail to perform their duties; to ensure that each employee would assume duties only after swearing a predetermined oath; 8) to conduct administrative supervision of state manors during the period when the manors are transferred from one manager to another for whatever reason; 9) to investigate complaints presented by the merchants or other individuals regarding damages and hear other cases related to damage to the treasury; 10) in accordance with the legislation, to provide payments from the state treasury fund.<sup>8</sup>

The work of the commission had to be divided into two principal areas: judicial and economic-administrative.<sup>9</sup> Economic and administrative functions were performed by the commission continuously, whereas the judicial ones were performed by term.

In accordance with the provisions of the 1764 Law on the Establishment of the Treasury Commission, the Treasury Commission of Lithuania had to be composed of 11 members. Two members, the great treasurer and the chamber treasurer, were included in the commission because of their positions. 9 commission members were elected in the Sejm from the quadruple list of candidates presented by the king.<sup>10</sup> The position of the commission's head – chairman – was occupied by the great treasurer, and, in his absence, by the chamber treasurer. If the meeting was not attended by any of the treasurers, the institution's manage-

ment was taken over by the most senior senator. The law specified the minimum permissible number of the judicial meeting's participants: 5 members. A commissioner who deliberately removed the quorum had to be punished by removal from office.<sup>11</sup>

In 1764, upon the ruling by the Warsaw Coronation Sejm and following the example of Poland, the permanent Economic Council of the Treasury Commission was established in Lithuania. The Economic Council, which consisted of no fewer than 3 treasury commissioners, had to operate in Grodno between court terms.<sup>12</sup>

After the Sejm adopted the new Law on the Activity of the Treasury Commissions of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations in 1768, a smaller Treasury Commission of Lithuania, which consisted of 6 persons elected in the Sejm (the commission in Poland had 9 persons), was approved. As a result, from 1768 onwards, the total number of the members of the Treasury Commission of Lithuania was 8.<sup>13</sup>

The principle of collegial decision-making was implemented in the Treasury Commission. All decisions were made by majority vote, with voting held three times. If the votes were evenly divided, the vote by the commissioner who chaired the meeting was decisive. If a commissioner had a separate opinion, he could express it by recording it in the meeting's minutes, but he also had to abide by the decision made by the voting majority and sign it.<sup>14</sup> Rulings could be adopted by a commission composed of no less than 4 persons, and, during the period between terms, by a "set" of 3 persons.

The commission was accountable for its activities to the Sejm of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations. At the end of each two year term, the Treasury Commission set up a working group for the preparation of the report on economic, judicial and financial activities. The report was discussed and approved in a

<sup>8</sup> *Volumina Legum*, VII, 76–77.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 75, 141.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 75–76.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 311.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.



meeting by the commission. During the meeting, delegates were also elected for the presentation of the report in the Sejm.

The structure of the treasury's administrative apparatus was determined by the Treasury Commission's areas of activity as laid down by law, as well as the variety of the treasury taxes, duties and their sizes in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Four principal subdivisions can be distinguished in the administrative structure of the treasury:

1. The Central Board of the Treasury of Lithuania, which consisted of the two treasurers, the Treasury Commission of Lithuania, which was elected in the Sejm for a term of two years, and the Chancellery – the assistant bureau which acted under the Treasury Commission. This institution operated continuously from Grodno. In 1764–1766, the treasury's board was composed of 18 full-time employees (21 in 1768). Apart from the scribe, secretaries, manualists, the paymaster and the investigator, this number of subdivision posts also included various other positions: the archivist, the Grodno Castle manager, the architect, etc.
2. The flag of the Treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – the treasury's regiment, which was under the direct authority of the Treasury Commission of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was also permanently based in Grodno. The treasury's regiment was dedicated to helping the Treasury Commission of Lithuania to perform finance administration and judicial functions. In early 1766, 106 persons were serving under the flag of the treasury.<sup>15</sup>
3. The Board of the Customs of Lithuania, which controlled all of the country's border and internal customs services. In the period of 1766–1772, the Board of the Customs of Lithuania consisted of 5 customs repartitions (Lithuania, Samogitia, Livonia, White Ruthenia, and Ruthenia) with smaller territorial-administrative subdivisions – counties. In 1766, the territorial-administrative customs control structure of the Grand

Duchy of Lithuania included 17 inland customs counties, 81 customs branches, 75 outposts and 4 maritime customs with one branch. Thus, in total, it had 178 customs units, each of which had several customs system employees. This was the largest customs network throughout the entire discussed period, during which, according to preliminary calculations (assigning at minimum 4 employees per one customs subdivision), over 700 employees were working in the customs system.<sup>16</sup>

4. The Province Board of the Treasury – the so-called Rate Department, which administered and controlled the collection of taxes in the treasury provinces and other matters.<sup>17</sup> In 1764–1778, the territorial-administrative principle of treasury provinces was applied in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania only to organize the system for the alcohol taxes: the exactions. This territorial-fiscal institution involved collection of the alcohol tax and control of the production and sales of alcoholic beverages in the cities. In 1768, 10 exactions of the alcohol tax were in effect in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The exactors were aided by their subordinate employees of the treasury: scribes, watchmen, and delegates (intermediaries).

The administration of regular and irregular income of the treasury was entrusted to the special tax and income *regents* and the *contraregistrant*. From 1774, when the state budget was reformed and new taxes were introduced, two new posts were created: the *padūmė* (holdings) tax regent, who was responsible for the *dūmas* (household) census, preparation of its general *squadas* (tariff) and the printing of tax collection plans, and the stamp duty regent, who carried out the accounting of taxpayers.

After the tobacco excise duty was introduced in Lithuania in 1780, the respective institution was established for the adminis-

<sup>15</sup> Šmigelskytė-Stukienė et al., *Modernios administracijos tapšmas Lietuvoje*, 109.

<sup>16</sup> Previously, when calculating the number of customs employees, the total did not include the senior watchmen, thus the total minimum number was mistakenly specified to be 530; see Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, "Oficijališči Komisij Skarbowej," 72.

<sup>17</sup> Kościółkowski, *Antoni Tyzenhauz*, 2, 623–633.

tration of this tax under the Treasury Commission: the Tobacco Department. Following the principle of territorialisation, four tobacco repartitions were established: Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Samogitia and Ruthenia. Along with them, new posts were created as well.<sup>18</sup> In early 1793, there were 21 employees working in the tobacco administration institution who received remuneration from the state treasury.

In total, at the start of 1793 the Treasury Commission of Lithuania already had employees with 124 different job titles, not counting the number of the treasury lords, which was different in each powiat.<sup>19</sup>

### The Governance Hierarchy, Subordination, and Control

The data of the sources makes it possible to confirm the existence of the hierarchy of governance, which foresees strict subordination and control, in the structure of the treasury's administration. For instance, after implementing the treasury administration reform in the area of customs control, the hierarchy of customs employees was clearly defined: the customs counties (repartitions) were managed by *contraregistrants*, appointed by the Treasury Commission. The *contraregistrants* were financially liable persons who were responsible for the customs duties collected by the repartition they managed. The *contraregistrants* had the right to recommend the customs heads – superintendents and customs scribes – for the approval by the Treasury Commission. The superintendents were responsible for the order in the customs and the customs branches and outposts assigned to them, merchant inspection, proper records in the customs books, etc. Other customs employees were under their direct authority: scribes, chief watchmen, mounted and unmounted watchmen.

<sup>18</sup> For more information, see Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, "Lietuvos Didžiosios kunigaikštystės Iždo komisijos Tabako departamentas," 219–236.

<sup>19</sup> Employee Directory of the Treasury of Lithuania, Office of the Chief Archivist of Lithuania (LVIA), f. SA, b. 3536.

The watchmen had to ensure that the merchants do not bypass the customs with contraband, to verify that they have the customs receipts, and if they do not – to direct them to the nearest customs or its branch. The employees of the chief outposts (chief watchmen) had to inspect merchants carrying small quantities of goods (i.e. goods worth 50 Polish zloty or less) etc.<sup>20</sup>

Several stages of control were also introduced in the system of the tobacco duty administration: revisor, inspector, and controller. This principle was also applied in other areas of tax administration under the Tariff Department. The activities of all lower-level treasury administration institutions were managed by the Treasury Commission of Lithuania, while the commission itself had been subordinate to the Permanent Council's Treasury Department since the establishment of the Permanent Council in 1775. The department was accountable to the plenum of the Permanent Council.

### Regulation of Remuneration for Work

The analysis of the sources revealed that all positions of the treasury employees were paid, and the wage amount was determined by the legislation adopted by the Sejm. The wage amount was directly proportional to the occupied position. The more important the position occupied by the employee in the hierarchy of the administrative structure, the higher wage amount he received. The highest wages were received by the senior management of the Treasury Commission. The annual salary of the great treasurer of Lithuania upon the ruling of the Sejm in 1775 was determined to be 120,000 Polish zloty,<sup>21</sup> but in 1776 it was already "trimmed" down to 60,000 zloty with the aim of reducing the country's treasury expenses. The reduction did not affect the salaries of the

<sup>20</sup> Gordziejew, "Materiały źródłowe," 146–148; Kiturko, "Dejatelnost' Skarbowoj Komisii," 114–127.

<sup>21</sup> *Volumina Legum*, VIII, 402.

chamber treasurer and the Treasury Commission's commissioner, as they continued to receive the amount set in 1764, i.e. 40,000 Polish złoty to the chamber treasurer and 8,000 Polish złoty to each of the Treasury Commission's commissioners, respectively.<sup>22</sup>

In other sectors of treasury administration, salaries were also differentiated by the division size and significance. The highest amounts were earned by the division heads (controllers, regents and superintendents). For instance, the regents of the Customs and Tobacco departments earned 6,000 złoty each. The job salary of the Tariff Department's economic regent and controller amounted to 5,000 Polish złoty. The superintendents, secretaries and paymasters received the job salary of 4,000 złoty. The same amount was also paid to the judicial (juridical) regent. The delegates of treasury affairs and the heads of the customs offices (intendants) earned the set job salary of 2,000 złoty, archivists earned 800, the commission's instigator earned 600, subalterns received 700, while the scribes got paid 600–400 Polish złoty each. After the positions of deputy regents, deputy secretary, and deputy paymaster were created in 1777, the officials occupying them earned 1,000 Polish złoty each annually.<sup>23</sup>

The legislation also provided for the possibility to present additional payments to the employees from the Alleviative and Small Expenses Fund, which was introduced in the budget of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania approved by the Sejm in 1776. According to the data of the report presented to the Sejm by the Treasury Commission of Lithuania in 1788, additional salaries and payments were awarded to the members of the Treasury Commission for the preparation of reports to the Sejm, and travel expenses were covered for two commissioners delegated to the Warsaw Sejm and the treasury regent etc.<sup>24</sup> The sources reveal

that bonuses and compensations were also paid. For instance, the castle factory overseer Makowski was paid 600 złoty for "loyal service". Employees who received small salaries, e.g. paymaster Suchodolski, decree regents Szumkowski and Matkewicz, Customs Department's regent Mirski, and secretary Suchodolec were paid compensation of over 1,000 złoty each because of their "humble pension" (i.e. salary). Meanwhile, all manualists working in the Tariff, Customs, and Tobacco departments were only paid 600 złoty in total as supplement to "their meager salaries".<sup>25</sup>

### Introduction of the Qualification Criterion to Occupy the Position

An individual wishing to occupy a position in the public service had to meet certain requirements. The research revealed that the Sejm-approved "qualification" requirements to the employees of state institutions were gradually increasing. While in 1768 the Law of the Treasury of Lithuania was limited to the provision that officials-employees had to be land-owning and reliable boyars (nobles) who were abiding to the commission's authority, the following requirements to the employees were introduced in 1775: 1) boyar (noble) origins; 2) sufficient amount of security (deposit); 3) clean criminal record and 4) the appropriate education ("to know how to write and count").<sup>26</sup>

However, notably, the qualification-based selection ("competition") of candidates to the positions was basically applied only in the case of lower-level "officials": scribes, accountants, apprentices, etc. Due to the shortage of sources, it is currently difficult to say whether examinations occurred and, if so, in what manner they were conducted. Nevertheless, it is known that in the 1790s the requirement was already added to present the university professorship's confirmation of the appropriate qualification when applying for certain positions. Each candidate

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 569.

<sup>23</sup> For more information, see Šmigelskytė-Stukienė et al., *Modernios administracijos tapimas*, 289.

<sup>24</sup> Report prepared for the Warsaw Sejm in 1788 by the Alleviative and Small Expenses Fund of the Treasury Commission of Lithuania established on the basis of the estimates for 1776, LVIA, f. SA, b. 3505.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> *Volumina Legum*, VIII, 76–77.

applying for the position of surveyor had to pass the knowledge verification exam prepared by the professors of Vilnius University, which was known then as the Chief School of Lithuania, and receive the Certificate of Qualification. The surveyors could perform their functions only after taking an oath and presenting the equipment necessary for the measurement to the Powiat Boundary Commission.<sup>27</sup>

A boyar who did not have personal real estate and sought to get employed in a treasury administration institution had to have a guarantor who would vouch that no damage will be caused to the treasury as a result of the employees' actions, and in the case of such damage, the guarantor was responsible.

The qualification of the person gradually became one of the criteria based on which the salary size was determined. For example, in 1775 two translators of Eastern languages were paid the annual salary of 6,700 Polish złoty, i.e. 3,350 złoty each, while the treasury's doctor was paid the salary of 1,456 Polish złoty.<sup>28</sup> The position of a qualified engineer was given even higher value. As demonstrated by the data on the salaries received by the employees of the Pina-Muchawiec river channel inspection, the construction supervisor (inspector) was paid the annual salary of 3,000 Polish złoty, the surveyor, mapper and projector were paid 2,000, and the engineer was paid 3,600.<sup>29</sup>

### **The Occupied Position is the Principal and Sole Occupation of the Employee**

The research on both government institutions of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations revealed that public service was not the only occupation of the top-ranking officials, but the jobs

taken by the lower and lowest-level workers in the state institutions were often their only source of livelihood. It was very common for boyars without personal real estate to apply for positions in the state administration institutions. The surviving surety documents show that many of them were unable to pay the demanded deposit from within the circle of their family or relatives. In some cases, after inspecting the surety documents, the Treasury Commission deemed them ineligible. If this happened to an employee who was holding an office, another guarantor had to be urgently found as otherwise he had to be dismissed from the office. For instance, in 1785, after inspecting the documents of Lithuania's cupbearer, Major General Mykolas Aleksandras Ronikierius, who vouched for the Tobacco Department's regent Józef Bobiński, the Treasury Commission gave the order to return them because the surety "was not based on any property".<sup>30</sup> Tobacco revisor Jan Kropiński, who was vouched for by the Brest treasurer's son Franciszek Ksawery Janiszewski in 1787, was also ordered to present new surety documents.<sup>31</sup> After inspection, the Vilnius Cathedral canon Ignacy Oskierka's surety documents issued to his relative Józef Oskierka were also not approved,<sup>32</sup> etc.

The conducted research disclosed that an individual who occupied a certain position, especially in management (superintendent, contraregistrant or intendant), held the position for a long time. For instance, the upper-level employee turnover in the customs administration system was especially minimal: typically, it occurred only in the case of death or advancement to a higher position. However, the lower-level customs employees (mounted and unmounted watchmen) very commonly sought to ascend the career ladder and advance to the position of the captain of the guard or higher. To illustrate, a boyar from the Lida powiat, Ignacy Markiewicz, started serving in the treasury administration in 1764, when he was 24 years old. He was an unmounted watch-

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., IX, 350.

<sup>28</sup> Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (AGAD), f. Tzw. Metryka Litewska, dz. VII, b. 124, l. 241–242.

<sup>29</sup> Šmigelskytė-Stukienė et al., *Modernios administracijos tapšmas*, 289–290.

<sup>30</sup> Employee Directory of the Treasury of Lithuania, l. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., l. 41.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., l. 42.

man in the Palanga Customs for the first two years, served as a mounted watchman for the following eight years, and went on to be the captain of the guard for the next four and a half years. Finally, he spent thirteen years serving in the position of the scribe in the Gargždai Customs Branch, earning the second category of a scribe. He was married and received 500 złoty and a bonus of 200 złoty.<sup>33</sup> Bielianai Customs intendant Ignacy Malinowski, who started his service in 1775, worked in the customs for almost 20 years. The documents unveil his career inside the institution: until 1791 he was employed in the position of a scribe in the same Bielianai Customs (salary of 600 złoty), and after 15 years of service he was promoted to the position of intendant, where his salary was tripled to 1,800 złoty. The records from January 1792 show that the guarantor of this customs official was Braslaw civil-military commissioner Michał Bury.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile, the scribe of the Slonim Customs Branch Marcin Tur was employed in the same position for over 18 years, and the scribe of Aisėnai Customs Office Jokūbas Rekas devoted 25 years to the customs service. He was working successfully as a scribe at the age of 68.<sup>35</sup>

The archive of the Treasury Commission has preserved the employees' requests for bonuses or premiums on the grounds that the salary is too small and "does not match the effort put in or achievements," which demonstrates that the salary of the lower-level employees, as determined by law, was not sufficient. Thus, methods and measures were sought in order to improve the situation.

## Conclusions

In conclusion, it can be claimed that the administrative apparatus of the Treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania grew rapidly in the second half of the eighteenth century, the hierarchical

structure of the employees expanded, the internal subordination was strengthened, the regulation of employment was tightened, and the institution of suretyship took on a significant role.

Elements of the modern bureaucratic system emerged in the administrative structure of the treasury: there was an impersonal government structure and a clearly defined governance hierarchy which introduced strict subordination and control, written rules were established that determined the employees' duties at every level, salary was paid for the work, and the employees had the possibilities to climb the career ladder within the institution.

The data of the Treasury Commission confirms the assumption that in the final quarter of the eighteenth century, the administrative apparatus of the state experienced the formation of a modern bureaucratic system.

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<sup>33</sup> Inspection Report of Palanga Customs, 1788, LVIA, f. SA, b. 3554, l. 17.

<sup>34</sup> Employee Directory of the Treasury of Lithuania, 51–53.

<sup>35</sup> Inspection Report of Palanga Customs, 17.

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*Translated by MARTYNAS GEDVILA*

## Antanas Smetona's Lithuanian Sense of Freedom, or What do We Know About Interwar Authoritarianism?

ALGIMANTAS JANKAUSKAS

### In Place of an Introduction. A Centenary and the Canon of the Founding Fathers

Lithuania is commemorating the centenary of its modern statehood. Sharp disputes and disagreements cloud the proper commemoration of this event: What should the main national square look like? Who merits a monument and who does not? What is the significance of the fact that the official program of the celebration has been shortened to a bare minimum? The atmosphere of the centennial commemoration begs the question – does an inner need for a national birthday celebration actually exist? The answer is most likely the following – only a small segment of society has preserved the need for a national holiday. There are deep-seated reasons for such a situation. Initially I would look for them in a disintegration of our historical and political consciousness, in the inability to measure matters on a national level. Why this has occurred could be the subject of a separate article.

If the community of Lithuanian scholars, historians and political scientists decided to compile a canon of Lithuania's Founding Fathers, using the American example, then the name Antanas Smetona would be included among them because he was one of "Our Greats": the most active 40 years of his life were directly linked to the most important events of the modern Lithuanian

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nation and state (from the Great Conference of Vilnius to the fateful events of June, 1940). He would be in the ranks of the Founding Fathers despite conflicting judgments about his person and the role he played, judgments that have persisted to the present day.

Controversial judgments have remained viable to a large extent first, because of long-lasting Soviet narratives about the fascist dictator Antanas Smetona and the caricatured picture of Smetona inherited from the Soviet period and secondly, because the historical narrative prevalent today is unfavorable to the nation-state. It can be argued that even now an adequate and proper appraisal of Antanas Smetona and his achievements in preserving national identity and consolidating Lithuania's statehood does not exist.

Admittedly, recent books by Alfonsas Eidintas<sup>1</sup> and Ingrida Jakubavičienė<sup>2</sup> have helped to create a more authentic picture of the person of Smetona and his family members. The recently republished comprehensive study of Smetona by Aleksandras Merkelis entitled *Antanas Smetona: jo visuomeninė, kultūrinė ir politinė veikla* (Antanas Smetona: his social, cultural and political activities)<sup>3</sup> is a positive way of commemorating the centenary. I would add the study by sociology professor Zenonas Norkus entitled *Du nepriklausomybės dešimtmečiai. Kapitalizmas, klasės ir demokratija Pirmojoje ir Antrojoje Lietuvos Respublikoje lyginamosios istorinės sociologijos požiūriu* (Two Decades of Independence: Capitalism, Classes and Democracy in the First and Second Republic of Lithuania from the Comparative Perspective of Historical Sociology) to the research which challenges stereotypical portrayals of Lithuania between the two World Wars.<sup>4</sup>

The purposes of this article, which is dedicated to the national centenary, are the following: 1) to expand the scope of politi-

cal ideas about the inter-war period by seeking to determine whether the turning away from liberal democracy which began in Lithuania in 1926 was unique to Lithuania or was a general ideological and political tendency in Europe; 2) to explain the concept of "authoritarianism" and its ideological sources by relying on the political writings of Smetona; 3) to consider whether the ideological legacy of Antanas Smetona is today just a moldy relic or something worth updating and actualizing.

### **The Interwar Period: from Individualism to Collectivism. Europe Between Communism and Fascism**

The interwar period is the period between the two World Wars (1919–1939). The First World War provoked a crisis in the individualistic world order which had begun with the French Revolution and had gained a foothold in the nineteenth century. An individualistic world order is a form of social life whose foundational idea consists of the interests of the individual, whose economic basis is capitalism, and whose political system is parliamentary party-based democracy. War changed the established order, first by increasing the power of the state. The state increasingly became more of an economic than a legal driving force. Free market capitalism acquired new forms and became governmental, a government monopoly. Changes in capitalism influenced politics. The breaking point for these changes came during the world economic crisis of 1929–1933. Namely, 4/10 of the world experienced radical changes – the establishment of collectivist doctrines and practices. The primacy of the individual was replaced by the primacy of a higher form of the collective – class, party, nation, country. The most radical forms of collectivist social life were bolshevism, fascism and national socialism.

The first collectivist reaction to an individualistic world order was bolshevism, which was implemented in Russia. The western doctrine of Marxism in essence hampered bolshevism as a Rus-

<sup>1</sup> Eidintas, *Antanas Smetona ir jo aplinka*, 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Jakubavičienė, *Duetas. Antanas ir Sofija Smetonos*, 2016; *Prezidento sargyboje. Leitenanto Povilo Skardžiaus istorija*, 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Merkelis, *Antanas Smetona*, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Norkus, *Du nepriklausomybės dešimtmečiai*, 2014.

sian phenomenon. Life had to be coerced to accord with doctrine. That is why bolshevism in practice unavoidably went from a voluntary project to a party (*pars* – part) dictatorship.

The fascist response to an individualistic world order was to give primacy to the state over the individual, to revive a cooperative organization of economics and society. It recalled the corporate form of social organization which existed up to the French Revolution and the importance of a professional arrangement of society to support social peace.

National socialism (Nazism) was a racist and military dictatorship in which the economic and social order was reformed for war purposes.

Thus, in the field of ideas the interwar period was a time of confrontation between individualism and collectivism, between liberal democracy and totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, which led to radical changes to the world order. Such was the general tendency of interwar political thought and action.

What brought about such a radical change during the interwar period? Were the peace agreed to at Versailles and the architecture of Europe which arose afterwards strong and reliable?

The post-Versailles world order, which included the idea of the League of Nations and the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination, was supposed to consolidate the idea of national sovereignty. The events of the first post-war years took place in an atmosphere of the liberation of nations and their right of self-determination, in an atmosphere of great expectations for nations. The last empires had collapsed. The involvement of the masses in public life required a political order which could respond to the interests of all social strata. A parliamentary republic was the most suitable vehicle for this purpose. The Weimar Republic (1919–1933) and other independent democratic republics in Central and Eastern Europe began to form in an atmosphere of democratic enthusiasm. Despite their social, economic, cultural, religious and national differences and their different traditions of statehood, all of these nations were led by the principle of national sovereignty towards a strict parliamentary par-

ty-based democracy. All of them had a characteristic tendency towards “constitutional rationalism and conformity”.<sup>5</sup> However, difficult post-war economic and social obligations befell these countries. The strict parliamentary form of government adopted by the newly independent countries had a weak executive branch, lacked traditions of democracy in its political culture, and was paralyzed by battles between ideological parties. All these factors eventually directed the post-Versailles countries away from an individualistic order towards collectivist forms of social life. With the exception of Czechoslovakia, undemocratic regimes established themselves in the post-Versailles countries: the Miklos Horthy regime in Hungary (1920–1944), the government of Czar Boris III in Bulgaria (1923–1943), the sanitarian regime of Josef Pilsudski in Poland (1926–1935), the authoritarian regime of Antanas Smetona in Lithuania (1926–1940), the Dollfuss government in Austria (1932–1938), the Ulmanis government in Latvia (1934–1940), the Päts government in Estonia (1934–1940), the Codreanu-Antonescu regime in Romania (1938–1944).

All of these undemocratic regimes were milder than bolshevism, fascism or national socialism. A certain social pluralism and the autonomy of cultural and religious life were preserved, and massive terror was avoided. Generally they should be considered authoritarian. However, that is just the most general characterization, which hardly reflects the diversity of authoritarian practices. Juan Linz, a contemporary scholar of political regimes, finds that within the diversity of authoritarian regimes it is organic statism which best describes the political practices of the countries mentioned. He defines organic statism as

an authoritarian regime with limited political pluralism, in which political participation and political mobilization are implemented through organic-corporate structures by placing them in opposition to political parties and institutions of parliamentary democracy as the formal expressions of the interests of society.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Rėmeris, *Lietuvos konstitucinės teisės paskaitos*, 135.

<sup>6</sup> Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, 208.

## Signs of the Confrontation Between an Individualistic and a Collectivist Order in Interwar Lithuania

The re-established independent state of Lithuania was the result of an order designed at Versailles, the consequence of post-war national liberation, self-determination and democratic enthusiasm. The post-war enthusiasm of reborn nations had a direct influence on the constitutional framework of the Lithuanian state and its political development. According to the Constitution of the Lithuanian state adopted on August 1, 1922, a parliamentary party-based democracy, or a “parliamentary regime” was established in Lithuania. In practice this meant that the greatest power rested with the legislature. A representative president was to be elected by the parliament. The executive branch of government was to be weak. As long as the legislature could wield its power through a stable Christian Democratic bloc majority, the “parliamentary regime” functioned reasonably well. However, once an absolute majority failed to emerge after the election of the First Seimas (parliament) in October of 1922 and the issue of forming a coalition cabinet arose, the parliamentary regime began to falter. The parliamentary party-based form of government was weakened by the world-perspectives of Lithuania’s political parties, which had arisen at the start of the period of national revival (the division between “progressives” and “traditionalists”). Zenonas Ivinskis, in reviewing the interwar period of parliamentary party-based democracy in Lithuania, wrote:

At a time when at the top the political parties were battling each other most bitterly over ideological principles, at the bottom opportunists were taking practical matters into their own hands and were fostering mistrust and opposition in society.<sup>7</sup>

Did such a typical individualistic political framework correspond to the interwar economic structure of Lithuania, to the social picture of its society as well as to its geopolitical situation?

<sup>7</sup> Ivinskis, “Dešinėn ir kairėn demokratinėj Lietuvoj,” 24.

Over two million people lived in interwar Lithuania. Those living in rural areas made up 85% of the population. Lithuania at this time was a typical agrarian country. 79% of the population worked on farms, 6% in industry, 1% in transportation, 2% in commerce, 3% in government and public institutions, 8% in other occupations.<sup>8</sup>

Once land reform began to be implemented in 1922, the stratum of society which consisted of *farmers* became the social pillar of the Lithuanian state. The Lithuanian farmer differed from typical farmers of other countries. The agricultural system of Lithuania was based on a *family farm*, which characteristically did not employ an extensive hired work force and did not exhibit an intense product-to-price ratio. The natural environment of the farmsteads and a permanent connection with the land impressed more conservative views rather than liberal ones upon the mindset of the farmer. The clearest of these views were respect for authority and tradition and a tendency towards stability and moderation in the political life of society. Catholic traditions of life supported and deepened these outlooks.

The agrarian character of the country and the land reform as implemented ensured a different agricultural system from that of Western countries. Zenonas Norkus calls it *state cooperative capitalism*.<sup>9</sup> Corporations such as *Pieno centras*, *Lietūkis*, and *Mais-tas* were examples of co-operation between the state and members of cooperatives. As Antanas Smetona has asserted:

Everything which we created and continue to create upon regaining our freedom has been done mostly with funds from the national treasury. In England and other countries with a large capital base the wealthy or their associations were the ones who provided support for the spiritual culture, established a more advanced agricultural system and created industry. With us, schools have been built, roads constructed, industrial and trade institutions established – all with government funds. In this re-

<sup>8</sup> Vaskela, *Tautiniai aspektai Lietuvos ūkio politikoje*, 36–37.

<sup>9</sup> Norkus, *Du nepriklausomybės dvidešimtmečiai*, 210.

spect, it is as if Lithuania did not live through a period of capitalism; it is as if it jumped over this historical stage in the history of mankind.<sup>10</sup>

Such a flexible practice of agriculture softened the consequences of the world-wide economic crisis. Lithuania was one of the few countries that succeeded in maintaining financial stability and avoiding an economic recession. In the words of philosopher Algirdas Julius Greimas, "In this area Lithuania made a hundred-year leap in twenty years and joined the ranks of modern agricultural countries."<sup>11</sup>

In the context of the clash between individualism and collectivism, *geopolitical factors* were very important for the choices Lithuania had to make. These factors gave rise to the need for national unity, for "lithuanianizing Lithuania". Lithuanian intellectuals of the inter-war period (S. Šalkauskis, K. Pakštas and others) considered Lithuania's special geopolitical situation to be the most important factor in the paradoxical status of Lithuania's history. Lithuania was considered a limited country, covering a small territory, bordering on more populous nations and stronger countries without any geographical barriers. For this reason its existence as a country and a nation was constantly in danger.

Thus, if one considers the following factors: 1) the emergence of political instability in the parliamentary phase; 2) the agrarian nature of the country; 3) the tendency of farmers toward moderation in social and political life; 4) an appreciation of the unequaled worth of the individual human person that was fostered by a Catholic way of life, along with a respect for authority and tradition; and 5) the vulnerable geopolitical situation of Lithuania, then one can justifiably say that the conditions for a tempered form of collectivist social life were more favorable than the conditions for individualism and the liberal democracy arising from it. That is why the turning away from liberal democracy which occurred in 1926 had deeper causes than bolshevism or the dan-

ger of polonization. Domas Cesevičius, a member of the younger generation of the "tautininkai" (nationalist) party, wrote: "The purpose of the coup d'état was to promote the national principle."<sup>12</sup> However, the ideology and the institutional practice of the new regime did not appear right away. Cesevičius noted: "The 1926 coup d'état was a revolution which came without a myth."<sup>13</sup> Antanas Smetona, who returned to the great Olympus of politics after the coup d'état, was one of those who most clearly created the "myth" of the national state.

### **The Classical Conception of Politics and the "Authoritarianism" of Antanas Smetona**

Smetona was the most active theoretician of the new regime, which he called "authoritarian". What were the sources of his ideas? The argument of this article is that his "authoritarian" ideas were not borrowed from radical collectivist ideologies or their practitioners. Smetona was a sharp critic of bolshevism and national-socialism. He was one of the few leaders of European countries in the inter-war period who officially refused to meet with Hitler.<sup>14</sup>

The source of Smetona's political principles can be found in the classical conception of politics, according to which the state is created so that people can seek happiness; it is not simply a delineated territory or institutions, but is that medium for social interaction in which people feel content but in which they strive for personal goals while maintaining a common vision of the development of society or a concept of the common good. The state cannot exist as a living political entity where there is no personal contact between citizens and where the citizens do not accept responsibility for the state. A political community arises only when a binding sense of community exists.

<sup>10</sup> Smetona, *Rinktiniai raštai*, 476.

<sup>11</sup> Greimas, *Iš arti ir iš toli. Literatūra, kultūra, grožis*, 257.

<sup>12</sup> Cesevičius, "Mūsų politinės sąmonės evoliucija," 407.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Kasparavičius, *Lietuva 1938–1939 m. Neutraliteto iliuzijos*, 43.

The edifice of the “authoritarianism” of Smetona arises not from radical collectivisms but from the assumptions of classical politics and from the “conditions and character of the Lithuanian nation”. Smetona builds this edifice by criticizing the regimes of party-based liberalism: “liberalism’s one-sided right to freedom, a right without responsibility, leads to anarchy.”<sup>15</sup> The foundation of “authoritarianism”, according to Smetona, should not be representation arising from demagogical parties, but rather an *organized society* based on its economy and culture and the realistic representation of the nation that arises from such a society.

We are left to create a Lithuanian conception of freedom from the conditions we inherited from the past, and there is only one basis for such a creation: a society organized from our own economy, our own culture.<sup>16</sup>

A balanced individual and an organized society – these are two classical concepts of nature, which explain the meaning of “authoritarianism”. A *balanced individual* – “not an anarchical one, but a social one who is legally intertwined into the national organism”; “only through human interaction does the freedom of the people with its rights and responsibilities manifest itself.”<sup>17</sup> Smetona writes as follows about an *organized society*:

A country’s representatives should come from an organized society, not from a loose society, as liberalism has proclaimed. How can such an organized society be achieved? All inhabitants unite into associations based on business interests. These associations elect a single representative body, which coordinates the entire network of these associations and which covers various material and spiritual matters. agriculture, industry, trade, crafts, science and education – all are connected by ties of interaction. Thus, there is an organized society, an organized nation. It is the foundation for the creation of government.<sup>18</sup>

An organized society gives rise to “authority figures”, responsible individuals, who enjoy the trust of the people, and who should be the ones to form a new type of government. In the words of Smetona, “the government must be a personal one, from the top down, and coordinated with a chosen collective. The path to government is a path for select individuals. Such a government is to be selected not mechanically, not by lot, but by experience.”<sup>19</sup>

Hence, “authoritarianism”, which arises from citizens committed to the state (balanced individuals) and from a society organized on the basis of its economy and culture, is the fruit of “freedom appreciated in a Lithuanian way”. It corresponds to the geopolitical situation of Lithuania, and it overcomes an antagonism deeply ingrained in the Lithuanian psyche from times of foreign rule – “*they* are the government, *we* are society.”<sup>20</sup>

Smetona’s outlook towards religion and nationalism also testifies in favor not of radical collectivisms, but of classical man and classical politics. “What should be valued more – nationality or Catholicism?”, Smetona asks in the magazine *Viltis* (Hope) as early as 1910. He answers: “Whoever asks such a question thinks that with respect to morality nationality is not within the bounds of Christianity, but beyond them.”<sup>21</sup> “Christianity sets the limits on how far we have the right to seek, preserve and expand our nationality.”<sup>22</sup>

According to Antanas Smetona, “nations make up humanity, and their interaction is inter-national; however, the ideal of humanity is found in and grows within the nation, not apart from it.”<sup>23</sup>

Because of the inhuman way that nations fight each other, people are put off by nationalism and accuse it of demolishing peace; they want to put universality or internationalism in opposition to it. But this is a mistake: every idea manifests its within a nation,

<sup>15</sup> Smetona, *Rinktiniai raštai*, 475.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 476.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 475.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 462.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 477.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 477.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 455.

not apart from it... Humanism must be sought within nationalism – in nationality, not in some supposed internationalism.”<sup>24</sup>

Thus we are dealing not with a “zoological” nationalism, but with a “co-existent” nationalism which threatens no one and corresponds to the classical nature of man and politics.

To what extent was “authoritarianism” advanced and established in practice? That would be a separate inquiry. In short, the edifice of authoritarianism which Smetona designed was put into practice during the term of office of Prime Minister Juozas Tūbelis (1929–1938). According to the Lithuanian Encyclopedia published in Boston, “Generally speaking, the politics of Tūbelis was the embodiment in practice of the ideas of Smetona.”<sup>25</sup>

How much of the spirit of “authoritarianism” was at work in the 1938 Constitution? Why was it that in the 1938 Constitution, unlike in Estonia under Päts, the rules for an “organized society” and for the “authoritarianism” arising from it did not attain a completed form (e.g. the idea of a parliament with two chambers)? These are questions which are no less interesting and which require further research.

## **In Place of a Conclusion.**

### **Antanas Smetona Alive in the Eyes of the Nation**

Signs of change in the current world order are notably increasing today. Are they a reminder of the inter-war conflict between individualism and collectivism? The deep rift in today’s world – globalism *versus* nationalism – is clearly a similar conflict, and has possible consequences for Lithuania. Unfortunately, few adequate assessments of these world-wide changes are being made in Lithuania. Instead there is more inertia, more of a reconciliation with them rather than a preparation to consider and respond to them.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 381

<sup>25</sup> *Lietuvių enciklopedija*, 542.

How is it that Smetona merits inclusion in the list of “Our Greats” or the honorable name of Founding Father? Smetona was one of the statesmen who prepared (with his work in the Great Seimas, the Lithuanian Conference, and the Lithuanian Council) and implemented (during his Presidency) the idea of modern Lithuania. He was not a politician, but a statesman in the classical meaning of the word. It is not an accident that Merkelis finishes his study of Smetona with an adage about the difference between a politician and a statesman: “A politician thinks about the next election, while a statesman thinks about the next generation.”<sup>26</sup>

Algirdas Julius Greimas has suggested that Smetona should be evaluated not in a partisan manner, but through the eyes of “the living nation”. He names three primary accomplishments of “Smetonian Lithuania”: “an economic revolution, a cultural break and the choice of a Western model, and finally, the ultimate embodiment of the Lithuanian spirit.”<sup>27</sup> Vytautas Kavolis spoke of Smetona as the symbol of “commitment to one’s country”.<sup>28</sup>

Antanas Smetona’s idea of “freedom appreciated in a Lithuanian way” was based on the classical concept of politics and on the search for a form of political life of “one’s own”. Smetona’s ideas of organizing society on the basis of “matters pertaining to one’s own economy and one’s own culture” and of establishing national representation on the basis of authoritative figures who arise from that society are ideas that remain relevant today in Lithuania, where parties have lost their status, where some parties have compromised themselves, and where there is a rift between political elites and society. A way out of today’s disintegrated society is possible only if real methods of democratic governance and paths of citizen control of government are found, so that citizens can carry out a systematic monitoring of government decisions and citizen action can foster the initiatives of

<sup>26</sup> Merkelis, *Antanas Smetona*, 724.

<sup>27</sup> Greimas, *Iš arti ir iš toli*, 259.

<sup>28</sup> Kavolis, *Nepriklausomųjų kelias*, 332-333.



society and democracy as well. The experiences of “Smetonian Lithuania” in this sense are not just run-down remnants of the past, but rather a legacy from which we can draw ideas to help overcome the sores of today.

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*Translated by RIMAS ČERNIUS*

## Ricardas Blazukas

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**R**icardas Blazukas was born and raised in Vilnius. He was born into a musical family and spent nearly a decade at a music school, but was attracted to art in his teens and completed studies in the visual arts in Lithuania. He moved to London in 2007 to study architecture where he received his Bachelor of Architecture Degree at the University of East London and a Master of Architecture at the University of Westminster. He was among the top 30 architecture students in the UK, Class of 2014, published in Blueprint Magazine. At the completion of his studies, he was offered a position with a multi-disciplinary architecture firm in Kuwait, which he currently holds.

Ricardas is a well-established graphic artist and published in international as well as national design publications. However, his art interests aren't limited to architecture and design. He also enjoys working with painting, graphics, sculpture, murals, installations and, most recently, ceramics. His influences include his upbringing in post-Soviet Lithuania, his association with the Russian community in the communal concrete jungle where he spent his youth, his early studies of music and visual arts, and his involvement in the small but vibrant graffiti scene in Lithuania.

He mounted his first solo exhibition, "Geometry of Colour", at Almakani Cube Gallery in Kuwait City in 2015 and established himself as a known figure in the Kuwait art community. Most recently, he was a runner-up at Tashkeel x Van Cleef & Arpels Middle East Emergent Designer Prize 2017 for his 'Ceramic Stools Collection' project, which was exhibited as part of Dubai Design Week 2017. One of the largest installations, 'Aidah', in which he collaborated with Boano Prismontas, also was featured in the Dubai Design Week 2017.



A colleague who saw his work at Saatchi Gallery brought Ricardas to my attention. I found the work graphically and visually stimulating, and was further surprised to discover the breadth and scope of this young artist's work after I contacted him. I trust you will also enjoy his vision.



Ricardas BLAZUKAS  
Title: '23', 2014  
Size: 120 cm × 120 cm  
Medium: Acrylic  
on Canvas



Ricardas BLAZUKAS. Title: *'Being Different #1'*, 2015  
Size: 120 cm × 120 cm. Medium: Acrylic on Canvas



Ricardas BLAZUKAS. Title: *'Untitled'*, 2015  
Size: 120 cm × 120 cm. Medium: Acrylic on Canvas



Ricardas BLAZUKAS. Title: *'Being Different #2'*, 2015  
Size: 120 cm × 120 cm. Medium: Acrylic on Canvas



Ricardas BLAZUKAS. Title: *'Bloom'*, 2015  
Size: 50 cm × 50 cm. Medium: Acrylic on Canvas



Ricardas BLAZUKAS. Title: *'Static Movement #1'*, 2016  
Size: 120 × 120 × 3.5 cm. Medium: Acrylic on Canvas



Ricardas BLAZUKAS. Title: *'Tree of Life'*, 2016  
Size: 60 × 60 × 2.4 cm. Medium: Acrylic on Plywood



Ricardas BLAZUKAS. Title: *'Static Movement #2'*, 2016  
Size: 120 × 120 × 3.5 cm. Medium: Acrylic on Canvas

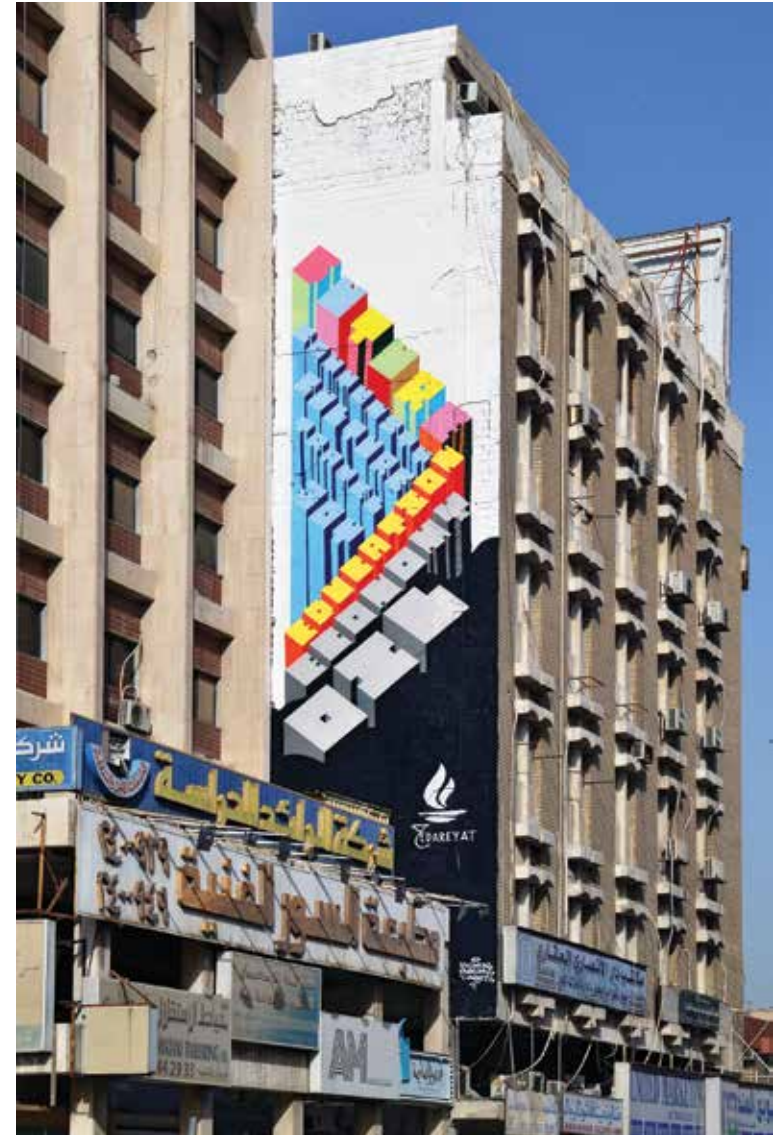


Ricardas BLAZUKAS. *"Monumental Shadow"* for Audi Innovation Award  
(Awarded: Finalist), 2017. Steel Totems





Ricardas BLAZUKAS  
 GCC – Global Culture Collision for Khaleejesque Magazine, 2016  
 29.7 cm × 42 cm, Printed



Ricardas BLAZUKAS  
 'From Oil to Bright Future', Mural, Kuwait City, 2016  
 ± 7 × 25 m, Spray Paint 14  
 'Ceramics Quarter Marrakech' Development Proposal, 2014  
 84.1 cm × 118.9 cm, Mixed Media



Ricardas BLAZUKAS. "Ceramic Stools Collection" for Middle East Emergent Designer Prize (Awarded: Finalist), 2017. 40 cm × 45 cm, Glazed Ceramics, Kvadrat Wool







Ricardas BLAZUKAS. Title: *'here comes everybody'*, 2014  
Size: 120 × 70 × 2.4 cm. Medium: Ceramics on Plywood



Ricardas BLAZUKAS. Title: *'here comes everybody'*, 2014 (Detail)



Ricardas BLAZUKAS. *"Aidah – An Invisible City"* with Boano Prismontas at Dubai Design Week, 2017. 10 m × 35 m, Black PVC Balloons, Black Rope, Dessert Sand



## Public Memory and Urban Spaces in Vilnius

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ALMANTAS SAMALAVIČIUS

### The Changing Symbols and Shifting Roles of Urban Spaces

More than a quarter of a century ago, a well-known graphic artist Žibuntas Mikšys, a Lithuanian émigré residing in Paris, who was a keen observer of Lithuania's cultural transformations in the early post-Soviet era, published an open letter in the Lithuanian media in which he urged Lithuanians to abstain from the spreading temptation of erecting public monuments both in large cities and provincial towns. He had a good reason to issue this kind of plea since the impulse of building new monuments had taken over the whole country during that period: the old Soviet monuments glorifying the Communist ideology and the Soviet power were being hastily removed all over the country and new ones were equally and hastily taking their place. Most of these new national monuments, meant to transform public memory, however, were often amateurish or lacked artistic ambition and as a result their aesthetic quality was often questionable to say the least. Even the projects drafted by Lithuania's leading monumental artists often suffered from shallow or literary symbolism, inexpressive forms, lack of professionally designed spaces and last but not least, adequate funds to construct and maintain them.

The open letter of Mikšys urging Lithuanians to stop erecting monuments became an object of discussions both in the milieu of artists as well as those members of society who were interested in the development of public art forms; nevertheless despite its topicality, the plea was eventually by-passed and largely abandoned. The public spirit of the period generally demanded removing the oppressive ideological monuments of the Soviet

period and replacing them with new ones containing images and messages of re-established independence, freedom, or embodying the memories of suffering under occupation as well as the victims and tragedy of Soviet deportations. Even those individuals that viewed the mushrooming national monuments critically because of their poor aesthetics, nevertheless viewed Mikšys' call as somewhat too radical. Many of them hoped that after a series of artistic failures, the aesthetical quality of public monuments would finally take over. A growing number of public contests held in the first post-Soviet decade allowed one to cherish such reasonable expectations. A contest for a public monument to the founder of Vilnius, the Grand Duke Gediminas, epitomized these hopes; however, the choice of the jury to nominate émigré sculptor Vytautas Kašuba finally proved to be less successful than it was initially intended. The winner of this much publicized contest – a resident of the USA, was in poor health and could not come to Lithuania to supervise the process of construction of the monument, and the task was carried out by a younger and far less experienced sculptor, a permanent resident of Lithuania. Besides, critics of Kašuba's project of Gediminas' monument noted that it was just a piece of studio art work originally intended to be shown at exhibitions exclusively rather than a monument proposal to be eventually realized on a large scale in a public urban space. More problems of spatial aesthetics came into being when a political decision was adopted to rebuild the Palace of the Grand Dukes which would have a lasting impact on the orientation of the Gediminas' monument in the space of the Cathedral square. Today, however, the location of this supposedly grand national monument remains as questionable as it was in the moment when it was erected in the Square of Vilnius Cathedral.

Thus, even though the plea of Žibuntas Mikšys reached the Lithuanian public in a timely manner, under those circumstances when so many unsuccessful monuments were built all over the country the authorities were unable to take such a message seriously. Thus the tendency to request more new monuments continued and accordingly they were erected all over the coun-



*Gediminas' monument in Cathedral Square*

try despite an alarmingly growing number of artistic failures. Sometimes new public monuments and art works were placed in squares especially designed or re-designed for Soviet monuments, now removed, without reconsidering the new role and uses of these defunct public spaces, sometimes they were erect-

ed right on the spot without an adequate concept of what makes public spaces and their immediate surroundings alive.

But the public enthusiasm that demanded more monuments to the glorious past of the nation as well as other national visual symbols gradually started to melt down as the campaign of building more and more monuments in Lithuania's capital, as well as in large cities and smaller towns exhausted itself for a variety of social reasons. The so-called economic blockade that was initiated by Russia soon after Lithuania regained its independence resulted in a scarcity of public funds available to complete a large number of projects; besides, because of the lack of adequate legislation, a number of public monument contests spectacularly failed, like e.g. the infamous contest for the design of Lukiškės Square that during the Soviet occupation was the main representative public space in Lithuania's capital containing a statue of Lenin. The case of Lukiškės Square was perhaps the most telling: a series of architectural contests were held and the results of each of them were annulled. This strange process that lasted more than two decades demonstrated the powerlessness of society, lack of strong political will, the growing clash of public and private interests, and last but not least fierce competition behind the scenes between the artists as to who would get the public commission. Commenting on the symptomatic situation of Lukiškės Square, architectural historian Rimantas Buivydas remarked that architectural contests

are held sporadically, without much responsibility or a view toward the future of the city, and often a lack of competence and ethics is observed in the way they are being organized. However, there is usually no end to lobbying interests and inequity. This insight is supported by a variety of contests with endless rounds, ambiguous verdicts of the jury, and cancellation of results.<sup>1</sup>

It can be added, though, that after a series of unsuccessful architectural contests, another one concerning Lukiškės Square – the final one was held by the Vilnius municipality in 2017 (most

<sup>1</sup> Buivydas, "Viešųjų erdvių transformacija Lietuvos miestuose," 139.

probably because of the fact that Lithuania was facing the celebration of the 100th anniversary of its independence); however, the choice of the jury remains equally ambiguous, as a large number of influential public organizations demanded the cancellation of its results and to instead erect a monument commemorating *Vytis* (the Lithuanian coat of arms) in this location, arguing that such was the will of the majority of people who were called to vote for what they would like to have in this location that was the city's principal public space during the Soviet period.

Despite the fact that the construction and reconstruction of public spaces as well as design of sculptures and monuments has become an object of public scrutiny and large numbers of urban dwellers get involved in public discussions as soon as any new contest is announced, the situation in this realm remains as complex and complicated as it was a quarter century ago. More often than not, urban dwellers seem to require a professionally designed and maintained public space where they can spend their leisure more than a new monument.

## Shapes and Forms of Public Memory

It is obvious that the meaning and forms of cultural memory is undergoing transformations. During the first decade after re-establishment of independence, it was believed that only public monuments and visual signs are capable of sustaining historical memory. Few attempts were made to expand the realm of public memory by giving names to city squares, streets, schools, libraries or any other public buildings. Despite the fact that attempts were made to immediately to restore the names of the streets in most cities by getting rid of the ones that were imposed by the Soviet power, not many questioned the possibility of thinking about memory issues or questioning the role of public monuments. Prose writer Herkus Kunčius has treated the issue of public monuments in one of his recent novels *A Lithuanian in Vilnius* where he vividly describes the emotions of his main pro-

tagonist Napoleonas Šeputis when the latter arrives in Vilnius for national festivities and takes a tour of the city by night, recalling his young days. In one of the squares of Vilnius he recognizes a familiar building that immediately triggers his memory. It is the palace type of building in the vicinity of the current Presidential Palace that belonged to the military during the Soviet era and where recruits of the Soviet army like Šeputis himself had to show up before starting their compulsory military service. The attention of the protagonist while wandering in Vilnius' Old Quarters, however, is attracted by a tall monument standing next to the building that immediately triggered his memories of his service in the Soviet military.

*It was a figure of some heavily built champion of boxing tours and most rude martial arts with enormous cheeks. The gnarled nose and architectonics of a flattened face reminded one of the sculptures of Easter Islands in their illogical proportions. However, when he read a gilded inscription on the column, he became so ashamed immediately because he learned that it was not Schweik as described by Jaroslav Hášek, but the Lithuanian resistance general Jonas Žemaitis.*

*A mad sculptor because of some strange artistic inclinations most likely had intended to depict this man in an aesthetic sense not only as brave but also as boundlessly brainy. Thus, most likely during the full moon and getting inspired by Solomon, he molded him as having an enormously large head. Placed tightly upon the shoulders, it gave a sense that the thus depicted person was most likely ill with hydropsy.*

*But such an aesthetics was symptomatic and usual in Vilnius, thus nobody was ever surprised. Every new steward of the city permanently commissioned new scarecrows, and the masters of monumental arts did their best to produce a caricature of a hero as if competing with each other over whose monument would become the object of the bigger sneer.<sup>2</sup>*

Though the quoted text belongs to the genre of literary fiction, its author intentionally or unintentionally provided a rather insightful sociological commentary on the curious situation of public art in Lithuania's capital.

<sup>2</sup> Kunčius, *Lietuvis Vilniuje*, 150–151.

And yet, despite numerous cases that can be only described as failures, there had been a handful of successful reconstruction and design of public urban spaces in Vilnius city, featuring important monuments. As early as 1995, a reconstruction of the public square in the vicinity of Arklių Street was completed. A somewhat shapeless and neglected empty space that came into being during World War II when the Soviet army used cannon fire to destroy some parts of the captured city already after the withdrawal of Nazi troops<sup>3</sup>, it was redesigned into an aesthetically attractive and usable public space. The large decorative bronze sculpture *The Sisters*, designed and completed by well-known Lithuanian female sculptor Dalia Matulaitė and architects Rimantas Buivydas and Jūras Balkevičius, was placed in this revitalized public space. Commemorating two important Lithuanian female writers – sisters Lastauskaitės who wrote under the pseudonym of Lazdynų Pelėda in the early twentieth century, this impressive and memorable sculpture became an object of attraction. Geometrically irregular, however, well-shaped, medium-sized, quiet and cozy square containing large trees that provide shade throughout the summer is enjoyed by urban dwellers. This reconstructed square remains an example of successful conversion of the territory damaged during WW II.

Curiously enough, a new memorial sculpture was recently placed in the vicinity of Arklių Street Square. A semi-realistic, semi-abstract figure on a human scale, chiseled in grey stone, commemorates renowned Ukrainian writer and artist Taras Shevchenko who lived in Vilnius for some time in his youth. Though the sculpture might be aesthetically quite acceptable, one can hardly call it exceptionally impressive, and it is a victim of its inadequate spatial environment. For some strange reason, the sculpture of Shevchenko was moved from the main road and facade of the Halė market and situated in a small yet busy crossroad; thus it cannot be approached from the front side without violating traffic. What makes things even worse, the sculpture

<sup>3</sup> See, Verkėlis, *Kas sugriovė Vilnių?*



*Shevchenko's monument in Vilnius*

gets no frontal natural lighting, because during the daytime the sun shines directly onto its back. Thus, front part throughout the day remains in a dusky shadow and one faces difficulties in trying to sense its form. Though one can approach the monument from the backside using the pedestrian path where a few benches are placed, those who decide to relax in the vicinity of the monument can view it only if they turn their eyes sideways. The fact that this monument was erected just a couple of years ago, indicates that the spatial qualities of public urban spaces remain neglected to this very day, and the municipal officials responsible for supervising public art works lack both professional knowledge, aesthetic taste and, sometimes, common sense.

There are, however, examples of a more sound approach toward public art in the Old Quarters as well as other central areas of Vilnius. Several sculptures by Romualdas Kvintas have become pleasant attractions to Vilnians and visitors alike. A monument to French writer Romain Gary, who was born and spent his childhood in Vilnius was erected on a tiny site close to the crossroad of Mindaugas and Jonas Basanavičius streets in the central part of the city; another monument was dedicated to the renowned Vilnius' medical doctor Cemach Shabad and it is located on the periphery of Rūdninkai Square. Both can be hardly called "monuments" simply because the lack of monumentality: they are realistic figures smaller than the human scale and are executed in a realistic manner. These unpretentious art works won the sympathies of the public – one can often find flowers or candles placed at the foot of the Cemach Shabad figure, or occasionally the adjoining small girl's sculpture gets wrapped with a scarf... Despite the degree of approval won by these small size "monuments", recently Kvintas's sculptures have become a sort of trademark, being installed not only in Vilnius, but Kaunas and Nida and their proliferation has resulted in a sense of banality of this kind of approach toward public art. Instead of being original and innovative pieces, Kvintas' sculptures finally became repetitive and thus too easily recognizable, able to be forecast, and thus somewhat boring.

Something of the kind has happened to another promising project on Literatų Street in Vilnius. The facades and walls of this street have been decorated with bass relief and other art works associated with the writings of Lithuanian and other authors; however, recently the whole collection of several dozen art works was expanded to several hundred and the sense of moderation was altered with the result that the whole exposition reminds one of the public marketplace of the adjoining Pilies Street where a variety of art (mostly kitsch) is offered for sale.

### Politics and Ideology in Public Spaces

Quite a few Lithuanian art critics are apt to view the proliferation of public monuments as a kind of continuity of the Soviet tradition. The opinion of a critic and management specialist Elona Lubyte might be taken as symptomatic. She has insisted that

Because of the post-Soviet view, the canons of monumental propaganda taken over from the epoch of monarchism are dominate in contemporary monuments, while signs of memory are related to traditional rituals of obeisance and salutations that have placed our politicians into an iron cage and forced artists and citizens to be obedient to political decisions by taking part in marathons of (architectural – A.S.) contests. Therefore, the syndrome of victim and executioner prevails – when someone who survived oppression adopts the methods of the oppressor. When one idol is being rejected, another one is erected in its place. As if a new symbol placed instead of an old one, could provide a sense of former (now lost) or present security.<sup>4</sup>

These comments by an art critic mystify the state of art instead of explaining the situation. One could, perhaps, generally agree with the remark that large numbers of the population would like to see monuments associated with the history of their city or

<sup>4</sup> Lubyte, "Menas viešosiose erdvėse: kūrėjo, užsakovo ir publikos vertybių sandraugos klausimu," 45.



state as well as their most important events, and I don't see why this kind of wish should be labeled as evil or wrong. Besides, a claim that people in general would like to have a new idol instead of an old one seems rather odd. Perhaps this remark might have been true while speaking of the first years of regained independence, but lately things have changed considerably. For example, during the Soviet period a monument to Soviet Lithuanian "hero" Vincas Mickevičius Kapsukas was placed in the Town Hall square of Vilnius (the monument was executed by sculptor Petras Vaivada); however after the events of 1990 it was removed without any opposition by the city dwellers. The same applies to the Soviet monument to Zigmas Aleksa-Angarietis (executed by sculptor Alfonsas Ambraziūnas) that was placed in front of the present building of the Ministry of Education and Science. It was likewise timely removed without any public protests because it was one of the most visible visual signs of Soviet ideology. In a certain sense, Lubyte's remark is right: for example, the former Soviet monument to general Cherniakhovsky was eventually replaced by the monument to the hero of the Lithuanian national resurgence of the nineteenth century Vincas Kudirka (authors: sculptor Arūnas Sakalauskas and architect Ričardas Krištapavičius). But such cases can hardly be said to be numerous or, moreover, symptomatic.

On the other hand, I would doubt the validity of claims to the relationship between "the victim and its executioner" as most nations and states, especially those that have not experienced colonization in their history, also have a certain national repertoire of their figures that are subjected to memorialization. Thus I would doubt that such a statement that Lithuanians are craving for idols more than any other contemporary nation or society actually conforms to reality. Are Lithuanians obsessed with some mania of commemorations that is not at all peculiar to the rest of the world? Are heads of the states who bring flowers to commemorate victims of the January 13, 1991 massacre, participating in some pagan ritual? Hardly at all. It is perhaps, otherwise. All contemporary states and societies have their own places of com-



*Sculpture The Message in front of National Library*

memoration and their own monuments to remember important events or persons in their history.

Mark Crinson, a researcher into memory and public art has insightfully diagnosed this tendency. According to Crinson,

Recently, a mnemonic aspect seems to have returned to many artistic practices, particularly through an interest in the way traumatic experience returned to many artistic practices, particularly through an interest in the way traumatic experience restructures both history and subjectivity.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Crinson, "Mnemotechny of the Industrial City: Contemporary art and Urban Memory," 195.

Thus to relate addiction of some part of society to memorialization of certain images (that are important to certain segments of society) to the tradition of monarchism is hardly proper from the point of view of anthropology or social psychology. Whatever one might think, societies and communities are attached to certain symbols commemorating and celebrating their past. The repertoire of these symbols at the same time keeps these communities together. And there is hardly anything wrong about that unless some of these symbols are used to oppress or subjugate other nations or communities. The discourse of victim and its executioner does not seem to help to understand or explain recent developments in the realm of public memory and public art. Moreover, as Christine M. Boyer has persuasively argued, "Clearly architecture and city monuments, can become artifacts and traces that connect the past with the present in imaginative and inventive ways, and help to build a sense of community, culture and nation."<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, while some Lithuanian art critics are lamenting about the implied collisions of giving sense to historical memory, some other states are making enormous efforts to represent their nations and states in Vilnius that has become known as an exemplary multicultural city. Belarus, a state led by an authoritarian ruler, is obviously leading the field as its memorial signs are multiplying in squares as well as on the facades of the buildings, especially in the Old Quarters of Vilnius. One might be inclined to ask what is wrong about that? Vilnius has always been a cultural and political center hosting different nations and communities including the Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, Jews, Karaites, Germans, etc. And what's wrong with that? Of course, nothing is wrong with Vilnius' deep and colorful cultural legacy; however, the very fact that Belarus – a state that can hardly be called a democratic one and often labeled as one of the last fortresses of authoritarianism in Europe, is dictating what should be a part of common cultural memory in Vilnius is

at least surprising if not annoying. Can it be so that several successive Lithuanian governments and mayors of its capital Vilnius truly believe that Lukashenka's authoritarian regime is a perfect partner in commemorating the common history of both nations? Most likely such questions are not very comfortable, yet they should be faced while thinking about the public memory in such an old and multicultural city as Vilnius that has an old and rich history relating to several presently existing states. Moreover, can it be so that it is Minsk but not Vilnius that dictates which cultural figures should be commemorated on the walls of buildings in Vilnius, where commemorative plaques have been proliferating during recent years? Are we thus taking part in the games of memory control conducted by Lukashenka's authoritarian regime?

## Place and Public Memory

When monuments are being built in some areas, attempts are usually made to identify and expound on the particular place and name that is being commemorated. While observing how some names and notions are related to specific places, many questions immediately arise. I find it very difficult to explain how the sculpture of St. Christopher – the sacred patron of Vilnius city, created by sculptor Kęstutis Kisielius – made its way into the niche of a building in front of the National Martynas Mažvydas Library. It is not only of questionable aesthetic value but it has almost no relation to the place where it is located. The case of another sculpture of the Vilnius' patron is a bit more happy: a stone sculpture chiseled out of stone by sculptor Antanas Kmieliauskas in the Soviet period was commissioned by the Lithuanian Catholic Church and was located in the churchyard of St. Nicholas Church – one of the oldest surviving religious structures in Vilnius. Meanwhile who chose to place another image of the Catholic saint overlooking a square with no historical memories remains a puzzle. The same applies to the mon-

<sup>6</sup> Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 309.





*Jurga Ivanauskaitė Square*

ument *Message* (sculptor Juozas Kęstutis Patamsis) that was recently moved to the square in front of the National Library. Having neither impressive nor meaningful forms and making allusions to the art of secession, this monument seems completely out of place and out of time. And it is no surprise, since it was commissioned for Visaginas City in the late Soviet period but for some reasons has never reached its original destinations. A question why it was eventually placed in the present location today is equally puzzling. Besides, in an aesthetic sense it can only rival the disreputed figure of St. Christopher executed by Kisielius, and moreover so since both failures are coincidentally found in the same area.

Another monument that is completely out of place is a sculpture known as *The Lithuania's Road* – a tricolor wall that was built on the crossroad of Konstitucijos Avenue and Geležinis Vilkas Street in front of a busy and noisy viaduct. Designed by artists Tadas Gutauskas and architect Saulius Pamerneckis, it was lo-

cated in a place that might be rightly labeled as in the middle of nowhere. Besides, this public art work impersonates a wall and thus provokes vague and strange associations as well as controversial meanings. The artistic style of *The Lithuania's Road* is openly commercial and inexpressive. What makes things even worse – after viewing this strange and ambiguous monument one is inclined to conclude that it could have been placed in any other location with basically the same result. In comparison to such pieces of public art, the monument of Polish composer Stanislaw Moniuszko next to Vilnius St. Catherine's Church represents a rare and almost perfect harmony with its architectural surrounding – and it was erected as early as 1922.

One more problem has become evident recently: some important cultural figures including writers have been subjected to memorialization; however, more often than not their memorial is associated with places that do not have direct relations to their personalities. For e.g. a cozy square was named after popular female writer Jurga Ivanauskaitė, and a sculpture titled *A Cat* was placed in the square (she is said to have loved cats enormously); however the square itself is located in a place where she lived only the few last years of her life; meanwhile she grew up and spent most of her life in another area of the city... Thus connection between the place and the memory it intends to represent grows somewhat weaker than it could or should.

## Summing Up

Despite its centuries long history, Vilnius lacks old public monuments because of its complicated history. The oldest surviving monument dates back to the thirties of the last century. Thus the majority of the monuments, except some now demolished or displaced classical monuments are modernist in their form and content. However, as Adrian Forty has observed,

More specifically, modernist aesthetics emphasized the immanence of the object as it presented itself directly to the senses, and

was generally hostile to the association of ideas within the view that aesthetic response occurred through the train of thoughts and images that objects might evoke. Objections to the monument and the memorial erupted periodically during the first half of the twentieth century in modernist architectural circles.<sup>7</sup>

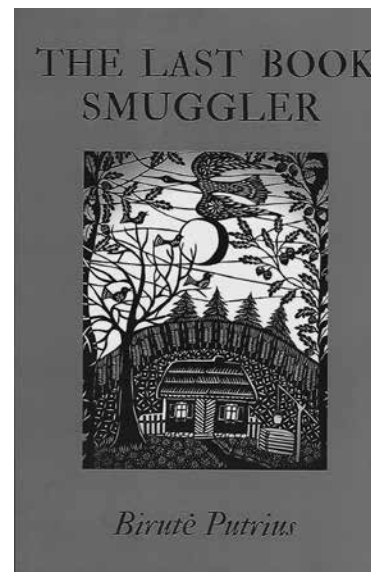
Perhaps this insight sheds some light on why the relation between the public memory and public monuments is so complex and often complicated if not to say contradictory in contemporary culture. Because of the complex configurations of memory and values and beliefs of contemporary society, it is unlikely that there might be an essential breakthrough in this sphere in the near future.

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<sup>7</sup> Forty, "Concrete and Memory," 76.

## BOOK REVIEWS



Birutė Putrius  
*The Last Book Smuggler*  
 Birchwood Press, Los Angeles,  
 2018. Soft covers, 366 pages

Birutė Putrius lives in California. Her fiction, poetry, and translations have appeared in numerous publications and her short stories have been optioned for film. *The Last Book Smuggler* is her second novel. The back cover presents this book as a fictional novel. It states that in 1902 Lithuania a group of rebels, armed with books triumphs against the mighty Russian Empire. "Part folktale, part thriller, *The Last Book Smuggler* tells the story of Ada and her grandfather Viktoras, an old book smuggler exhausted by his forty-year battle to keep his language alive despite the Russian Empire's attempts to destroy it". As the grandfather retires from his mission, he is replaced by others, including a fine young man named Jonas. Viktoras is the paternal figure for the novel, but the main character is his granddaughter Ada, with dozens of other characters in supporting roles.

The novel is based on the author's grandfather who was a book smuggler. There is no question in my mind that Ada is the author herself in disguise. Her first novel – *Lost Birds* – was clearly much closer to the author's own life experiences, portrayed by Irene Matas and her friends who arrived as children in Chicago after World War II. "As Irena and her friends come of age in the sixties, they begin to grow beyond their close, but insular neighborhood, but still feel drawn to the past".

*The Last Book Smuggler* is the tangible and positive evidence of that pull to the past. Much energy and effort had been invested to recreate the political, cultural, and rural setting for the novel. All of this comes to life with the introduction of dozens of characters that are dispersed throughout the novel. Of course, there are good guys, bad guys, winners and losers. Women are not left out of the drama and they play a very important role in the drama that unfolds. Back then there were no newspapers in Lithuanian language, no phones, no internet, but people living in the village had their means of sharing information. The speed was slow, but the end results have not changed much since then. The book does not name it as such, but the social media back then could be called "gossipnet", very popular at larger community gatherings, like after church events, the market place, bars, and farm chores. The various characters provided the substance for the "gossipnet". There were two young people in love, but it was not blessed by their parents, so they ended in different parts of the world – Russia and America. Toward the end of the book they reconnect back in their home village. There is father Jurkus, the moral leader of the book-smuggling operation, who declared Viktoras as the last book smuggler in Lithuania. There are portrayals of suspenseful operations, involving people that were already introduced in the novel earlier. The reader can really get wound up in the risky, treacherous operations taking place between East Prussia and Russia-occupied and oppressed Lithuania.

Various traditional events and feasts typical for rural communities in the second half of the nineteenth come to life in an authentic fashion. This must be based on oral history that the

author heard from her own father as well as her own studies of Lithuania's history and culture for that time period. Also well-shown are the very distinct social class differences between pheasants and Polonized Lithuanians, distancing themselves from their ethnic roots and picking up Polish language, habits and a sense of superiority.

With only one exception, a Russian captain in charge of tracking down the book smugglers, all book characters are Lithuanians. Some of them are distancing themselves from the peasant class and identifying with the socially more astute upper-class Poles. A curtain call typically happens at the end of some event, such as an opera or a concert. A curtain call at the end of a novel would be a novel event and I won't go there. However, I do want to mention some of the key players in this suspenseful novel: Katryna, Aleksas, Elzbieta, Emilija, Jurgis Bartkus, etc. They all contributed to the tapestry of *Sapnai* village during the forty years of press oppression in Lithuania. The disastrous Russian-Japanese war of 1905 led to lifting the ban on press with Latin alphabet.

It also was a good place to end this novel. It is my understanding that another novel, a sequel, is in the works. More than like it will start with a wedding of Ada and Jonas. The planned wedding in the current novel had to be postponed for the customary year of mourning, following the death of the last book smuggler. According to an interview with the author, the new book will cover the period of 1906 to the Declaration of Lithuania's independence in 1918 ("Draugas", May 8, 2018).

Elsewhere – in "goodreads" – Birute Putrius honestly talks about the second book jitters. "When I put my first book, *Lost Birds*, out into the world, there was so much I didn't know about marketing, selling, arranging readings, FB ads, etc., that it made no difference to me. I just blithely stepped off the cliff and hoped for the best. And to my surprise, it sold books and I made new friends and was invited to the readings and word of mouth seemed to build. It was all more than I had expected and I was grateful". With the second book she has learned about the potholes in the road and the ways she could promote the book. She adds that all of that is so hard for

someone who loves to sit at home alone and write, someone who is shy and doesn't like to promote herself, someone who's uneasy in those situations. In my opinion, she does not need to change what she enjoys doing, but needs to discover a new partnership in the field of marketing and book promotion industry. Stay away from cliffs and good luck in new partnerships!

ROMUALDAS KRIAUCIŪNAS

*Lithuanian Roots in American Soil: A Memoir of the Barūnas Family*

Authors: Audronė Barūnas Willeke and Danutė Barūnas

Lexington, Kentucky: n.p., 157 pages, 2018

ISBN: 978-1500745066. Paperback, \$9.19

As the second decade of the twenty first century moves closer to 2020, a new generation of both academics and non-academics "<...> wish to know something about their ancestors: Who were they? Where did they come from? What sort of people were they? What kind of lives did they lead?" (p. 3). These base questions are examined across time and space by Audronė Barūnas Willeke and Danutė Barūnas. Their focus is, as the sub-title states, a memoir of the Barūnas family – one of 30,300 Lithuanian Displaced Persons (D.P.) families that were resettled in America in the post WWII-era. (Under the D.P. Act of 1948). What is noteworthy beyond its stated objective is the research model – it is what may be called a *collective individual* research model. In such a model, reader empathy for *individuals* is at play – at the same time – light is shed (in this case) on the *collective* experience of the D.P. – second wave of Lithuanians to America. The Barūnas sisters state: "The story of how our family came to America is fairly typical for World War II refugees. However, you will find here a unique set of characters and unexpected twists of fate." (p. 4). The fact of "fairly typical," while true, in its first reference meaning, it is actually what lifts this book into a *collective individual* narrative. The "fairly typical" is actually a *prism* which breathes life into the 30,300 second wave statistic.

Stalin once observed that the death of one individual is seen by humanity as a tragedy, while the death of 1,000,000 is a statistic. The only sure way to break the mold of a cold statistic is to craft "fairly typical" books that conform to the *collective individual* mind frame. So, the subject matter, the Barūnas family, is actually a mirror into both the past and present of several generations. It is, at once, their story, and, at the same time, "our" story. The "our" story dynamic holds true for me as well as I am a Chicago-born daughter of D.P.'s. The "our" story also extends beyond the progeny of D.P.'s outward to the wider parameters of American Immigration History at large.

This monograph is tailor-made for research in American social history, ethnic studies and diaspora studies. In other words, this book is an "open book" into the overall D.P. experience. In the course of this book, the authors demonstrate that the D.P. wave itself consisted of exiles, not immigrants (p. 3, 6, 15, 65–70, 73, 75–82, 104). The eloquent writing style of the Barūnas sisters helps the reader to immerse oneself into their narrative. The carefully constructed outline with clear chapter headings along with pertinent photographs aid the reader to digest the book in a clear and concise manner. The writing style of the book is written in plain English, but the subject matter of the book easily lends itself to academic studies.

In the words of one of the founders of the field of American immigration history, Maldwyn Allen Jones (1922–2007), a prime mover in American Immigration circles in America and Europe, viewed immigration as America's historic *raison d'être*. Fostering this view as chairman of the British Association of American Studies (BAAS), he spread his message as a professor at Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, as well as Stanford and The University of Chicago. Jones postulated that "the history of immigration to the United States is always the history of emigration from somewhere else. Unless we understand why they left, we can not understand what they wanted to make of America." The Barūnas sisters' book meets the standards of research set by Maldwyn Allen Jones. Since this book employs the *collective individual* format, it

serves as an entry point to study/understand the entire Lithuanian diaspora of the second wave to America.

Audronė Barūnas Willeke's niece, Kristina (Kris) Barūnas Jepsen, felt a deep-seated need to know more about her own ancestry (p. 2). Audronė Barūnas Willeke knew that without a deeper inquiry into the original question of the relationship of the D.P. generation in the context of American society the meaning of the words D.P. would remain on the level of the "transported individuals," or "perkeltieji asmenys" and lose the true meaning of a traumatized generation who, out of self-preservation and by their own perseverance escaped Stalin's genocide (p. 22, 41, 65–70). by any means possible. The D.P. generation was not "transported" rather, was traumatized (p. 21–22, 39–45, 65–70, 102) by leaving their homeland to escape Stalin's genocide.

Of significance to the subject at hand, an article by Hannah Starman (2006) *Generations of Trauma: Victimhood and the Perpetuation of Abuse in Holocaust Survivors, History and Anthropology*, 17:4, 327–338, states that "in the absence of efficient mourning and "letting go" of the trauma, the survival mechanisms developed by the victim during the period of traumatization (p. 41, 65–67) freeze and rigidify in a situation of relative safety," thus not allowing the victim to move past the trauma (p. 3). Audronė Barūnas-Willeke observed "<...> the force driving him [her father, Kazys Barūnas] was his great homesickness for his [lost] country (p. 3)." The dynamic of trans-generational trauma is what fires and gives the Barūnas sisters the energy to put into words the psychological effects of this time period on their lives. Their book is a deeply personal window (p. 136–138, 142–145) into this tumultuous time period. It can be postulated that what is "normal" for a D.P. is still outside of the realm of understanding for those born in other generations without an entry into this time period via the *collective individual* approach. This book helps to unlock the wider parameters of the word "normal" for both the family and the entire D.P. era.

AUDRA V. ADOMĖNAS

President, Lithuanian Archives Project (LAP)

## IN MEMORIAM

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**AUDRONĖ  
TAMULIENĖ-SVOTELYTĖ  
1941–2018**

Wife of the founding committee member, managing editor of *Lituanus* Arvydas Tamulis. For many years, she was a president and a member of Lithuanian Folk Institute of Chicago, an ardent member and leader in the Lithuanian-American community.

JURITA GONTA

### **In Pursuit of Dual Citizenship for Lithuanian Emigrants: Causes and Effects of its Resentment**

Globalization, collapse of the Soviet Union, refugee crises, and the European Union enlargement have been the dominant causes of increased migration. While many countries in the world are relaxing their citizenship laws to comply with the challenges presented by increased migration, Lithuania continues to arm itself with legal and political barriers to restrict legalization of dual citizenship.

This paper focuses on the existence and development of very strict dual citizenship laws in Lithuania and their effect on the country and its emigrants. It aims at uncovering the biggest obstacles to relaxing dual citizenship regulations. This study reveals many benefits of dual citizenship and balances them against the dangers dual citizenship may create. It also examines the citizenship regulations of the countries Lithuanians are mainly emigrating to. This paper argues that the resistance to dual citizenship does not benefit the country and Lithuanians living abroad, falls behind the global citizenship trend, and threatens the survival of the country. The goal of this paper is to amplify the ongoing debate pertaining to the restrictive dual citizenship regulations in Lithuania and to provide solutions to the existing stagnant situation.

While it is true that the number of people leaving Lithuania is increasing every year, the laws of the Republic of Lithuania remain very restrictive towards dual citizenship, which does not serve the interests of Lithuanians, both home and away, falls behind international citizenship tendencies, and threatens the survival of the country due to high emigration rates.

RAMUNĖ ŠMIGELSKYTĖ-STUKIENĖ

### **Development of the Bureaucratic System in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: the Case of the Treasury Commission's Activities (1764–1794)**

Based on the research of the development of state institutions in the Commonwealth of the Two Nations in 1764–1794 and the archived material from the Treasury Commission of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, this article will seek to demonstrate the extent to which the administrative reforms conducted in the second half of the 18th century brought the organization of the central government closer to the classic model of modern bureaucracy. Following the principal elements of the modern bureaucratic system distinguished by Max Weber (impersonal government structure, governance specialization, clearly defined governance hierarchy, regulation of the employees' duties, remuneration for the carried-out work, introduction of the criteria of qualification in order to occupy the position), special attention will be given to the hierarchy of duties, subordination, and the principles of staffing.

ALGIMANTAS JANKAUSKAS

### **Antanas Smetona's Lithuanian Sense of Freedom, or What do We Know About Interwar Authoritarianism?**

The purposes of this article are the following: to expand the scope of political ideas about the inter-war period by seeking to determine whether the turning point away from democracy was unique to Lithuania or was a general ideological concept of "authoritarianism" and its ideological forces by relying on the political writings of Antanas Smetona; to consider whether the ideological legacy of Antanas Smetona is today a relic or something worth updating and revising. In general the present article is a reconsideration of Antanas Smetona authoritarian rule and its implications.

ALMANTAS SAMALAVIČIUS

## Public Memory and Urban Spaces in Vilnius

The article deals with the questions regarding how cultural and collective memory is being represented and treated in the public spaces of Vilnius. The author argues that in many cases the progress of the sphere of design of public spaces and erecting monuments was slower than one could expect and discusses reasons why so many public spaces and their monuments are unsuccessful in Lithuania's capital despite numerous attempts at commemorating important dates and figures. The lack of political will, as well as manipulations of public opinion, ill-prepared and thus ineffectual architectural contests expose a number of negative features of post-Soviet society and its culture. The author of the article insists that unlike some critics claim, nothing is wrong with the people's wish to have more monuments in the country's capital, the problem is about their meaningfulness, aesthetics and cultural impact.

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A house in Klaipėda's Old Town

### MOVING?

We need your old as well as your new address, to correct our records.

FRONT COVER: A view of Klaipėda's old Town  
Photo by Almantas Samalavičius