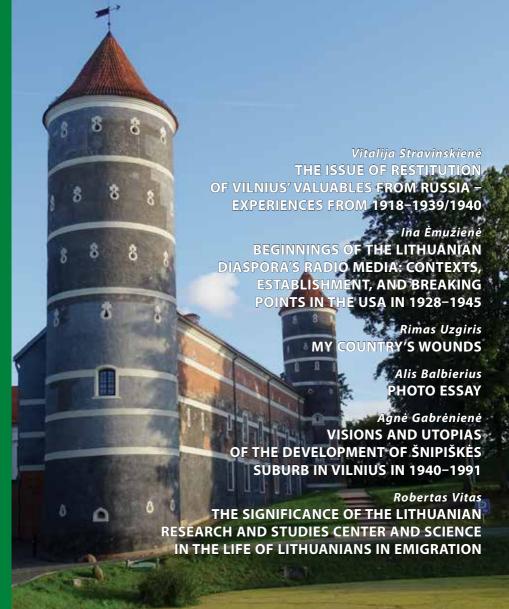
LITUANUS

THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY

VOLUME 68:2 (2022)



LITUANUS

THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

VOLUME 68:2, Summer 2022



Editor: ALMANTAS SAMALAVIČIUS, Vilnius University

Associate Editor: DAIVA LITVINSKAITĖ
Managing Editor: LAURA STANKEVIČIŪTĖ
Copy Editor: KERRY SHAWN KEYS
Art Editor: RIMAS VISGIRDA
Technical Editor: SAULIUS JUOZAPAITIS

Advisory Board: DALIA CIDZIKAITĖ, National Library of Lithuania

PATRICK CHURA, University of Akron KESTUTIS GIRNIUS. Vilnius University

VIOLETA KELERTAS, University of Washington NERINGA KLUMBYTĖ, Miami University, Ohio DAIVA MARKELIS, Eastern Illinois University

ALGIS MICKŪNAS, Ohio University

GRAŽINA PRANAUSKAS, University of Melbourne GIEDRIUS SUBAČIUS, University of Illinois at Chicago

SAULIUS SUŽIEDĖLIS, Millersville University KĘSTUTIS PAUL ŽYGAS, Arizona State University

Lituanus: The Lithuanian Quarterly (published since 1954) is a multi-disciplinary academic journal presenting and examining various aspects of Lithuanian culture and history. Authors are invited to submit scholarly articles, *belles lettres*, and art work. Manuscripts will be reviewed. Books are accepted for review purposes.

Opinions expressed in signed articles represent the views of their authors and do not necessarily reflect agreement on the part of the editors or the publisher.

For submission guidelines and editorial matters please contact the editors. For subscriptions, donations and other business matters contact the administration.

Editorial Office

and Administration: admin@lituanus.org

Publisher:Lituanus Foundation, Inc., Giedrius Subačius, PresidentAddress:47 West Polk Street, Suite 100–300, Chicago, IL 60605–2000

Phone/Fax 312/945-0697

Articles are archived and accessible at **www.lituanus.org** and in microform from University Microfilms (www.proquest.com/brand/umi.shtml). They are indexed in: MLA International Bibliography; PAIS International; International Political Science Abstracts; Historical Abstracts (EBSCO); Linguistic Bibliography (Netherlands); Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts; RILM Abstracts of Music Literature; Bibliography of the History of Art; OCLC Article First.

Worldwide circulation per issue - 1,350 copies.

Individual subscriptions \$30.00. Seniors/students \$20.00.

Institutional print subscriptions \$40.00. Electronic copy only \$20.00.

Copyright © 2021 LITUANUS Foundation, Inc. ISSN 0024-5089.

Printed by Kingery Printing Company, 3012 S. Banker, Effingham, IL 62401 Cover Design by Vincas Lukas.

Periodical non-profit postage paid at Chicago, IL and other locations.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to LITUANUS, 47 West Polk Street,

Suite 100-300, Chicago, IL 60605-2000

Contents

VITALIJA STRAVINSKIENĖ	5	The Issue of Restitution of Vilnius' Valuables from Russia – Experiences from 1918–1939/1940
ina ėmužienė	20	Beginnings of the Lithuanian Diaspora's Radio Media: Contexts, Establishment, and Breaking Points in the USA in 1928–1945
RIMAS UZGIRIS	50	My Country's Wounds
ALIS BALBIERIUS	53	White God of Gravel Roads (Photo essay)
AGNĖ GABRĖNIENĖ	60	Visions and Utopias of the Development of Šnipiškės Suburb in Vilnius in 1940–1991
ROBERTAS VITAS	79	The Significance of the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center and Science in the Life of Lithuanians in Emigration

ABSTRACTS

The Issue of Restitution of Vilnius' Valuables from Russia – Experiences from 1918–1939/1940

VITALIJA STRAVINSKIENĖ

Introduction

The city of Vilnius has historically been famous for its heritage, institutions taking care of it (the University, libraries, societies, archives), and private individuals accumulating this heritage. However, for the city of Vilnius and the custodians of its valuables, history was merciless: the city was more than once devastated by fires and wars that were accompanied by plundering by foreign troops and other disasters. Following the partitioning of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the eighteenth century, Vilnius fell within the Russian Empire. This change immediately took a negative toll on the institutions and people who safeguarded its cultural valuables.

The fate of Lithuanistic heritage and the problem of its restitution were the issues mainly tackled by Lithuanian and Polish, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Byelorussian researchers. Among other authors, the monograph by Raimundas Klimavičius should be singled out; it analyzes the policy of the Republic of

Kiaupa, Lietuvos; Klimavičius, Lietuvos kultūros; Dubonis et al., Susigrąžinant; Keršytė, "Vilniaus Senienų," 33–55; Kasparavičius, "Lietuvos Metrikos," 114–125; Rygiel, "Sprawa," 159–182; Kumaniecki, Tajny; Materski, "Grabież," 83–112; Jaroszewicz-Peresławcew, "Księgozbiory," 75–84; Miler, "Rewindykacje," 28–29, 22–23, 22–25, 22–25; Łaskarzewska, "Nasza," 49–86; Rygel, "Sprawa," 159–182; Šumeiko, Sobrat. It should be noted that US researcher Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, too, took an interest in the fate of the Lithuanian Metrica.

VITALIJA STRAVINSKIENĖ is a research fellow in the Department of Twentieth-Century History at the Lithuanian Institute of History. Her area of research is Vilnius and East Lithuania in the twentieth century. Lithuania on the issue of restitution of cultural valuables. The author also gives an overview of the efforts of Lithuanians to reclaim Vilnius' valuables from the Soviets.

Published documents, sets of documents,² and works of those who were involved in the restitution³ and, of course, archival documents were valuable for the research as well. They are stored in the Lithuanian Central State Archives and reveal to us Lithuania's efforts to reclaim Vilnius' valuables.

This article focuses on the forcible taking away of cultural valuables from Vilnius to Russia in the nineteenth to first half of the twentieth century, Lithuania's and Poland's attempts to reclaim them, and Russia's opposite position – not to give them back. The author discusses more widely the following aspects: 1) groups of cultural valuables taken away from Vilnius to Russia in the nineteenth to first half of the twentieth century; 2) the way the Lithuanian-Polish conflict over Vilnius affected the cultural valuables reclamation process; 3) the results of the valuables reclamation action.

By tsarist Russia's decision, Vilnius was deprived of a wealth of cultural valuables. This "dark" period, which lasted for over 120 years, can be divided into stages: 1) the late eighteenth century (1795) when the Lithuanian Metrica was taken away from its then location (Warsaw) to St. Petersburg. Let us remind you that it was removed from Vilnius to Warsaw around the mid-eighteenth century, and for the second time, it was again taken away to Warsaw in 1794;⁴ 2) the nineteenth century when the treasures of the closed down Vilnius University and societies were shared between Russian and Ukrainian libraries, museums and universities; after the closure of Vilnius University, part of its Library's collections were passed over to the Vilnius Theological Academy and upon its termination, appeared in 1833 in the St. Petersburg

Blaščuk, Vaščukas, "Naujas tonas," 157–172; Katilienė, "Vienas," 269–308; Dokumenty, z. 4; "Traktat pokoju," 830; SSSR i Litva.

³ Galaunė, "Rusijos pagrobtų," 255–258; Idem, "Lietuvos kultūros," t. III–IV.

Dubonis et al., Susigražinant, 166–167.

Roman Catholic Theological Academy. The Sigismund Augustus Library books thus found their way there (68 volumes).⁵ Part of Vilnius University (VU) books in 1834 were passed over to the universities of Kiev (about 7.6 thousand copies) and Kharkov (4.3 thousand volumes).6 The bigger part of the artistic and historical valuables of the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities, the whole of its Numismatics were taken away to Russia in 1868, to find their way to the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow.7 Lithuanian researchers presume that about 10,000 valuables of the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities then found themselves in the abovenamed museum; 3) the first half of the twentieth century when, at the beginning of World War One (1914), Vilnius archives, libraries and other institutions were stripped of their valuables which were carried away to the heart of Russia. The tsar's officials then took the majority of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century, and part of the eighteenth-century record books from the Vilnius Central Archives of the Old Record Books.8 Although it was the record books of a greater value that they took away from the Central Archives of the Old Record Books in Vilnius, they had not enough time to carry away the whole of the Archives. The Public Library in Vilnius lost about 3,000 manuscripts, all of the incunabula, and sixteenth-century publications.9 These valuables were taken to the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow. The numismatic collection, part of Slutsk belts, seventeenth-century fabrics, old crosses, weapons, and other historical artefacts and manuscripts appeared in this museum. Some of the Vilnius Public Library's valuables were regained in 1945 when thirty boxes with manuscripts from the twelfth to the nineteenth century were brought from the then Vladimir Lenin Library. 10 The Town Hall of Vilnius was stripped of its museum valuables (pictures, fur-

Jaroszewicz-Peresławcew, "Księgozbiory," 76.

⁶ Kiaupa, Lietuvos, 59.

Keršytė, "Vilniaus Senienų," 36.

⁸ Kiaupa, *Lietuvos*, 73.

⁹ Łaskarzewska, "Nasza," 61–62.

¹⁰ Sperskienė, "Vladui," 3.

niture, etc.), too.11 With evacuation of Russian institutions and Russian residents into the heart of Russia underway, valuables of private societies and religious communities (the wealth of Vilnius Jews (candlesticks of Vilnius synagogues), documents of the Vilnius Russian Orthodox Diocesan Consistory, archives of the Vilnius Monastery of the Holy Trinity and those of the Vilnius Orthodox Monastery of the Holy Spirit), were taken away as well. 12 It should be noted that part of Vilnius institutions' documents that were hastily carried away remained in Vilnius, there was no one to take care of them, so they had been used up to satisfy everyday needs (e.g., for the packaging of goods).¹³ The years of political turbulence (1919, 1939) when the Bolsheviks plundered Vilnius, added to the loss: the Red Army troops intruded several times into Vilnius University stealing part of its museum valuables. 14 The outrage of the Bolsheviks in Vilnius in 1939 did a great deal of harm to the city: they plundered valuables of archives, museums, societies and private individuals in an organized manner. For example, Vilnius State Archives, the Wroblewski Library and other institutions lost about 650 thousand archival pieces.¹⁵ Damage was also inflicted to various societies. For instance, the Ivan Lutskievich Byelorussian Museum in Vilnius lost some of its valuable exhibits (rare books, collections of ancient coins and medieval arms) that the Soviets took away to Minsk.16

Cultural valuables would also "vanish" in other ways. For example, there were cases covered by the media of Catholic priests exchanging valuables of immense value (e.g., tapestry of the Pacas Family) into things of little value.

Klimavičius, Lietuvos kultūros, 219.

Lenkijos reikalaujamų vertybių sąrašas, Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (LCVA), [Poland's list of required valuables, Lithuanian State Central Archives (LSCA)], f. 175, ap. 1A, b. 537, l. 2–2ap.

¹³ Ilgiewicz, "Vilniaus," 223.

¹⁴ Katilienė, "Vienas," 298–299.

¹⁵ Jegelevičius, "1939 metai," 82.

¹⁶ Ilgievič, "Baltarusių," 55.

The Conflict Between Poland and Lithuania Over Vilnius and the Regaining of Cultural Valuables

In the process of formation of the independent states of Lithuania and Poland, the issue of to which of these nations the city of Vilnius would belong to, arose. Both countries fought for Vilnius by military, diplomatic, propagandistic and other means. Without going deep into the dynamics of the conflict between Lithuania and Poland, we will only note that Poland considered the issue of the affiliation of Vilnius resolved after the resolution of the Conference of the Ambassadors of the Principle Allied and Associated Powers of 1923 that had affiliated Vilnius to Poland. Lithuania did not agree to the resolution, considering the year 1939 the end of the Vilnius issue. The cardinally opposite views of the two sides certainly affected the Vilnius cultural valuables restitution action. Actually, both Lithuania and Poland sought to reclaim from Bolshevik Russia (later the USSR) the same cultural valuables of Vilnius that had been taken away to Russia after the incorporation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into Russia - such as the Lithuanian Metrica, the valuables of Vilnius University, the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities, etc.¹⁷ Under the peace treaties with the Bolsheviks (in the case of Lithuania - of July 12, 1920, in the case of Poland - of March 18, 1921), special joint commissions were set up for the recovery of archival, library, museum, etc. valuables, which had to be negotiated with the Bolsheviks' representatives. Let us remind you that representatives of both Lithuanian and Polish society had taken efforts to recover the valuables even before the signing of these peace treaties. Lithuanian intellectuals took care of the recovery of archival and museum valuables immediately after the declaration of the independence of the Repub-

Klimavičius, Lietuvos kultūros, 220; Galaunė, "Lietuvos kultūros," IV, 86, 328–331; Lenkijos delegacijos Specialios mišrios komisijos pateiktas reikalavimų sąrašas dėl iš Vilniaus išvežtų kultūros vertybių, LCVA, [List of requirements of the Polish delegation's Special Joint Commission over cultural valuables taken away from Vilnius] f. 175, ap. 1A, b. 537, l. 2–2ap.

lic of Lithuania (on February 16, 1918). On May 21, 1918, Lithuanian lawyer and historian Augustinas Janulaitis applied to the Council of Lithuania with a request that the latter send someone to Russia to look for Lithuanian archives there. Hence, the Lithuanian government and society at that time were already unanimous in their approach to the issue of cultural valuables. The essence of it was: irrespective of the time of taking the cultural valuables away from the territory of ethnographic Lithuania to Russia, they were to be brought back. The major focus was on the regaining of the archives, libraries and museums of the city of Vilnius. Regaining of the valuables was a matter of concern of the Republic's authorities. The sudden change in the geopolitical situation (the Red Army marched into Vilnius), however, made them postpone the resolution of the issue for some time.

Some steps regarding Vilnius' valuables were taken in 1919 when the Vilnius-based Lithuanian Communist authorities, with Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas at the forefront, agreed to negotiate with the Soviet Russian authorities for the return of cultural valuables. To that end, museum worker Paulius Galaunė was sent in early 1919 to Moscow. He reported that no problems were to arise over valuables taken away during World War One, but there might be some difficulties with "the repossession of cultural valuables taken away 'during various historical periods'", and asked to send in Mykolas Brenšteinas and Ivan Lutskievich to help him. However, his request received no response.

The differences in the work of the Lithuanian and Polish delegations for signing peace treaties came to light at the very beginning of the work. First of all, even though the two delegations set out the requirement of returning the cultural valuables taken away from the eighteenth century, it was only the Polish delegation that managed to negotiate far more favorable conditions. This was due to Poland's political weight and its repre-

¹⁸ Tyla, Lietuva, 104.

¹⁹ Klimavičius, *Lietuvos kultūros*, 83.

sentatives' exceptional focus on the return of cultural valuables. Therefore, the peace treaty between Poland on the one side and Russia and Ukraine on the other had retained the date for the return of cultural valuables – 1772.²⁰ Lithuania's draft project providing that Lithuania was to be returned all cultural valuables that had been taken away from it from the eighteenth century was completely rejected by Russia's representatives; they only agreed to negotiate restitution of the valuables taken away at the beginning of World War One.21 On the other hand, a few more factors strengthened the Polish delegation's positions. A significant factor was that Poland had drawn up the lists of the custodians of its cultural valuables and of the valuables with those custodians as early as before the negotiations with Russia over restitution of the valuables. On the side of Lithuania, historian and ideologist of the Lithuanian national revival, Simonas Daukantas, collected information in the nineteenth century about the archives and libraries in the Russian Empire taken away from Lithuania, but on the side of Poland there were more such people. For example, the historian and archivist associated with the activities of the Polish Stephen Bathory University, Stanislaw Ptaszycki, dealt with the management of the Lithuanian Metrica in St. Petersburg, and Józef Jodkowski in Moscow in the late nineteenth century. There were many more such people as those mentioned above. The importance of experts should be noted in addition. Poland's joint commission was aided by expert groups, with the most famous specialists in their respective fields such as museum workers, librarians, and archivists invited to join them. They set up expert groups within separate sections (archives and museums). The joint commission was also aided by lawyers and civil servants. The first Polish delegation for the restitution of valuables was comprised of 85 persons.²² Poland's joint commission also included persons who were connected to

²⁰ "Traktat pokoju," 830.

²¹ Klimavičius, *Lietuvos kultūros*, 92–93.

²² Laskarzewska, "Traktat," 175.

Vilnius, e.g., former director of the Library of Stephen Bathory University, St. Ptaszycki, future director of this Library and of the Wroblewski Library, Stefan Rygiel, connoisseur of Vilnius libraries and archives, Stanisław Lisowski, etc. Lithuania's positions were weaker in this respect. The Commission had at first (in 1920) invoked an expert – museum worker, Paulius Galaunė.²³ At the Lithuanian commission's request, more experts were searched for, and so the joint commission of Russia and Lithuania itself had stopped working for some time (from the fall of 1920 to January 1922). Russia made use of the difficult situation for Lithuania. Its representatives refused to issue an entry visa to prof. Mykolas Songaila, expert on the side of the joint commission of Lithuania.²⁴ The commission thus stopped working again. Moreover, the actions of Poland's representatives injured Lithuanians in their endeavors to reclaim their valuables: as soon as there was any news that Lithuania had been given any of Vilnius' cultural valuables, there followed Poland's protests and notes to the Soviets.

Even though Lithuania put forward the issue of cultural valuables in 1923–1924, it only became more relevant in 1925 when preparations for the political agreement between Lithuania and the USSR started. The meeting of both sides' delegations that took place at the end of that year put forward the issue of restitution of the Lithuanian Metrica and part of the property of Vilnius University. However, no positive agreements on the issue followed; the USSR basically took the position of playing for time, and kept rejecting Lithuanians' demands and proposals. Nor did Lithuania's notes on the issue help. In spite of appealing to the fact that restitution of some of the valuables had been agreed as early as July-November 1921, the restitution was not made during the signing of the agreement between Lithuania and the USSR (in 1926) either.

²³ Kasparavičius, "Lietuvos," 115.

²⁴ Galaunė, "Lietuvos kultūros," IV, 353.

²⁵ Kasparavičius, "Lietuvos," 116.

Results of the Action of Restitution of Vilnius' Cultural Valuables, or What Lithuania and Poland Managed to Regain Before the Outbreak of World War Two

Implementing the provisions of the Peace of Riga of 1921, Poland's representatives managed to regain the following cultural valuables of Vilnius:

- In 1924, the USSR handed over to Poland six manuscripts from the Vilnius University Library. Before the restitution, they had been in storage at the Public Library of Petrograd.²⁶
- 2. In 1926, eight VU archive documents were handed over from the archives of Russia's Ministry of Public Education.²⁷
- 3. Poland's representatives also managed to reclaim part of the volumes of the Lithuanian Metrica. By 1924, the Soviet side had handed over twenty-three boxes with the record books of the Lithuanian Metrica, and around 1930 the Index of the Lithuanian Metrica books comprising fifteen volumes.²⁸
- 4. In 1928, Poland was handed over a sculpture composition of Jogaila and Jadwiga which had been taken over from the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities and brought to St. Petersburg. It was taken to the Museum of Vilnius Society of Friends of Science in 1931, and currently stands in the vestibule of the Wroblewski Library.²⁹
- 5. In July 1928, Poland was returned the archives of the Vilnius Governorate Agricultural Testing Station taken away in 1915.³⁰

Even though Lithuania's representatives had put the Lithuanian Metrica on the list as the number one priority among the valuables to be regained from Russia, their endeavors were un-

²⁶ Klimavičius, *Lietuvos kultūros*, 224.

²⁷ Ibid., 224.

²⁸ Ibid., 225–226; Jakubowski, "Wiadomości," 215; Dubonis et al., Susigrąžinant, 218.

²⁹ Keršytė, "Vilniaus Senienų," 35, 39.

³⁰ Klimavičius, *Lietuvos kultūros*, 224.

successful. The Republic of Lithuania managed to regain just a few of Vilnius' cultural valuables by 1939:

- 1. Archives of the Vilnius Regional Court and Vilnius Governorate Cash Desk of 1922.³¹
- 2. House of Prayer bells, including those of the Vilnius Cathedral, taken to Russia in 1915, were given back in 1926.32 However, the Soviets were obliged to make this move since having not returned the Lithuanian Metrica to Lithuania, they were not sure if the Lithuanian Seimas would ratify the Non-aggression Pact with the USSR. Therefore, the return of the bells to Lithuania was supposed to calm down the Lithuanian public and politicians. According to historian Algimantas Kasparavičius, this action was to give Lithuania the illusion that the USSR was open to negotiation and that it would comply with the other obligations of the Soviet-Lithuanian Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920.33 Actually, though, the meeting of the college of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the USSR considered the issue of restitution to Lithuania under the Peace Treaty, and decided that "currently, it is not politically feasible to return to Lithuania the archives and cultural valuables taken away from Vilna Region".34
- 3. In 1933, the Soviets returned part of the record books taken away from the Vilnius Central Archives of the Old Record Books in 1914–1915.³⁵

It should be noted that the claims of Byelorussia's representatives impeded Lithuania's efforts to regain its valuables as well. For example, when Russia intended to make restitution of the documents of the Vilnius Central Archives of the Old Record

³¹ Ibid., 154, 222; Dokumenty dotyczące akcji, 7.

³² Klimavičius, Lietuvos kultūros, 154–155.

³³ Kasparavičius, "Lietuvos," 120.

³⁴ Ibid., 121.

³⁵ 1933 02 21 Lietuvos respublikos užsienio reikalų ministerijos raštas Vytauto Didžiojo universitetui, LCVA, [Letter of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Lithuania to Vytautas Magnus University] f. 383, ap. 7, b. 1366, l. 39.

Books, Byelorussian historian and archivist Vladzimir Pičeta took action to stop the restitution.³⁶ Such actions of the Byelorussian were unfavorable for Lithuania, and the restitution was not made.

Crossing beyond the chronological time frame we have set in this article, we will note that after World War Two, the Lithuanian SSR institutions took measures to regain Vilnius' valuables from the USSR, yet with no great success. There were several successful cases only: 1) in 1946-1954, through Lithuanian scholars' efforts, some of the manuscripts got back to the then Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR: ten fonds were compiled from them, of which eight consisted of valuables of the former Vilnius Museum of Antiquities (parchments, manuscripts);37 2) in 1956, scholar archaeologist Adolfas Tautavičius brought to the Museum of History and Local Lore of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR valuables of the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities regained from the State Historical Museum in Moscow, loaded in a truck in 124 wooden boxes. It consisted of 32 portraits painted in oil on canvas of GDL nobles, Polish kings, Vilnius University scientists; 68 weapons, fragments of armament, 4 goblets with the coats-of-arms of the Tyszkiewicz and Radziwill Families, 20 exhibits of textile, a sixteenth-seventeenth-century flag of Trakai Voivodeship;³⁸ 3) in 1966, the Museum of History and Local Lore of the Lithuanian SSR regained from the State A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow 158 exhibits of graphic art of the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities; 4) in 1968 - three historic exhibits of the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities from the State Historical Museum in Moscow: one fragment of armament - a saddle, and two eighteenth-century goblets - one with the Vytis, the other with the coat-of-arms of the Sapieha Family.³⁹

It should be noted that Russia manipulated the issue of restitution of Vilnius' cultural valuables to Lithuania and Poland in its favor. When in 1930, Lithuania again raised the issue of restitution

³⁶ Šumeiko, 22.

³⁷ Cicėnienė, "Lietuvos," 16.

³⁸ Keršytė, "Vilniaus Senienų," 46.

³⁹ Ibid., 46.

of the Lithuanian Metrica and the Vilnius Central Archives of the Old Record Books, the Soviet side made use of the Polish factor, claiming that under the Peace of Riga of 1921 with Poland, the USSR undertook to not interfere with the territorial argument over Vilnius and that as long as both sides reach no agreement on the issue. Moscow would not return the cultural valuables to either of them. The same was claimed to Poland's representatives when they raised the issue of restitution of Vilnius' archives, libraries, and museum collections: allegedly, according to the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, Moscow undertook to maintain neutrality in Poland's and Lithuania's argument over Vilnius, and as soon as they agree, the issue of restitution will be put on the table. 40 Protests of Russian, Byelorussian or Ukrainian scholars against restitution of Vilnius' valuables to Lithuania or Poland was one more "weighty" argument against their restitution. Such protests were "organized" very actively. As an example, searching for a pretext to reject the demands from the Lithuanian side of restitution of the Lithuanian Metrica, the USSR quickly prepared via the Soviet Byelorussian authorities the demand from Byelorussian scholars to return the Lithuanian Metrica to Byelorussia. After bringing forward the issue of the Metrica's restitution again in 1925, during the negotiations, Ukraine's representative, historian Nikolaj Vasilenko objected to that, offering to establish an international institution for the publishing of the Metrica. 41 All this was nothing but diplomatic excuses. The author of the idea of such an institution, Vasilenko noted that the Lithuanian Metrica would remain in Russia for good. Such tactics of manipulation and playing for time justified itself at all times - the Lithuanian Metrica remained in Moscow. In general, it should be noted that representatives of Byelorussia also made a claim to Vilnius' archives, and they were not just Moscow's extras. They took real action on their own initiative to stop restitution of the documents to Lithuania.42

⁴⁰ Kasparavičius, "Lietuvos," 124; Rygiel, "Sprawa," 170; G[alaunė], "Rusijos pagrobtu," 257, 4.

⁴¹ Blaščuk, Vaščukas, "Naujas tonas," 168.

⁴² Šumeiko, Sobrat, 22.

Conclusions

The cross-border conflict between Lithuania and Poland over Vilnius was harmful to the action of restitution of Vilnius' cultural valuables. Its result was close to nil, i.e., almost nothing had been regained. The arguments of Lithuania's and Poland's representatives and their protests about valuables returned or to be returned to the other side were made use of by Soviet Russia/the USSR in a masterly fashion, which stuck to the arbitrator's position and applied to both sides a proposal that could not be implemented at that time: We will return Vilnius' and Vilnius Region's valuables once you agree on which of the countries Vilnius is affiliated with.

The Soviet Union's position on the valuables non-restitution strategy was aptly described by its envoy in Poland, Piotr Vojkov. He concluded his report on the Peace of Riga as follows:

Since the Peace of Riga did not provide for any sanctions for non-compliance with it and did not provide for any arbitrator in case of divergence in the opinions of the parties on any issue, the issues that have not been agreed on will remain unresolved. Hence, the Lithuanian Metrica, Kiev Central Archives, and the Kremenets Lyceum's collections will remain with us, and the diplomats will in the worst case talk about them for decades.⁴³

These words applied to Lithuania as well. However, the issue of restitution of Vilnius' valuables diplomatically did not bring positive results either. The efforts of Lithuanian diplomats to bring forward the issue of restitution of Vilnius' cultural valuables on the table before the Soviet authorities were also fruitless. Even when in the spring of 1940, Lithuanian diplomats again raised the issue of restitution of material or cultural assets taken away from Vilnius in 1939, Soviet representatives "closed" the issue, claiming they were not going to make restitution of the valuables.⁴⁴

⁴³ Kumaniecki, *Tajny*, 191. The USSR's policy of playing for time was aptly described by Lithuania's representative P. Galaunė: "The issue will remain poised in mid-air, and the valuable will remain where it is." G[alaunė], "Rusijos pagrobtų," 257, 4.

⁴⁴ SSSR i Litva, 490, 512, 520.

Certain steps in the coordination of Poland's and Lithuania's actions on cultural valuables were noticeable in the 1930s. In 1933, Polish archivists of Vilnius explored on an interpersonal academic level the possibilities for joint action with Lithuanians should they regain the Lithuanian Metrica. This way did not produce desired results, though. Further efforts were recorded in 1939. However, the outbreak of war shortly thereafter brought any such activities to an end, bringing new huge losses in the cultural valuables that were stored in the archives, museums, libraries, societies of Vilnius or were held by private individuals. It was then that the Soviets took away in an organized manner from the archives and libraries of Vilnius, documents and publications of particular value.

Works Cited

- CICĖNIENĖ, RIMA. "Lietuvos mokslų akademijos bibliotekos rankraščių fondų komplektavimo istorijos apžvalga," *Tarp knygų*, 2, 3, 2010.
- Dubonis, Artūras, et al. *Susigrąžinant praeitį*. *Lietuvos Metrikos istorija ir tyrimai*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2016.
- Ilgiewicz, Henryka. "Vilniaus mokslo bičiulių draugijos (1907–1939) biblioteka: komplektavimas ir fondų raida," *Knygotyra*, 56, 2011.
- _____. "Baltarusių mokslo draugija Vilniuje ir jos įnašas į gimtosios kultūros tyrinėjimą ir puoselėjimą (1918–1939)," *Sovijus*, 5, 2017.
- JAKUBOWSKI, JAN. "Wiadomości o świeżo odzyskanym z Rosji sumarjuszu Metryki Litewskiej z lat 1747–51," Ateneum Wileńskie, 8, 1933.
- JAROSZEWICZ-PERESŁAWCEW, ZOJA. "Księgozbiory z ziem wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej. Stan badań i postutaly badawcze." In Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, 2, ed. Wojciech Walczak, Karol Łopatecki, Białystok, 2010.
- JEGELEVIČIUS, SIGITAS. "1939 metai ir Lietuvos archyvai," *Mūsų praeitis*, 2, 1992.

⁴⁵ Selenis, 262.

- Kasparavičius, Algimantas. "Lietuvos metrikos negrąžinimo istorija (1920–1930): intarpai Lietuvos ir SSRS diplomatinių santykių mozaikai," *Naujasis židinys. Aidai*, 3, 1996.
- Keršytė, Nastazija. "Vilniaus Senienų muziejaus vertybių susigrąžinimo iš Rusijos problemos," *Knygotyra*, 56, 2011.
- Kiaupa, Zigmas. *Lietuvos kultūros vertybių kelionės iki 1990*. Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2006.
- Klimavičius, Raimondas. *Lietuvos kultūros vertybių repatriacijos problema ir jos sprendimas 1918–1940 metais*. Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2007.
- Kumaniecki, Jerzy. Tajny raport Wojkowa, czyli, Radziecka taktyka zwrotu polskiego mienia gospodarczego i kulturalnego po Pokoju Ryskim. Warszawa: Gryf, 1991.
- ŁASKARZEWSKA, HANNA. "Nasza niepamięc. Losy zbiorów polskich w latach 1914–1920," *Roczniki Biblioteczne*, 58, 2014.
- _____. "Traktat Ryski. Fakty i refleksje," Cenne, bezcenne, utracone, 1–4 (74–77), 2017.
- MATERSKI, DARIUSZ. "Grabież kościelnych dóbr kultury na pograniczu polsko-litewsko-białoruskim (od najazdu moskiewskiego 1654 r. do zakończenia II wojny światowej)." In Kościoły a państwo na pograniczu polsko-litewsko-białoruskim. Źródła i stan badań, ed. Marek Kietliński, Krzysztof Sychowicz, Wojciech Śleszyński, Białystok, 2011.
- MILER, JACEK. "Rewindykacje po traktacie ryskim," Cenne, bezcenne, utracone, 1, 1998, 3, 4,5, 1999.
- Rygiel, Stefan. "Sprawa zwrotu mienia kulturalnego Wileńszczyzny z Rosji," Ateneum Wileńskie, 2, 1924.
- Selenis, Valsas. "Kontakty historyków Polski i Litwy w okresie międzywojennym (1920–1939)," Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica, 11, 2005.
- Sperskienė, Rasa. "Vladui Abramavičiui 100." Accessed December 2, 2021. http://sena.mab.lt/assets/files/dokumentai/tekstai/Abramaviciui100.pdf.
- Tyla, Antanas. *Lietuva prie Vasario 16-osios slenksčio*. Vilnius: Katalikų akademija, 2004.
- Šumeiko, Michail. Sobrat rassejenoje: o restitucii beloruskich archivov v prošlom i nastojaščem. Minsk, 1997.

Translated by DALIA ŠATIENĖ and KERRY SHAWN KEYS

Beginnings of the Lithuanian Diaspora's Radio Media: Contexts, Establishment, and Breaking Points in the USA in 1928–1945

INA ĖMUŽIENĖ

Lithuanians both in Lithuania and abroad started using the radio medium for internal communication almost immediately after it gained popularity. The first radio broadcasts in Lithuania were given in 1926; the Lithuanians in the USA followed suit in 1928. However, there is little research material about Lithuanian radio programs created by Lithuanians in the diaspora. There is more research about radio communication after World War Two,¹ and only programs broadcast to occupied Lithuania were researched more closely.² The author of this article, in her dissertation research and articles, analyzed Lithuanian internal communication in different contexts of the DP (Displaced Person) generation,³

- Blynaité et al. Lietuvos radijas 1926–2016. Faktai. Kūrėjai. Laidos. The Science and Encyclopaedia Publishing Centre, 2016.
- Arlauskaitė-Zakšauskienė, Inga. Vilties desantas: JAV radijo transliacijos į Sovietų Lietuvą. Vilnius: Vilnius University Press, 2019.
- ³ Ėmužienė, Ina. Amerikos lietuvių bendruomenės audio vizualinės žiniasklaidos raida 1944–1991. Doctoral dissertation, Kaunas, Vytautas Magnus University, 2018.

DR. INA ĖMUŽIENĖ is a chief methodologist-researcher at the Lithuanian Studies Unit, Documentary Heritage Research Department at the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania. In 2018, she obtained a doctorate degree from Vytautas Magnus University (the dissertation "The development of audiovisual media of Lithuanians in America in 1944–1990"). Her research work focuses on the history of Lithuanian diaspora and migration, studies of Lithuanian culture and communication, and the Lithuanian resistance movement.

yet the important period of the beginnings and establishment of the radio medium – communication of Lithuanian "grinoriai" (sg. "grinorius" – from the English "greenhorn": new and inexperienced) remained not dealt with. This article aims to reconstruct the beginnings of Lithuanian Americans' radio communication in the diaspora, which can be traced while analyzing the field of program creation and early development. The article will try to find the answers to such questions as: What was the process of creation of the Lithuanian diaspora's radio communication like? What was its development like in its early years? What influenced the field of radio programs, its development and changes in the early period, and in which ways?

As historiography has not analyzed radio communication of the diaspora any wider, in carrying out my research, I mainly relied on archival sources held both in Lithuanian archives and those of world Lithuanians.⁵ The material was collected during the dissertation research. Unfortunately, the sources from this period are very fragmentary, thus periodical publications, too, became an inestimable source for the analysis of the early establishment of Lithuanians in the US radio medium.⁶ To give the reader the general idea of the radio programs, at the end of the article I present the list of all radio programs broadcast in 1928–1945 recorded in the sources.

- Media history is dealt with in general terms in the monograph by E. Aleksandravičius aimed to reconstruct the history of the diaspora. See Aleksandravičius, Egidijus. Karklo diegas. Lietuvių pasaulio istorija. Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2013. The music part of the radio is analyzed by D. Petrauskaitė. See Petrauskaitė, Danutė. Lietuvių muzikinė kultūra Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose 1870–1990. Tautinės tapatybės kontūrai. Vilnius: Vilnius Academy of Arts Press, 2015. Support and sponsoring of the radio is described in the monograph by D. Dapkutė on the life of Juozas Bačiūnas. See Dapkutė, Daiva. Lietuviškos širdies ambasadorius Juozas Bachunas Bačiūnas (1983–1969). Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2014.
- The USA: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, Lithuanian World Archives (hereinafter LRSC/LWA); Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture (BMLC); The Lithuanian Archives Project (LAP); American Lithuanian Cultural Archives (ALKA). Lithuania: Lithuanian Special Archives (LYA); Lithuanian Central State Archives (LCVA); VMU Lithuanian Emigration Institute.
- ⁶ Dailies Draugas, Naujienos, Vienybė.

Contexts of Radio Communication in the USA

The first license for a commercial radio station in the USA was issued in 1920.7 Before a unified system was devised, licenses were issued to anyone who had asked for it. The fields of licensed stations and radio amateurs were formed. The radio space became chaotic, its contents uncontrolled, broadcast quality worsened, and the radio medium was heavily commercialized. So, in 1927, a Federal Radio Commission (FRC) was set up, which was to manage the radio medium, and ensure protection of the public interest and radio supervision. Due to changes in communication technologies, in 19348 the FRC was reorganized into the Federal Communications Commission (hereinafter – FCC). This institution supervised radio communication, telecommunication, telephone and cable communication, and also television later.9 In setting its targets, the organization focused on several major areas of radio communication: primarily radio wave control, licensing and technological maintenance, and, finally, contents control and ensuring the balance between commercial and noncommercial contents.¹⁰ Media researchers nevertheless agree that the field of radio media in the USA up until World War Two was mainly affected by private businesses and financially the soundest market participants, rather than the FRC/FCC.11 They blocked the FCC's attempts to reform the radio space that was heavily commercialized over the first decade of development. It was not until the rise of dissatisfaction with the quality among the public in 1940 that the FCC undertook reform in order to protect the public interest. A long-lasting media reform was undertaken

⁷ Žurnalistikos enciklopedija, 1997.

Public Law No. 416, June 19, 1934 by the 73rd Congress. An Act to provide for the regulation of interstate and foreign communication by wire or radio, and for other purposes. *Communication Act*.

⁹ Ibid.

Federal Communications Commission, Washington D.C., Public service responsibility of broadcast licenses, (1946–03–07), 58–59.

¹¹ Pickard, "The Battle over the FCC Blue Book," 177.

thanks to which minorities and financially weaker market participants (such as, e.g., education initiatives and small communities) gained more rights and possibilities to establish their own stations and create their own programs, as well as get some airtime for their radio broadcasts.

Lithuanian Americans appeared on the radio early, when the radio in the USA was just in its early phase of formation. Hence, they encountered issues of this developing technology: chaotic supervision and its formation processes, commercialization, search for radio transmission formats and interaction with the public. The Lithuanian Americans' first appearances on the radio took place on commercial radio stations from which they purchased airtime. The first programs were sponsored by large Lithuanian businesses, e.g., the stores of J.F. Budrikas, or initiated by dailies with a financial backing and experience in the field of public communication. According to the research of Michele Hilmes, the same trend was also observed in the US radio medium – with the first radio stations being owned by local businesses and major newspapers.¹²

Programs were financed with a view to the commercial interests of the Lithuanian community. Lithuanian ads and those dedicated to the Lithuanians made up a large proportion of a radio program's contents thus covering the price for the radio airtime. Lithuanian music was also broadcast, so little time would remain for a cultural and information contents. Programs were broadcast from regional commercial radio stations; they did not stand out in the trends of the general radio field in their format and contents.

In the first years of the creation of the radio medium, the Lithuanian community mostly had no direct contact with the FRC/FCC as Lithuanian radio shows were broadcast by receiving from the owner of a radio station the time for their transmission rather than establishing a radio station on one's own. The US radio communication field was subject to little control; the choice of radio

Hilmes, Radio Voice: American Broadcasting 1922–1952, XVIII.

contents, up until the late after-war years, was a matter of the radio station; the educational contents and the quality of the contents were not subject to control. Hence, the greatest influence on the Lithuanian radio programs of the time came from the owners of radio stations rather than supervisory institutions.

Not having a radio station of their own was beneficial for the Lithuanians because they would thus escape bureaucratic problems, the need of a financial license, and the burden of the long process of its issuance. The Board of Margutis Radio considered the issue of acquisition of an own radio station as late as the 1970s. ¹⁴ Other regions where Lithuanians had settled also came up with similar ideas. A separate Cleveland Radio Association was established in Cleveland, ¹⁵ which sought to take over a school radio station for educational purposes. However, my search for information about its actual achievements failed.

In the USA, the regional radio field format was chosen, many radio stations broadcast within a relatively narrow region: the territory of one city, one state or several states. The power of radio stations was subject to control, hence in different US states the same frequency was used for different radio stations. As a result, in many cases, Lithuanian radio programs could only be heard in specific regions, cities or states.¹⁶

Next to regional radio stations, there also operated Broadcasting Corporations, which broadcast on a whole country scale. They were the most powerful stations. Yet Lithuanians, as well as many other national minorities, did not prepare permanent broadcasts on such stations as the airtime was too expensive; moreover, radio stations kept national minorities out. There had

¹³ Ibid., 7-10.

Reference here is made to the acquisition of a radio station. V. Adamkus emphasizes that acquisition of a radio station is no problem but obtaining a license from the FCC is problematic. ("We will restructure ourselves and come back again." Conversation with Valdas Adamkus, Chairman of the Board of Margutis, 3.)

¹⁵ "Lietuviška radijo programa kitoje stotyje," 4.

¹⁶ "Niujorko ir Naujojo Džersio apylinkėse veikiančios radijo laidos," 3.

been attempts to give single broadcasts on exceptional occasions. As an example, when celebrating the 19th anniversary of the declaration of Independence in 1937, a broadcast was made from Cleveland via the Columbia Broadcasting System.¹⁷

In Chicago, the Lithuanians broadcast from different radio stations, whereas on the East Coast, one station would be chosen. The first Lithuanian radio broadcasts on the East Coast of the United States were different from the trends in Chicago. Most of the broadcasts in this region were heard in more than one state; it was often broadcast in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut.18 The first Lithuanian programs in this region were broadcast from one or two radio stations, and often in a succession of one after another. In 1937, one radio station, WMBQ, broadcast twenty-two programs, led by six different Lithuanian hosts, per week (Illustra-



Illustration, No. 1. Excerpt from Vienybė, 1937-03-03, l. 4

tion, No. 1). Compared to Chicago, these programs were shorter; on the other hand, they were broadcast in succession, so they created an impression of a longer Lithuanian program. Several programs of the Lithuanians in Chicago, too, were broadcast

[&]quot;Lietuviškas radio programas pirmadienį, vas. 15 iš Wjay stoties – Cleveland (Pradžia 5:15 iki 5:45, vakare – 610 kiloc.) per Columbia Broadcasting system. – 1937", online.

Vinco Matusečiaus programa in: "Matusevicius on air daily again," Vienybė, 3; Jono Valaičio, later "Voice of Lithuanians" – "Lietuvių radio balsas" in: "Radijo New Yorko ir New Jersey Apylinkėje," Vienybė, 3.

from one radio station but on different days of the week, as, e.g., the Sophie Barcus'¹⁹ program and some programs of stores. Stores only gave broadcasts on weekends, sometimes in succession. WGES station broadcast the radio program of Progress Furniture Co. (a Lithuanian household utensils store) on Sunday mornings at 11:00,²⁰ Wm. A. Lewis radio program on Sundays at 11:30–11:45; other programs containing advertising were broadcast on other weekdays.²¹

It was always attempted not to duplicate other Lithuanian programs heard in the region so that Lithuanian listeners could hear all of the Lithuanian programs and should not choose among them. In 1939 in Chicago, Sophie Barcus' morning programs were broadcast on a daily basis at 8:30–9:15,²² and the programs of Margutis on working days in the evenings at 21:30–22:00.²³ I found no evidence of overlapping of any of eleven programs in Chicago throughout the period, just some of them broadcast from one station.

One of the major issues that Lithuanian broadcasters would be confronted by was the variability of the radio stations from which time on air was purchased and their direct dependence on the owners. Sometimes, a radio station would just terminate broadcasting, and sometimes, radio stations themselves would be faced with licensing issues. Such a case was described in 1938:

BROOKLYN. NY. – The Lithuanian Radio Hour, established and directed by William Matusevičius, is once again presenting daily broadcasts (excluding Sundays) for the enjoyment of the tens

Program of S. Barcus' Vakaruškininkų Radio, Antrą Kalėdų dieną, gruodžio 26, 1938 m. Renginio programa, I. 4, BLKM, b. Lithuanian and Audio media, 2. Radio programs 2–2 S. Barcus, A. Daukus, p241a/14c.

Šaltimiero radijas, Šurum – burum, 1940–04–07, programa. Schedule of activities of the Lithuanian radio shows in Chicago surroundings is provided, BLKM, b. Lithuanians and Audio media, 2–3, p 241a/14c.

²¹ Šaltimiero radijas, Šurum – burum programa, April 16, 1939.

Program of S. Barcus Vakaruškininkų Radio programas, Antrą Kalėdų dieną. Idem.

²³ Šaltimiero radijas, Šurum – burum programa, April 16, 1939.

of thousands of Lithuanian Americans in the Metropolitan area of New York after suffering a temporary setback caused by action of the Federal Communications Commission in revoking the license of the station from which the Radio Hour had presented daily programs for six years. Station WBNX (1350 kcl.), from which the renewed series of programs originated, is a good deal more powerful than the former station and is expected to reach Lithuanians residing in Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, from whom response by letter has been received by the Radio Hour.²⁴

The FCC's actions towards the owner of a radio station or the license of the station would affect them directly. As in this particular case, this would be the reason for changing the station or the time of broadcasting. This process would take much time and programs would be terminated; some of them were never resumed. The stability of a radio station was often the main indicator of a program's stability. S. Barcus' programs could be an example of a successful and long-lasting radio station. This daily program, throughout fifty-five years of activity, was only presented from two radio stations, and with just minimum changes in the time of its broadcasting. This was of relevance for large programs in particular. Finding and purchasing daily airtime on a radio station was a complicated task: Margutis was confronted by this problem more than once, especially in later years when competition for airtime increased both with Americans and other national minorities.

The First Steps of Lithuanian Americans in the Radio Medium

Before Lithuanian radio programs were first broadcast, the press of the Lithuanian diaspora had recorded links among the Lithuanian community's radio media; a circle of permanent Lithuanian radio listeners had already formed. The Lithuanian press of the

²⁴ "Matusevicius on air daily again," 3.

diaspora as early as 1926 was full of advertisements related to the selling and gifting of radio apparatuses or the repair of radio equipment. In the press, we come across information about equipment stores of Lithuanians, e.g., that of J.F. Budrikas. It had sold musical instruments before, and from 1925–1926, adapting itself to the market changes, started selling radio apparatuses and different radio technical equipment. There also appeared advertisements about a Lithuanian radio workshop²⁵ where radio apparatuses were collected, repaired, and spruced up. While reading the press of the time, we can witness the expansion of the radio apparatus market, and the appearance of announcements of radio contents in the Lithuanian press that presented US radio broadcasts. The Lithuanian press also recorded the increase of Lithuanian radio listeners within the émigré community.²⁶

Press reports about permanent radio programs broadcast in Lithuanian in New York and Chicago can be found from 1928–1929.²⁷ In the early period, until the end of World War Two, about 35 Lithuanian programs were created and broadcast permanently for some time:²⁸ 32 before WWII (of which 11 were mentioned in the sources only once each) and 3 during the war. The patchiness of the sources, unfortunately, does not allow us to tell the final number of radio programs. The distinction among the cycles of Lithuanian occasional radio programs, single programs, and permanent broadcasts is also hard to tell, since the press often presented early Lithuanian programs, and they were only identifiable by indicating the name of the main host of the radio program or the title of the program, or presenting the title of the radio station and the list of Lithuanian programs transmitted on

²⁵ "B. and J. Electrical and Radio Engineering Laboratories, Inc." 8.

²⁶ "Radio program," 2.

[&]quot;Peoples Furniture" Lithuanian radio program, "Radio", Draugas, 8.; In New York, the radio hour of Juozas Ginkus was launched at the same time, which was later renamed the radio hour of the "Lithuanian Radio Association," in: "Ginkaus radio programų sukaktis," Tėvynė, (1931–11–13), excerpt, LTSC/ŽKM, f. undescribed file, Radijas, personal archive of Žilevičius.

²⁸ "American – Lithuanian radio shows in US 1928–1945," 3.

it.²⁹ Sometimes, this information was duplicated, sometimes one of the aforementioned types of information was mentioned. Such patchiness of information leaves room for some error in the number of radio transmissions. This confusion and lack of precise information is admitted in the *Vienybė* daily in 1939, which presented a list of ten Lithuanian radio shows known to its editorial board, whilst at the same time emphasizing its fragmentary and limited character.³⁰

In the general field of Lithuanian radio communication, Chicago stands out from the beginning as a strong center of radio communication. The first temporary programs in Lithuanian in Chicago were recorded in 1928: The Christian radio station, WORD, started airing the programs of "Biblijos studentai" (Students of the Bible), also referred to as "Sargybos bokštas" (Guard Tower). In April, the Naujienos daily reported about several radio programs arranged by the students of the Bible. The first messages of the program appeared in March. It seems, the program was aired on a monthly basis; single messages can be found later as well (in November, 1928).31 The quite detailed press reports, characteristic of the early radio broadcasts, reveal that the broadcasts consisted of a lecturer's report (on a religious subject) and musical performances: "[...] bus programas labai įdomus; – grieš jaunuolių orkestras, giedos choras, duetas, solo ir kalbės F. Zavistas, tema: – žmogaus busimi Namai."32 ([...] the program is going to be very interesting; - an orchestra of young people will be playing, a choir, a duet, a solo will be singing, and F. Zavistas will be speaking, topic: man's future Home.). The program lasted for two hours, so it was quite long. It was transmitted as part of the Students of the Bible general movement, reflecting, however, and representing this organization's Lithuanian section. That same year, the Lithuanians in Chicago also arranged an occasional broadcast in support of the World Exhibition. The program pre-

²⁹ "Lietuviškos radio programos," Vienybė, 6.

 $^{^{30}\,\,}$ "Radijo laidų veikusių iki II P.K. sąrašas," 3.

³¹ "Biblijos studentai," Naujienos, March 26, 3; April 26, 6; November 22, 7.

³² Naujienos, November 22, 7.

sented Lithuanian music and songs, while the listeners were encouraged to join the club of the supporters of the "World Exhibition Legion" by donating 5 dollars each.³³ In the press, we come across more than one report about musical performances of Lithuanians on various radio programs.

At a similar time, around 1928, the Radio Hour of Juozas Ginkus was launched in New York, later to be renamed "Lietuvių radijo draugija" (The Lithuanian Radio Association) (1928–1956).³⁴ Unfortunately, there have remained just scarce sources testifying to this program's history and beginnings, but, it seems, it was one of the early Lithuanian programs to have been put on air on a permanent basis.

Within a year, the press recorded three new, more permanent Lithuanian radio programs. All of them were commercial initiatives: on September 17, 1929, the program "Lietuvių valanda" (The Lithuanian Hour) was launched on the initiative of the *Naujienos* daily, which was often presented as a series of 13 radio concerts; it was sponsored by *Naujienos*, the J.F. Budrikas Inc. store, and the manufacturer of the Majestic Radio apparatuses. The *Naujienos* daily included the programs of these shows/concerts, as well as the feedback from and comments of the listeners. Later, the *Darbininkas* daily initiated the establishment of its own radio broadcasting. It broadcast the "Lithuanian Radio Hour" in Boston (1934–1969) and the *Draugas* daily – in Chicago (1935–1961).

Radio programs, e.g., "Lietuvių valanda" of *Naujienos*, until the 1940s, were presented live in the studio, thus reminding one of a concert. This is how they were often referred to – a radio concert, radio program. The names of the performers and the contents of the program were presented in detail. Such shows

[&]quot;Radio duos lietuvių programą" 6.

[&]quot;Ginkaus radio programų sukaktis," *Tėvynė*, 1931–11–13, excerpt, LTSC/ŽKM, b. undescribed file, Radijas, personal archive of Žilevičius.

³⁵ "Pirmas lietuvių koncertas per Radio," 2.

³⁶ [Announcement], Naujienos, 2; "Rytoj pirmas lietuvių radio koncertas," Naujienos, 6.

³⁷ Ėmužienė, "Klausytis 'Dievo žodžio' Amerikos lietuvių radijo programose," 77–81.

required huge financial and human resources and a large radio studio. It seems the entire series of radio concerts of *Naujienos* was not implemented: the plan was to broadcast every Tuesday until December, but already in November, the show wasn't broadcast anymore. Given that in October of that same year the main sponsor of the *Naujienos'* show, J.F. Budrikas, began to broadcast a separate program of his own, "Lietuviška valanda" of *Naujienos* most probably faced a lack of financial resources and stopped broadcasting the series. Already in 1930, the *Naujienos* daily would present a continuation of its daily show sponsored by the producer of the Majestic Radio apparatuses. The broadcasting of these shows initiated by the daily came to an end in 1940.

The J.F. Budrikas Inc. Radio program, broadcast in Chicago from 1929, stood out among other business-sponsored shows in its long-lived transmission – up until 1963.38 At the end of that same year, transmissions of another radio program sponsored by a Lithuanian store, "Peoples Furniture", were launched. As well as J.F. Budrikas' store, this store sold radio apparatuses and was engaged in their repair; the press often presented it as the largest Lithuanian store of furniture and household appliances. The "Peoples Furniture Co.'s" radio program was aired until April 22, 1941.³⁹ This was the last mention of this program discovered in the press. Unfortunately, finding more detailed or wider descriptions of the contents of the Lithuanian stores' radio programs in the press has failed. The more widely discussed programs of J.F. Budrikas and "Peoples Furniture" were the pioneers of Lithuanian businesses-sponsored programs; I came across at least six of them later. 40 All of them were focused on the Lithuanian community buyers, transmitted Lithuanian advertisements and music, and aired in Chicago. However, they did not

^{38 &}quot;Kas, ką ir kur," Draugas, 8.

³⁹ "Radio," Draugas, 8.

In 1939–1940, New City Furniture Mart; in 1939–1941 Goldbergs Clothing Co.'s; in 1934–1941 "Progress Furniture Co.'s" Lithuanian radio programs were aired.

survive as long as J.F. Budrikas' radio program. Their termination could have been affected by both the changing US radio communication field/the FCC's aim to reduce the commercial contents on the radio, and the aim of businesses themselves to cut their costs during the war by abandoning advertising shows.

Self-establishment and Development of Radio Programs

Lithuanians' first successful radio trials fueled a boom in the establishment of Lithuanian radio shows (Table 1). In the Lithuanian settlements in the USA, from 1931 to 1937 at least one or two new, permanent radio shows were launched almost annually. They retained the entertainment conception, yet were much more focused on the Lithuanian community and its needs in the communication field. The year 1939, when seven new radio shows were recorded, is distinguished in particular. This number should, however, be assessed with precaution since five of them have only been named once. These could be single new radio trials as their time on air did not coincide with the air time of other known shows. This could also mean issues associated with not coming to an understanding among different communities and information dissemination. A large share of these first radio trials ended with the beginning of World War Two. A little more than half of the radio shows terminated their transmissions before the war or during it.41 Those that survived were aired for more than one year.42

In terms of geographical location, the Lithuanian radio stations that were active until World War Two were situated at a rather close proximity one from another: in the Great Lakes and East Coast regions. Chicago in the State of Illinois stood out as the largest center of radio shows, with eleven Lithuanian radio shows

⁴¹ Appendix No. 1, America – Lithuanian radio shows in US 1928–1945.

⁴² See the material collected in Appendix No 1.

aired. On the East Coast, Lithuanian shows were aired in the states of Pennsylvania (7 shows), New York and New Jersey (8), Connecticut (3), Boston (2), Baltimore (1).⁴³ During the war years, three more shows were established: two in Detroit and New York in 1941, and one in Detroit in 1945 towards the end of the war.

Compared to the first years of quite lively radio activity (1928–1945), a total of 26 shows were broadcast in the USA for more than a year over 18 years, 11 more shows were recorded in the sources just once. Later, in 1946–1990, about 29 shows were newly established, a slight decrease from the first years of activity. On the other hand, nearly half of the Lithuanian shows established during the first radio decades continued to be broadcast after World War Two. Hence, new shows were established in an already more competitive environment, next to more experienced old-timers.

The success of a radio show depended on three closely interrelated groups: the host of the show, the initiator of the show, and the team; the advertising customers and sponsors; and the listeners who supported the show as members of a radio club or through organization of events. Shows maintained a rather close contact with the listeners and community who, next to advertisements, became major supporters of radio shows. Time on air was expensive, and no subscription fees were applicable, so radio show creators endeavored to raise the required amount in every way possible. Radio shows set up their radio clubs⁴⁴ that collected membership fees to maintain the radio show which, however, accounted for just a small share of their budget. Picnics and fundraising

⁴³ Appendix No. 1, America – Lithuanian radio shows in US 1928–1945.

Addio show clubs were established as financial-support raising organizations. Club members undertook to pay a fixed membership fee in an effort to raise the funds necessary to maintain a radio show. According to the surviving sources, it was only before World War Two that clubs became instruments of creation of radio shows, too. The radio club and the radio show of the Lithuanians in Detroit were so named in honor of the club, and the club collected a membership fee from the very beginning of its establishment. 1941–1954, lists and addresses of the members of the radio club of the Lithuanians in Detroit, and its books of finance, LYA, f. 15808, ap. 2, b. 30, l. 1.

campaigns, too, were an integral part of early radio activities; they were characteristic of "grinoriai." The major radio shows, Sophie Barcus' and Margutis in Chicago or Vincas Matusevičius' show in New York, organized large radio balls. These shows also gave live broadcasts from those events to their listeners (Illustration No. 2). Such events and festivals attracted the attention of both the Lithuanian press and sponsors and listeners who wished to hear and see the "radio kitchen" and to take part in it.

Margutis organized community gatherings and festivals that were among the largest of the kind, thereby partly maintaining the show and the magazine, and attracting listeners. One of such widely described balls of Margutis took place in 1936 while commemorating February 16th, when the festival was put on air not only to the Lithuanians in Illinois and the neighboring states but also Lithuania. The radio program was titled "Ei pasauli, mes be Vilniaus nenurimsim" (Hey world, we are not going stay calm without Vilnius). The performances broadcast during the concert were transmitted by radio waves to reach Lietuvos Radiofonas in Kaunas, which retransmitted the show. There have been similar efforts of transmission later, too, but those international broadcasts failed due to the great distance and air interference.

Most of the programs were aired once a week and lasted from 15 minutes to 1–2 hours. Only in exceptional cases were they broadcast on an everyday basis (Margutis, S. Barcus', Vincas Matusevičius'⁴⁸) or a few times a week (P. Šaltimieras, "Voice of Lithuanians", ⁴⁹ Jonas Valaitis', ⁵⁰ etc.). They were heard in one

⁴⁵ Dapkutė, Lietuviškos širdies ambasadorius, 120–121.

^{46 [}Report], Vienybė, 8.

Margutis Silver Jubilee, 25 m. radijui sukaktis, 1954-05-02, l. 4, in: BLKM, b. Lithuanians and audio media, Radio programs, 2-1 Margutis, Laisvoji banga "Free wave", p 241a/17c.

^{48 &}quot;Radio," Vienybė, 3.

⁴⁹ Flyer, Lietuvių radio balsas, LTSC/ŽKM, b. undescribed file, Radijas, personal archive of Žilevičius

^{50 &}quot;Radijo New Yorko ir New Jersey Apylinkėje," Vienybė, 3; Flyer, Lietuvių radio balsas, LTSC/ŽKM, b. undescribed file, Radijas, personal archive of Žilevičius.



Illustration No. 2, *Sophie Barcus Radio* 1 *Dollar Day* 1939⁵¹ (Lithuanian Archive Project)

city or state, and just the Margutis program was for several years heard on a wider scale across the region.⁵² Maintaining of a radio program was based on the contributions from advertisements and the community.

The major trends of the time are reflected in the largest programs which embraced the main features of all the programs broadcast during this period. The program Margutis (1932–2011)

Lithuanian Archive Project (LAP), f. Sophie Barcus fund, b. S. Barcus photos. My guess is that it was a Christmas event organized to celebrate Christmas and to financially support the show, the so-called "Christmas campaign". I presume that the event involved broadcasting as there is a radio microphone standing in front; no programs/coverage were recorded at that time, so most probably it was a live broadcast. At the forefront, by the microphone, S. Barcus (Bartkus, Bartkuvienė) is standing. In the left corner, the year and the author – "Photo by Stankunas Chicago 1939" can be seen.

^{52 &}quot;WJJD Radio atbalsiai," 15.

and Sophie Barcus' (1932–1987) programs (1932–1987), established in 1932, were initiated by Lithuanians who had taken an interest in radio technologies – Antanas Vanagaitis and Sophie Barcus. Only later did large communities, a circle of supporters, and radio clubs get together under the shows. The first shows were sponsored by well-off Lithuanians. Other radio establishers from this period chose a similar tactic as well; it was only in rare cases, already on the eve of the war, that radio clubs began to be organized, which established radio shows. One of such was the club of the "Lithuanian American Radio" that established its radio program in Detroit. Often, a radio club would occur under an already operating radio show as the means of raising funds.

Radio development in the USA was a breaking point in both communication and culture. According to Hilmes, the new radio medium became a social phenomenon that brought about unity among different communities as well as social and ethnic groups.⁵⁵ The wish of Lithuanians to come together into their own radio shows arose from their natural desire to overshadow the English-speaking radio medium and the aim to preserve their culture through feeling united in one more, radio field. Margutis and Sophie Barcus' programs were distinguished in their concept to become a counterbalance against the hitherto small-scale commercial, Lithuanian business-sponsored programs that were put on air once or twice a week. They also strengthened the field of Lithuanian radio programs and overshadowed the radio contents in English that had gained popularity among Lithuanians.

Margutis Radio (1932–2011) started modestly: on April 11th, 1932, Juozas Bačiūnas, persuaded by Antanas Vanagaitis, paid for just 15 minutes of time on air for a few months.⁵⁶ When more sponsors appeared later, 1 or 2 hours long⁵⁷ morning and evening

⁵³ A show of the pro-communist Detroit Lithuanian Radio Club was established according to this principle in 1941.

⁵⁴ Grinius, "Detroito Lietuvių Balso Radijo Klubui 40 metų," 1986.

⁵⁵ Hilmes, 18–19.

⁵⁶ Dapkutė, Lietuviškos širdies ambasadorius, 113–115.

⁵⁷ [Advertisement], *Draugas*, 6.

programs were broadcast every day at least five times a week or even several times in a day. Sophie Barcus' radio program (1932–1987)⁵⁸ at the beginning was broadcast for one hour per week.⁵⁹ Soon the program started presenting daily, and in 1938, it presented eight weekly shows in the morning daily, and an additional, "Vakaruškos" show, on Mondays at 19:00.⁶⁰ These long-lived programs often changed their format, contents, and the duration of their shows in an attempt to adapt themselves to the listeners' wishes and the changing radio market.

These programs, starting with their first presentations, were of the entertainment character typical of the time and included advertisements; on the other hand, the medium was observed to develop and improve, as well as reflect the daily life of the Lithuanian community. As early as 1934, in Margutis' shows there appeared such elements of everyday life as talks, lectures, religious teachings, radio theater. Satirical performances "Dėdytė ir Tetytė" broadcast during the prewar period were the first literary performances of theatrical humor on Margutis radio program. At a similar time, S. Barcus started giving "Vakaruškos" shows. Lecturers and speakers were invited to daily, as well as weekly broadcasts. It was, however, the daily format that enabled

⁵⁸ Likanderytė, "Sophie Barcus radio programą prisimenant," 5.

Did. Other sources report that the first broadcasts were given in 1933. Letter of P. Daužvardis to Jonas Budrys, Consul General of the Republic of Lithuania in New York, List of radio shows, 06–05–1940, LRSC/LWA, Archives of the Consulate General of the Republic of Lithuania in Chicago, Reg. No. 685, box No. 1B, f. 39.

Program of S. Barcus Vakaruškininkų Radio programas, Antrą Kalėdų dieną, gruodžio 26, 1938 m. Renginio programa, l. 4, Balzeko lietuvių kultūros muziejus (toliau: BLKM), b. Lithuanian and Audio media, 2. Radio programs 2–2 S. Barcus, A. Daukus, p241a/14c.

⁶¹ "Margučio radijo programa," 6.

[&]quot;Dėdytės ir Tetytės veselijų programa," 1935–11–28, BLKM, b. Lithuanians and audio media, Radio programs, 2–1 Margutis, Laisvoji banga "Free wave", p 241a/17c.

Program of S. Barcus Vakaruškininkų Radio programas, Antrą Kalėdų dieną, gruodžio 26, 1938 m. Renginio programa, l. 4, BLKM, b. Lithuanian and Audio media, 2. Radio programs 2–2 S. Barcus, A. Daukus, p241a/14c.

the expansion of the possibilities of the radio and the presentation to the Lithuanian community higher quality radio contents and more talks on different topics.

A Breaking Point in Lithuanian Radio Communication

World War Two was the point of transition from the entertainment to the information function of the radio, which changed Lithuania's geopolitical situation and the fates of Lithuanians in emigration in the USA. After the occupation of the home country, people had to adapt themselves to the situation and create a world in emigration that would serve as its substitute. The war years also affected the radio habits of Lithuanians, part of the young radio fans went to the Army (the case of Jokūbas Stukas). There was also a change in the supervision of the radio medium and in the messages that were broadcast during radio programs. A distinct transition from the entertainment to the information radio format was observed, with national communication having become more significant.

After the outbreak of World War Two, the US radio soon became a significant instrument of dissemination of propaganda. During the war, the FCC transferred part of its spheres of activity to The Office of War Information (OWI), the institution responsible for military propaganda, and they both provided radio stations with military propaganda and insisted on them broadcasting such propaganda. Lithuanian radio shows transmitted propagandistic contents as well. Most of radio programs, even the leftist Detroit Lithuanian Radio Club65 and Sophie Barcus Radio of cultural-entertainment character, also Margutis radio program, campaigned for supporting the US troops fighting in

⁶⁴ Hilmes, 230–270.

⁶⁵ DLR Club's correspondence, LYA, f. 15808, ap. 2, b. 31.

⁶⁶ DLR Club's war bonds transfer forms, Lithuanian Special Archives (LYA), f. 15808, ap. 2, b. 16, l. 1–33.

⁶⁷ LRSC/LWA, Thematic archives, Margutis, file (file 4 is untitled).

Europe. The programs called for organizing fundraising campaigns, announced the US Army's press releases, and distributed the so-called "war bonds." In the after-war years, the FCC again took control over the media. While it was tough handling commercial broadcasters, the FCC managed to create a network of state/social or educational stations, albeit operating within a weaker range of radio waves, that presented more contents of ethnic minorities; they were the ones that mostly broadcast Lithuanian programs, too. Much later, the activities of some of the Lithuanian radio shows were dependent on the stability and soundness of these radio stations.

During the war, the monitoring of the radio contents of ethnic minorities was strengthened. In the sources, we come across information that radio stations, in order to ensure adequate compliance with the license agreement with the FCC and with OWI requirements, collected detailed information about the shows of minorities, checked the contents and texts of their programs, demanded their translations or shows in English only. The existence of translation of texts into English is also attested by the case of Margutis radio program. Margutis program organizers in 1945 would present the plot of a program in English, and would even describe death announcements in detail.⁷⁰ After the end of the world war and the situation in Europe having stabilized, no information about similar control in Margutis radio program has been found. The station was provided just basic information and the titles of major rubrics.⁷¹ Other settlements

DLR Club's war bonds transfer forms, LYA, f. 15808, ap. 2, b. 16.

⁶⁹ Jokūbo Stuko "Memories of Lithuania" New York; Juozo Stempužio, "Tėvynės garsai," Cleveland.

Margutis radio program's scenario, 18–01–1945 station WHFC, Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, Lithuanian World Archives (hereinafter: LRSC/ LWA), Thematic archives, Margutis, File No. 4, show scenarios, the sheets are not numerated.

Margutis radio program's scenario, 1956–07–14 station WHFC ir WEHS-FM, LTSC/PLA, Thematic archives, Margutis, File No. 4, show scenarios, the sheets are not numerated.

were subject to similar control,⁷² but this was probably the wish of the owners of a radio station to control the contents, perhaps the aim to eliminate ethnic radio shows from the air⁷³ rather than the demand coming from the FCC or another government agency. If time on the air was purchased from a commercial broadcaster, as in the case of Lithuanian broadcasters, the FCC did not regulate the contents strictly – the choice of the contents was free and up to the radio station.

Although the USA did not get involved in the war until the end of 1941, the reflections of the war in Europe were nevertheless also felt in the field of radio communication among Lithuanians. During World War Two, just three radio programs were established: one in New York and two in Detroit. On August 2, 1941, a just 16-years-old Lithuanian American, Jokūbas Stukas, created the "Echoes of Lithuania" radio program in New York, 74 which broadcast until 1944. Stukas volunteered to the Army in 1943 to find it defunct upon returning from the war. 75 He recreated it under the title "Lietuvos atsiminimai" (Memoirs of Lithuania). This program was aired until 1994. 76 To maintain the program, the "Rūta" society was established and a choir so named, later. 77 The show became a Lithuanian cultural center; it was broadcast from the radio station of Seaton Hall University.

⁷² Virbelis, "Smūgis radijo valandėlei," 4.

Legation of the Republic of Lithuania in Washington, Pro memoria, 08-05-1967, SAB. Signature. Lithuanian State Central Archives, F. 648, descr. 2, f. 156, l. 12.

Invitation to the 40th anniversary of radio, magazine, l. 21, the publication is in storage, ALKA, b. "Lietuvos prisiminimų" radijas.

Letter of Ona Pocienė to P. Žilevičius, invitation to an event, 1944-04-20, LTSC/ŽKM, b. Undescribed file, Radijas, Žilevičiaus arba Žmuidzinavičiaus asmn.

Leidinys, 1991 m. 50 m. sukakties "Lietuvos atsiminimų" radijui minėjimo žurnalas. l. 129, ALKA, f. Personalities archives, b. Personalities archives of J. Stukas, not numerated.

[&]quot;Memoirs of Lithuania" radio, Algirdas Kačanauskas, written in 1976, program of the 45th anniversary of the commemoration of "Memoirs of Lithuania" radio, 27–04–1986, l. 4, BLKM, b. Lithuanians and Audio media, 2–3, p 241a/14c.

A collision between two Lithuanian radio programs in Detroit during the war years can be considered a symbolic breaking point in the radio history of the Lithuanian diaspora. The first one was pro-communist Detroit Lithuanian Radio Club's radio hour, established in 1941 by Lithuanians in Detroit. It was initiated by a leftist Lithuanian, Mikas Masys. The show was broadcast from 1941 to 1948; it was financially aided by the radio club whose membership comprised Lithuanians of Socialist views.⁷⁸ As a counterbalance to this program, a committee was set up from Lithuanians in Detroit and a few Lithuanian organizations in Detroit in 1945, and "Amerikos lietuvių balsas" (American Lithuanian Voice) radio club was established, with a program, which in a few years outrivaled the leftist program, broadcasting up until 2007. Both programs were aired once a week, but "Amerikos lietuvių balsas" managed to consolidate Lithuanians in Detroit and to oust the pro-communist show.⁷⁹ It is likely that the other contributors to such an outcome were a change in the geopolitical situation and the negative approach that had settled in the USA toward socialists and persons who maintained a relationship with the Soviet Union. Detroit Lithuanian Radio terminated broadcasting as no radio station wished to air it anymore. This conflict between two radio programs, permeated with policy and opposite views, and changes in the geopolitical situation, seems to have completed the first period of the Lithuanian radio that was characterized by a light, entertainment format. A new phase in the development of the Lithuanian radio was entered into.

Conclusions

The first steps of Lithuanian Americans in the radio medium arose from their natural need which had developed while watching radio communication in the USA, and with the acquisition of a

Žimužienė, "'Uždaryti prokomunistinį radiją': Detroito lietuvių konfliktas 1941–1955 m.," 81–99.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

radio apparatus and the use of this technology. The first to be aired were single commemorative radio programs, later – series of programs. The first to step into this market were commercially interested owners of Lithuanian stores (J. F. Budrikas and Peoples Furniture, etc.) and representatives of the Lithuanian press (*Nau-jienos*, etc.) that already had some experience in communication and aimed to explore up-to-date technologies to access the market. Such links between business and radio can be seen in Chicago; in other cities, radio programs were related to the name of their main host rather than their sponsors. Later, active members of society stepped into radio communication (S. Barcus, A. Vanagaitis, P. Šaltimieras) to begin creating nominal, one-person related programs. The fate of these depended on the enterprise and persistence of their founder, the team brought together, and the ability to raise funds necessary for the purchase of time on air.

Lithuanian radio communication in the USA established itself in a new field of radio communication which was still developing in the USA. Since the supervisory institutions, the FRC, later – the FCC, were just being established in parallel, their effects on the minority radio were marginal. Supervision of Lithuanian radio was felt by Lithuanians not directly, but through the owners of radio stations who, in fear of control by the FCC, undertook monitoring the contents of the programs aired on their stations. Such a trend was particularly distinct during the war years when the national character of radio broadcasts became secondary, and radio was used for the purposes of US propaganda.

The radio field that formed in the USA stood out in its strong commercialization. Lithuanian programs mostly chose commercial stations, which sold time on air more easily and were more flexible in regards to national advertisements and announcements, and the Lithuanian language. However, dependence on radio station owners' commercial interests often made Lithuanians switch stations. This dependence-based relationship also became one of the main issues for the Lithuanian radio medium.

During the first decades of radio, a strong connection developed between radio programs and cultural activities of the Lithuanian community. The major programs (Margutis, Sophie Bar-

cus') became part of entertainment life and the Lithuanian counterbalance to American radio contents. Efforts to connect Lithuania and America through radio communication testify to a strong national bond and self-identification, and on the other hand – to the capacity of the programs and the strength of available resources, as well as the wish to stand out, to attract the Lithuanian listener.

A breaking point in the development of radio was observed during the war years. Three new programs were established; about half of the Lithuanian programs lived to see the end of the war. Some of the small radio shows of commercial-advertising character were closed as early as 1940–1941, others as early as during the war, some of them – a year after the war. A conflict that developed between two radio shows in Detroit testifies to the occurrence of a political perspective in the medium, and the strengthening of ethnic identity which was not characteristic during the first decades. In parallel with the entertainment and cultural function, which was associated with nationality, there appeared political and communication functions. Radio as a communication channel acquired a significance to the Lithuanian community in the USA.

Appendix No. 1, American Lithuanian Radio Shows in US 1928-1945

No.	From – to year	Aired in:	About the programs
1.	1929–1940	Chicago, IL	Naujienų radijo programa ⁸⁰
2.	1929–1963	Chicago, IL	Joseph F. Budrikas krautuvės radijo programa
3.	1929–1941	Chicago, IL	"Peoples Furniture Co." radijo programa. J.A. Krukas, ⁸¹ J. Nak- rošius ⁸²

Announcement, *Tèvynė*, September 1983, excerpt, BLKM, b. Lithuanians and Audio media, 2–3, p 241a/14c.

⁸¹ Naujienos, 1934-01-30, l. 5.

Programa, Peoples Furniture Mgf. Company 20 metų sukaktuvių minėjimo diena, Naujienos, 1936-06-20, 6.

No.	From – to year	Aired in:	About the programs
4.	1932–2011	Chicago, IL	Margutis, 1932–1995; Margutis II, 1995–2011, Antanas Vanagaitis
5.	1932–1987	Chicago, IL	Sophie Barcus radijas
6.	1934–194183	Chicago, IL	"Progress Furniture Co." radijo programa ⁸⁴
7.	1935–1961	Chicago, IL	"Draugo" radijo programa / "Draugas" radio programs
8.	1936–1955	Chicago, IL	"Šaltimiero radijo valanda." Po- vilas Šaltimieras
9.	1939	Chicago, IL	"Wm. A. Lewis" radijo programa
10.	1939–194085	Chicago, IL	"New City Furniture Mart" radi- jo programa ⁸⁶
11.	1939–1941	Chicago, IL	"Goldbergs Clothing Co." radijo programa ⁸⁷
12.	1931–1949	Philadelphia, PA	Petro Petraičio radijo programa Filadelfijoje ⁸⁸
13.	1933–1951	Philadelphia, PA	Petronės Antanaitienės programa, P. ir D. Antanaičių radijo programa
14.	1933–1966	Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, PA	"First Lithuanian Radio Program in Pittsburgh" ⁸⁹

^{83 &}quot;Radio," Draugas, 8.

Letter of P. Daudžvardis to Jonas Budrys, Consul General of the Republic of Lithuania in New York, List of radio shows, 1940–05–06, LSTC/PLA, f. Reg. nr. 685, box nr. 1B, b. 39.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Naujienos, 1939-07-27, 7; 1939-09-12, 7.

[&]quot;Radio," *Draugas*, 8.; Šaltimiero radijas, Šurum – burum, programa, 1939–04–16. Schedule of the Lithuanian radio shows in Chicago surroundings is provided, BLKM, b. Lithuanians and Audio media, 2–3, p 241a/14c.

⁸⁸ Volertas, Vytautas. "Radijo premija – Philadelphijos 'Bendruomenės balsui," Draugas, 1990–04–07, 2.

⁸⁹ Lithuanian radio programs, Brazilijos lietuvių žinynas, 34.

No.	From – to year	Aired in:	About the programs
15.	193490	Philadelphia,	"Lietuvių radijo valanda" Kazio
		PA	Kisieliaus ⁹¹
16.	1937-196292	Philadelphia,	Antano Dziko radijo programa
		PA	Filadelfijoje ⁹³
17.	1939	Philadelphia,	K. Stefanavičius programa ⁹⁴
		PA	
18.	1939	Shenandoah,	Antano Staniškio programa95
		Philadelphia,	
		PA	
19.	1932	Baltimore, MD	Baltimores, R. Juškos ⁹⁶
20.	1934–1987	SO. Boston,	"Lietuvių radijo korporacija" /
		MA, New	"Lithuanian radio broadcasting
		England	corp. inc."
21.	1934–1969	Boston, from	"Lithuanian Radio Hour" –
		Medford MA	"Lietuvių radijo valandos" –
			Darbininko dienraščio radijo
			programa ⁹⁷ . 1969 m. susijungė su
			"Laisvės varpo" radijo programa
22.	1936–1986	Waterbury, CT	"Lietuvos prisiminimai" (Lietu-
			vių bendruomenės radijo valan-
			da), "Lithuanian Memories,"
			Waterbury ⁹⁸

⁹⁰ Naujas lietuvių radio valandų vedėjas, Vienybė, 1934-01-16, l. 5.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² V. Vytautas, "Iš lietuviškojo gyvenimo," Aidai, No. 6, 1981, 420.

Volertas, Vytautas. "Radijo premija – Philadelphijos 'Bendruomenės balsui'," Draugas, 1990-04-07, 2.

^{94 &}quot;Radijo New Yorko ir New Jersey Apylinkėje," Vienybė, 3.

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ Baltimor, MD. Radio, Vienybė, 1932-09-22, 3.

Invitation, Silver Anniversary Banquet of the Lithuanian Radio Hour and Testimonial to Antony F. Kneizys director, programos, l. 7, ALKA, b. file, "Amerikos lietuvių radijas", file is not numbered.

⁹⁸ Lietuvių radijo valandos, Lithuanian radio hours, *Pasaulio lietuvių žinynas*, 164.

No.	From – to year	Aired in:	About the programs
23.	1937– 1943	New Britain, CT	Andriaus Rėkaus programa ⁹⁹
24.	1939	PA, CT	Juozo Ratkaus programa ¹⁰⁰
25.	1933 ¹⁰¹ – 1945	New York, New Jersey NY, NJ, PA, CT	"Voice of the Lithuanians," Jono Valaičio "Lietuvių radio balsas" – "Radio voice of the Lithuanians" ¹⁰²
26.	1939	Brooklyn, NY	"Savas pas sava," Jono Dumčiaus radijo laida ¹⁰³
27.	1935	Brooklyn, NY	"Radio vienybė," vedėjas Juozas Tamas ¹⁰⁴
28.	1928– 1956 ¹⁰⁵	New York, NY, NJ	Juozo Ginkaus radijo valandėlė, later "Lietuvių radijo draugija" ¹⁰⁶
29.	1932- 09-22	New York, NY, NJ	"Lietuvių dainų valanda," F. Staniulis ¹⁰⁷
30.	1932– 1939 ¹⁰⁸	New York, New Jersey NY, NJ, PA, CT	Vinco Matusevičiaus programa ¹⁰⁹
31.	1937	New York, New Jersey NY, NJ, PA, CT	P. Dulkės laida. ¹¹⁰ Fixed in 1937. Broadcasted from the same WMBQ station as V. Matusevičius, J. Valaitis, J. Ginkus, J. Mačiulis

^{99 &}quot;Radijo New Yorko ir New Jersey Apylinkėje," Vienybė, 3.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ Programa iš WWRL, *Vienybė*, 1933-11-02, 6.

¹⁰² [Flier] Lietuvių radio balsas, LTSC/ŽKM, b. neaprašytas segtuvas, Radijas, Žilevičiaus asmeninis archyvas.

^{103 [}Cutting], Tėvynė, 1939–04–01, LTSC/ŽKM, b. undescribed file, Radijas, personal archive of Žilevičius.

¹⁰⁴ "Radio vienybė," ved. Juozas Tamas, *Vienybė*, June 7, 1935, 5.

¹⁰⁵ Lietuvių dienos, 1956, No.1, l. 16; Lietuvių dienos, 1956, No. 9(68), l. 26.

¹⁰⁶ "Radijo New Yorko ir New Jersey Apylinkėje," Vienybė, 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Vienybė*, September 22, 1932, 6.

¹⁰⁸ "Radio," *Vienybė*, September 22, 1932, 6.

^{109 &}quot;Radijo New Yorko ir New Jersey Apylinkėje," Vienybė, 3.

^{110 &}quot;Radio," Vienybė, March 3, 1937, 4.

No.	From – to year	Aired in:	About the programs
32.	1937	New York,	J. Mačiulio laida. ¹¹¹ Fixed in 1937.
		New Jersey	Broadcasted from the same
		NY, NJ, PA, CT	WMBQ station as V. Matusevičius,
			J. Valaitis, J. Ginkus, P. Dulkė
33.	1941–	New York, NY,	"Echoes of Lithuania" radio pro-
	1994	NJ	gram ¹¹² / "Lietuvos garsai." After
			1945 called "Lietuvos atsiminimų"
			radio / "Memories of Lithuania."
			Dr. Jokūbo Stuko radijas, there
			was Radio Cultural Club "Rūta"
			closely associated with the J. Stu-
			kas radio.113 The first show on
			1941-08-02114
34.	1941–	Detroit, MI	"Detroito lietuvių radijo klubas,"
	1948		kairiųjų radijo programa ¹¹⁵
35.	1945–	Detroit, MI	"Amerikos lietuvių balsas" /
	2021		"American Lithuanian Voice" 1948
			"Baltijos Melodijos–Baltic Melo-
			dies," 1958 "Lietuviškas balsas" /
			"Lithuanian Voice"116

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Flyer, LTSC/ŽKM, b. undescribed file, Radijas, personal archive of Žilevičius.

^{113 1991} m. 50 m. sukakties "Lietuvos atsiminimų" radijui minėjimo leidinys, l. 15, ALKA, J. Stuko archive of persons, file is not numbered, pages are not numbered.

 $^{^{114}\,}$ Kvietimas į radijo 40 gimtadienį, žurnalas, l. 21, ALKA, b. "Lietuvos prisiminimų" radijas.

Pranešimai apie visuotinį "Detroito Lietuvių radijo klubo" susirinkimą, LYA, LKP, F. 15808, ap. 2, b. 31, l. 33, 36.

^{116 1970} m. "Amerikos lietuvių balsas" 25 m. sukaktis, programa, pages in the publication are numbered l. 4, ALKA, b. folder, Amerikos lietuvių radijas, file is not numbered.

Works Cited

- "B. and J. Electrical and Radio Engineering Laboratories, Inc." [Announcement, Lithuanian Radijo workshop] *Naujienos*, October 20, 1928.
- "Biblijos studentai," *Naujienos*, March 26, 1928; April 26, 1928; November 22, 1928.
- "Kas, ka ir kur," Draugas, April 14, 1961.
- "Lietuviška radijo programa kitoje stotyje," Draugas, November 20, 1981.
- "Matusevicius on air daily again," Vienybė, July 11, 1938.
- "Peoples Furniture" lietuviška radijo programa, "Radio," *Draugas*, April 22, 1941.
- "Persitvarkysime ir vėl grįšime. Pokalbis su Valdu Adamkum, Margučio direktorių valdybos pirmininku,", *Draugas, Mokslas, menas ir literatūra*, No. 115, May 15, 1976.
- "Pirmas lietuvių koncertas per Radio," Naujienos, September 14, 1929.
- "Radijo New Yorko ir New Jersey Apylinkėje," *Vienybė*, November 24, 1939.
- "Radio duos lietuvių programą," Naujienos, August 18, 1928.
- "Radio," Vienybė, August 24, 1934.
- "Radio," Draugas, April 22, 1941.
- "Rytoj pirmas lietuvių radio koncertas," *Naujienos*, September 16, 1929. "WJJD Radio atbalsiai," *Margutis*, No. 2, 1933.
- Blynaitė, Laura et al. *Lietuvos radijas* 1926 2016. *Faktai. Kūrėjai. Laidos.* Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos centras, 2016.
- Dapkutė, Daiva. *Lietuviškos širdies ambasadorius Juozas Bachunas Bačiū-nas (1983–1969*). Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2014.
- Ėmužienė, Ina. "Klausytis 'Dievo žodžio' Amerikos lietuvių radijo programose," OIKOS: lietuvių migracijos ir diasporos studijos, No. 1(29), 2020.
- _____. "'Uždaryti prokomunistinį radiją': Detroito lietuvių konfliktas 1941–1955 m.," OIKOS: lietuvių migracijos ir diasporos studijos, No. 1(25), 2018.
- Grinius, A. "Detroito Lietuvių Balso Radijo Klubui 40 metų," *Lietuvis Žurnalistas*, No. 12, 1986.
- "Margučio radijo programa," Margutis, No. 19, 1934.
- Hilmes, Michele. *Radio Voice: American Broadcasting* 1922–1952, University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

"Lietuviškas radio programas pirmadienį, vas. 15 iš Wjay stoties – Cleveland (Pradžia 5:15 iki 5:45, vakare – 610 kiloc.) per Columbia Broadcasting system. – 1937,". Accessed February 3, 2022. https://naujas.epaveldas.lt/preview?id=C1B0001892549.

"Pranešimas," Vienybė, March 3, 1936.

Likanderytė, Rita. "Sophie Barcus radio programą prisimenant," *Draugas, Moterų gyvenimas*, July 9, 1988.

[Announcement], Naujienos, September 16, 1929.

[Announcement], Draugas, June 30, 1976.

Burneikienė, Genovaitė, Dirvonaitė, D., and Urbonas, J. V., eds. Žurnalistikos enciklopedija. Vilnius: Pradai, 1997.

Pickard, Victor. "The Battle over the FCC Blue Book: Determining the Role of Broadcast Media in a Democratic Society, 1945–1948," *Media, Culture and Society*, 33(2), 2011.

Virbelis, "Smūgis radijo valandėlei," Draugas, June 1, 1967.

Translated by DALIA ŠALTIENĖ and KERRY SHAWN KEYS

MY COUNTRY'S WOUNDS

RIMAS UZGIRIS

adapted and redacted from "Prison Chant" by Olena Herasymiuk, serving in a hospital battalion somewhere in Ukraine.

He looks at me long. A kind of longing. He says

"The most important thing is love."

He looks at me long. Oh, his kind of longing. He says

"The most important thing is to love thine enemy."

RIMAS UZGIRIS: "I wanted to write something in response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. I could only think of Olena Hersymiuk's long poem 'Prison Chant' (orig. Ukrainian) that I saw her perform in the Druskininkai Poetic Fall Festival 2021. I reread the English translation (by Viktoria Ivanenko) and the Lithuanian translation (by Vytas Dekšnys). The poem itself is not so easy for outsiders to understand, dealing with both the 2014 invasion and the political aftermath. Yet, I saw elements of it that spoke powerfully of the present war, and I decided to take those (consulting both translations) and make them into a short lyric, rewriting as needed for the new form and presentation. The result is a radical adaptation of Olena's poem more than a (partial) translation, but I believe it has a piece of the heart of Olena's work in it, like a piece of hot shrapnel. Olena was able to get back to me before my version was first published in Rattle's Poets Respond, and she gave her blessing. I am grateful to her for her poem and for her service.

Who steals—
who even steals
your history
along with your land.

"So don't shoot." He says, "No.

Don't shoot."

He says,

"Just lay down your arms—Slowly.
Just raise your white arms—High.

Raise them up high like a chalice, like a prayer, and then you will know—

Yes-

As your blood sprinkles fire on the low ground, you will know the true taste of love."

*

"And there will be no war."

—Fire.

"And there will be no war."

*

I open the window. Fire flies in on the air. I cross the square. Fire fingers the stone.

I walk through the city and hide like a mole in its holes.

And there it is, beside us—fire. And here it is, inside us—fire. I close my eyes and I can see—fire.

My faith, my honor—all fires.

My country's memory—my bleeding wound.

Cauterize it—with fire.

And I will go on:

I walk through walls I eat the air I never stop

Never stop.

-Fire.

February 27, 2022

WHITE GOD OF GRAVEL ROADS

PHOTO ESSAY BY ALIS BALBIERIUS

God of gravel roads in white.

And these gravel roads, public roads, byroads are without sledges, without wheels, without horses...

While clouds above those gravel roads in dusty summer drought.

And the gravel roads themselves – they sway like mythological serpents creeping into this world from the old beliefs that were close so close to nature and life.

God of the gravel roads in white, white as a cloud, a cloud like a crown for that serpent that is meandering through emerald colored summer land...

...And I would like to know, to see, to set my feet on those dissapearing gravel roads, byroads, and write down what I feel for these gravel roads, byroads and all other sorts of roads. And maybe some day I will do this for I always hear and see this god of gravel roads above all those roads that I have walked and those that are awaiting me.



Alis BALBIERIUS. Biržai forest



Alis BALBIERIUS. Lithuanian–Latvian border at Nemunėlio Radviliškis



Alis BALBIERIUS. Jonas Mekas' Semeniškiai



Alis BALBIERIUS. Vecekrugas dune



Alis BALBIERIUS. Winter gravel road at Suostai



Alis BALBIERIUS. Winter gravel road at the birthplace of book-smuggler Jurgis Bielinis

Visions and Utopias of the Development of Šnipiškės Suburb in Vilnius in 1940–1991

AGNĖ GABRĖNIENĖ

Introduction

Šnipiškės is one of the oldest suburbs of Vilnius which, with the growth of Lithuania's capital city, has now appeared in the very center of it. The suburb, which is at a walkable distance from and can easily be reached from the central part of the city on foot, especially its southern part which is closer to the center, has always interested the city's planners due to its exceptional location, particularly during the period when Lithuania was part of the Soviet Union. In spite of numerous efforts to draw up plans for the development of the city of Vilnius before World War II which had inevitably encompassed Šnipiškės, the Soviet period was distinguished for an abundance of periodical projects for the development of the city. The territory seemed suitable for planning due to the construction on the territory of buildings here and there, in a "scattered" manner, one or two-floor wooden and masonry buildings that, in the Soviet period, were completely depreciated by the planners and treated as to be torn down. In terms of architecture, just a small part of the isolated buildings could probably be identified as valuable, but this "chaos" of the suburb, its urbanistic architecture that had formed in the long course of history was a reflection of different cultures, religions and nationalities who had lived here together, of their different ways of life, professions and trades. The war that disrupted the city's and the suburb's natural development and the nationalization that was carried out, the almost complete annihilation of the Jewish and other communities who dwelt here, and disruption of social and other ties opened up an abyss that could only be disguised by a striking and big promise for a bright future. In this way, having taken over from Western modernists the strict functional zoning that was handy for Soviet ideology and having invoked a new technology of standardized, prefabricated large-panel buildings, new grandiose visions for the planning and putting up of Šnipiškės were created and recreated every five years. This article is a continuation of the author's examination of the urbanistic and architectural development of Šnipiškės.¹

The Old Suburb

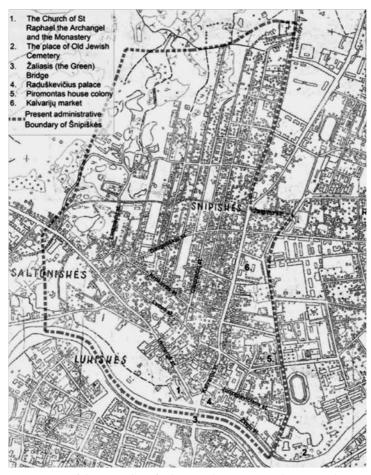
To begin with, it should be mentioned that the territory of Šnipiškės – within the boundaries of the present-day Šnipiškės Municipality – does not fully coincide with what, in different historic periods, was considered Šnipiškės suburb. Present-day Šnipiškės embraces a fair amount of the central part of the city and is surrounded by Geležinio Vilko, Ozo, Kalvariju, Rinktinės, Žvejų and its extension - Upės streets; it also includes the corner of the former territory that used to be called Saltoniškės, the historic Žvejų suburb (to the right of Kalvarijų Street behind Žaliasis (the Green) bridge), and the part near Žvejų Street that used to be called Piromontas. Present-day Šnipiškės does not, however, embrace the old Jewish cemetery which in the people's consciousness remains as the "Old Jewish Cemetery in Šnipiškės." The suburb's boundaries were more than once redrawn during the Soviet period when, in order to attend to the city's infrastructure and communications, more than one street was designed and laid in order to "frame" the old and to demarcate the new residential districts. To examine the city's development plans of the Soviet period and the then architectural proposals, it is best, however, to first take a closer look at the real situation at that time. The old network of streets that had been developed in Šnipiškės over many centuries and the suburb's buildup can be seen clearly in the plan of the city

Gabrėnienė, "Šnipiškės," 19–36.

of Vilnius of 1940 (Illustration 1). It shows the suburb nearly unchanged since the late nineteenth century because the city's natural development and its development when, in the prewar period. Vilnius fell to Poland, had come somewhat to a halt. In the plan, we can see the main streets of Šnipiškės beginning beyond the oldest bridge across the River Neris in Lithuania's capital (currently - Žaliasis Bridge) at a triangular crossroad leading in different directions, around which the suburb formed and expanded. One of such directions was the old road to Ukmergė and Riga, and one more – to Verkiai, i.e., the present-day Kalvariju Street. By the above-named crossroad, along the old Ukmergės Street, situated on natural slopes of the river and surviving till the present day, is the Church of St. Archangel Raphael with a Monastery – once the center of social life in the suburb; these buildings are among the most beautiful buildings in Šnipiškės and had been the tallest for a long time, and were often recorded by painters and also later by photographers. On the other side of the triangular crossroad at that time, there stood still intact the ornate neo-gothic late nineteenth-century palace of Hilary Raduszkiewicz, which was severely damaged in the Soviet period. Further northwards, on the right of Kalvariju Street, is one of the oldest markets in Vilnius - Kalvarijų marketplace, which had already functioned for half a century and is functional to date.

One more thing that strikes the eye in the plan of Šnipiškės of 1940 is the dense construction within the suburb of small buildings and the formation of an organic network of smaller streets. However, not only was the construction in the suburb crowded at that time, but a lot of people resided in it as well. With a shortage of residential dwelling, locals were actively engaged in letting it, and it was a fair source of income. As an example, in two small wooden houses standing on one site at 9 Krokuvos Street, the overall useful floor area of which was below 100 sq. m, four families with a total of twenty-three persons shared the residential floor.²

² Pastatų Vilniuje, Krokuvos g. 9, nacionalizavimo byla, Vilnius Regional State Archive, 9, 12.



1. Fragment of the 1940 plan of Vilnius (Vilnius Regional State Archive)

The "chaos" of living in Šnipiškės after the occupation, as we will see, did not last long: in 1940, mass nationalization began, and the private property of all the people and organizations – their plots, houses, even things, were appropriated by the State. This process gave a free hand to new large-scale city planning initiatives through virtually "cleaning" the then building up of the buildings that we see in the 1940 plan and changing the settled urbanistic structure.

The First Plans

During the approximately fifty-year occupation, quite a few visions for the development of Vilnius were proposed. The author of the project for the development of Vilnius prepared in 1948, architect Vladislovas Mikučianis, states in an explanatory letter that "this part of the city (Šnipiškės - A. G.) consists of buildings built up in an exceptionally chaotic manner" and, therefore, to attend to it, "many significant changes are projected in the draft plan and new construction", which certainly is reflected in this and all subsequent projects for the development of Vilnius.³ In the 1948 plan, we can see that the historic routes of the main Ukmergės (leading along the Church of St. Archangel Raphael) and Kalvarijų (in Soviet times called Dzeržinskio) streets as well as part of smaller historic streets are not changed yet (Illustration 2). At the same time, though, a new axis between the former Lukiškės suburb and Šnipiškės is proposed, which is to connect the left and the right banks of the River Neris, two suburbs and two city centers that are to be newly formed.

In this axis, in Šnipiškės, a new public space emerges – a large site opening up towards the Neris. Although the proposal to build a bridge in the axis (currently Baltasis (the White) bridge) was only doomed to become reality much later, after Lithuania regained independence (in 1995, architect Algis Nasvytis), the idea of the new axis in the city found its place in the consciousness of the next generations of city planners. The then project developers proposed to create several "wide verdured avenues" in the district, one of which was to lead to the North toward a new smaller site – the very center of Šnipiškės residential district.⁴ This route proposed by Vladislovas Mikučianis approximately coincides with the new Kernavės Street which, in recent years, linked Žalgirio and Lvovo streets (and in the place where, according to Mikučianis, the smaller – residential district center –

³ Mikučianis, Vilniaus miesto generalinis planas, Vilnius Regional State Archive, 42.

⁴ Ibid., 42.



2. Fragment of the 1948 plan of Vilnius (Vilnius Regional State Archive)

was to be – there is nowadays a small public space indeed, with a small roundabout in the center). In the future, Kernavės Street is to be linked with the present-day Konstitucijos Avenue.

Since this is one of the first postwar plans of Vilnius when mass technology of prefabricated element construction had not yet been established – the height of buildings provided for in 1948 is relatively low, close to that in the Old Town and the approaches to it: in the central zone of Šnipiškės and along the main streets, the biggest projected height of buildings was just three to four floors, and in a fair part of this residential district the plan was to leave one or two-floor buildings.

In their plans, the city developers imagined that the accessibility to nature "by way of building up the right bank of the river will serve for making the city vibrant"; therefore, the formation of green areas was given special attention.⁵ Šnipiškės was to be separated from Žvėrynas by the introduction of a large

⁵ Ibid., 42.

green field extending from the hills of Šeškinė to embrace the entire old riverbed of the Neris as well as its natural extension along the valley of the Neris towards Žaliasis bridge. The idea was to also construct on this field a new national stadium which. after the decision to build at the bottom of the hills of Šeškinė a highway to Molėtai (currently Geležinio Vilko Street) and a new bridge across the Neris, was "transferred" to another site, and has not been constructed to date. It was proposed to leave the smaller green field by the eastern boundary of Šnipiškės, which happened to embrace the Old Jewish Cemetery, as a green space for sports, and to reconstruct the city stadium that was in it and to erect some new buildings for sports. The Old Jewish Cemetery which traditionally is attributable to Šnipiškės and where the famous Vilna Gaon is buried, which occupied a rather large, 3 ha territory, had been ravaged after World War II and neglected. Following the expression of concern by the World Jewish Congress over the preservation of this cemetery in 1947, a special commission was set up, which, along with other specialists and heads of organizations, included also the chief architect of Vilnius, Vladislovas Mikučianis, who developed the 1948 city plan under discussion. The commission checked the cemetery concluding that it had neither historic nor artistic value.⁶ Hence, in 1950, the building of an indoor swimming pool started here, as well as that of the Vilnius Palace of Concerts and Sports in 1970. It was only after 1993, when Lithuania had regained independence, that a monument to commemorate the Old Jewish Cemetery in Šnipiškės was erected near the Palace of Concerts and Sports (sculptor Jaunutis Makariūnas).7

To ease the access of Vilnius residents to this "sport zone", the building of one more new bridge across the Neris was projected on the extension of Rinktinės Street by Mikučianis. It was to be exclusively for pedestrians. It was here that, before the disaster that took place in 1975, a wooden pontoon bridge was indeed assembled every summer and dismantled every autumn.

⁶ Jogėla, "The Old Jewish Cemetery," 88.

Kavaliauskaitė, "Paminklas senosioms žydų kapinėms," online.

The present Karaliaus Mindaugo bridge adapted both to vehicles and pedestrians was only built in 2003. Hence, Žaliasis bridge, which only took its present shape in 1952 after its predecessor, an elegant bridge of light openwork metal constructions, was blown up during the war, was for a very long period in history the only transportation link between the city center and Šnipiškės.

Modernism and Socialist Industrialization

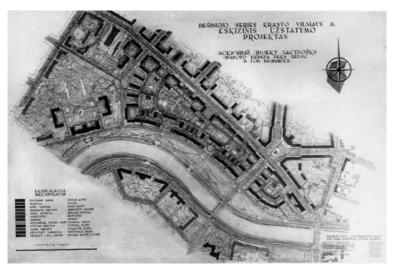
After Joseph Stalin's death in 1953 and the power having been taken over by Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Union took to modernism focusing on "industrialization, production of standardized prefabricated elements, reduction of the cost of buildings, and the widest use of typical projects possible." All this was reflected not only in the new architecture of constructions but in urbanistic planning as well. When preparing the project for the development of the right bank of the Neris and assessing the then situation in 1957 it was ascertained that the territory around the old Ukmerges Street still consisted of mainly wooden one or two-floor houses, whereas the lower terrace of the Neris valley had practically no buildings at all, which provides perfect opportunities for organizing new complex constructions and paying close attention to the embankment in the center of the city.

Captivated by new construction technologies, in 1957 architects proposed to develop the Neris valley between the old Ukmergės Street and the River Neris with rows of typical-of-the-period blocks of flats up to eight floors, replicating the meandering of the Neris (Illustration 3). The rows of the buildings were supposed to be arranged on a rising relief thus forming a special silhouette. Concerning the western side of the residential district, by the Neris, the vision of the national stadium continued

⁸ Drėmaitė, "Vaduojantis iš stalinizmo," online.

⁹ Anikinas and Sližys, *Vilniaus miesto dešiniojo Neries upės*, Vilnius Regional State Archive, 9.

¹⁰ Ibid., 18.



3. Draft project of 1957 for development of the right bank of the Neris in Vilnius (Vilnius Regional State Archive)

to be improved and developed. In the plan, the new axis of the Lukiškės-Šnipiškės center proposed by Mikučianis in 1948 is highlighted: a wide bridge across the Neris and a spacious avenue leading from it to the "future" square.

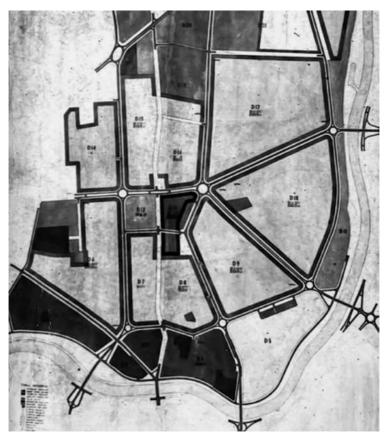
In the 1960s, perimetral development characteristic of the Stalinist period was renounced and a new principle of the free layout of houses began to be introduced. Based on the ideas of functional zoning, the concept of a *micro district* was formulated, according to which it was to serve as a model for the infinite development of growing cities by building one micro district next to another.¹¹ A micro district became as if a unit of measurement that was used to measure even territories that had long been populated, and such territories were adapted to a specific micro district. As a planning model for Šnipiškės, the micro district was used in the 1962 "Project for the detailed layout of the Dzeržinskis Street region" in one of the development plans that were prepared in the Soviet Union every five years according to

¹¹ Drėmaitė et al., Architektūra sovietinėje Lietuvoje, 167.

the principles of planned economy. This document reads that "the aim of the project was to enlarge residential districts - micro districts to the maximum possible extent"; however, due to the projected dense network of trunk roads, "part of blocks have remained smaller and are not in full conformity with the new principles of the development of cities."12 Development was also to be implemented near residential zones; it was calculated that, after the projects had been implemented, the population in those residential zones would increase twofold compared to the time of planning. Following respective normative documents of construction and construction regulations (SNIP) and "Nomenclature of the types of civil buildings for future years", a new trade and a cultural center, and utilities and institutions for children were to appear here, and "industrial construction was to be expanded considerably."13 To improve the link between newly projected micro districts in Šnipiškės and the center and other southern residential districts of Vilnius in the North-to-South direction, the laying of two mainlines was planned, each with a 14 meter wide roadway, one of which was Giedraičių Street to be widened and extended (a bridge across the Neris was also projected on its extension), the other - by linking Verkių and Eidukevičiaus (currently Rinktinės) streets into one street (Illustration 4). In order to not complicate traffic on the crossroad between Ukmergės Street (the old route) and Giedraičių Street to be "renewed", it was planned to equip a two-level intersection without exit ramps. A city roundabout with a 4-meter-wide dividing strip (currently Žalgirio Street) meant for diverting heavy transport off the city center was to cross the residential district in the Eastto-West direction. After implementing such a street reform, the old Kalvarijų Street was to remain "residential", meant only for light transport. This planning of mainlines and avenues took place at a time (in 1962) when in reality, most of small as well as larger streets in Šnipiškės were still the original ones, i.e., stone

¹² Vaškevičius et al., *Dzeržinskio gatvės rajono*, Vilnius Regional State Archive, 10.

¹³ Ibid., 8, 14.



4. Fragment of the 1962 project for the detailed layout of the Dzeržinskis Street residential district (Vilnius Regional State Archive)

paved, and only Kalvarijų Street until the former cinema "Tėvynė" and also short segments of Rinktinės and Juozapavičiaus streets were asphalt covered. 14

When implementing new ideas, existing buildings often suffered or were completely demolished. Such a fate befell the former neo-Gothic Raduszkiewicz Palace in 1962–1963 which in the postwar period went "from hand to hand" until "eventually

¹⁴ Ibid., 6.

being pulled down one day in a barbaric way for no reason", although, according to the researchers of the Institute of Monument Conservation, the Palace "did not hinder the construction of the building of the Chief Board of Supplies and Sales and of the Board of Oil Products" (currently 3 Kalvarijų Street). 15 The Palace was not completely knocked down, though, just approximately a third of it, and as early as 1976 the researchers of the Institute themselves suggested "to rebuild the part of the palace knocked down, its tower and terrace, as well as its openwork masonry fence and gate" owing to the surviving of a sufficient amount of iconographic material and drawings.¹⁶ However, this former striking highlight in the layout of the beginning of Kalvariju Street which, as stated in the report of the above named Institute's employees, was in harmony both with the Church of St. Archangel Raphael and the neighboring buildings, has not been reconstructed.17

New Center of the City and the Evolution of Residential Structures

Following western trends of modernist urban construction, in the 1960s in Vilnius, as well as in many other old European cities, the formation of a new city center was proposed in which commercial and administrative functions would be concentrated. To that end, an architectural competition for the detailed layout of the right bank of the Neris was announced in 1964. While architects from Leningrad, Minsk and Riga participated in the competition along with Lithuanians, suggesting to provide to the center of Vilnius with "more of a showy display and representation character," the winner of the competition was a more

Žilevičius and Gabriūnas, XIX–XX a. Kultūros paminklas, Vilnius Regional State Archive, 61.

¹⁶ Ibid., 67.

¹⁷ Ibid., 53.

Drėmaitė et al. Architektūra sovietinėje Lietuvoje, 338.

reserved proposal by the architects from Vilnius, Algimantas and Vytautas Nasvytis, Vytautas Brėdikis and Vytautas Edmundas Čekanauskas. According to the winning project, instead of the historic route of Ukmergė road, a new terraced street-passage solely for pedestrians was formed around which the buildings of the new public center were situated: the CUP shopping mall was built (in the first line along the Neris), also *Buities namai*, hotel "Turistas" and the Museum of the Revolution (currently the National Gallery). After almost a decade-long of construction works, a twenty-two-floor hotel "Lietuva" was also completed in 1984, which appeared in the axis of Baltasis (the White) bridge (erected in 1995, architect Algis Nasvytis); the hotel became a new dominant presence in Šnipiškės and the whole city, the first "skyscraper" in the city for about thirty years.¹⁹

Having transformed the old route of Ukmergės Street into the inner "street" for the pedestrians in the block, it was to be replaced with a new wider route of this same street - the current Konstitucijos Avenue. The 1968 project even projected a huge two-floor roundabout in order to "smoothly" resolve traffic at the junction of the new Ukmergės (currently Konstitucijos Av.) and Kalvariju streets (Illustration 5). It was to be the largest roundabout in the residential district, but not the only one: Kalvarijų and Žalgirio streets, Kalvarijų and Kareivių streets were to be linked at two levels and by rings, while Žalgirio and the new Kernavės Street – just at two levels. The idea was that the new Ukmergės Street (currently Konstitucijos Avenue) should separate Šnipiškės residential district from the city center and become "one of the largest arteries of public and individual transport in the city."20 It was also planned to increase the height of the buildings along it by developing houses up to twelve floors that were supposed "to be quite visible from Lenin (currently Lukiškių, A. G.) Square", as part of the general idea of the 1968 project based on "the principle of the arrangement of altitudinal accents at characteristic

¹⁹ Mačiulis, Architektai Algimantas ir Vytautas Nasvyčiai, 187, 199.

²⁰ Kasperavičienė, *Šnipiškių rajonas Vilniuje*, Vilnius Regional State Archive, 8.

places with good prospects."21 The eight residential districts that were developed here were to be made an integral whole by way of arrangement of residential buildings using the recurring motif of three-way configuration, with the tallest volumes in the center. Administrative buildings up to eighteen floors high were to be situated along the current Kalvariju Street, which was to be widened up to 48 m as well, equipping in it, in addition, a dividing strip of greenery. Realization of this idea alone would have required demolition of basically the considered invaluable entire historic development of the street's perimeter, which is what was projected, as we can see in the photo of the mock-up of the project (Illustration 5). The streets were to be planted along their perimeter with decorative trees and bushes, and a significant increase in the height of the buildings in the residential district, and so the spared ground, would have allowed allocating as many as 50.4% of the residential district's territory for greenery areas. The main terrain of greenery meant for quiet relaxation and leisure was to be organized in the north-western part, at the foot of the hills of Šeškinė with many natural bodies of water (the old riverbed of the Neris).²² In reality, though, this territory had for a long time been desolate, and attended to and adapted for leisure only in 2020-2022; here, the finalization of the establishment of the "Japanese orchard" planned already in the Independence period is now set for this year, 2022.

In 1979, the Urban Construction Design Institute proposed a somewhat revised layout vision for the part of Šnipiškės that appeared closest to the center, i.e., that which included Žalgirio, the current Rinktinės and Geležinio Vilko streets, and also the current Konstitucijos Avenue. This vision would only have been implemented if some 770 buildings had been demolished – the number considered in 1979 to be demolished in the zone under discussion that still had consisted of a considerable number of wooden and masonry houses. In this territory, construction of

²¹ Ibid., 24.

²² Ibid., 34.



5. The 1968 project for the detailed layout of Šnipiškės residential district in Vilnius (Vilnius Regional State Archive)

buildings of pettier volumes and compositions via a renewed moduli of micro districts was proposed.²³ Along the perimeter of Kalvarijų Street that was to be widened already in the earlier projects, the largest public-commercial-household service build-

²³ Lėckienė, *Žalgirio rajonas*, Vilnius Regional State Archive, pages not numbered.



6. Žalgiris residential district 1979. Project of detailed layout (Vilnius Regional State Archive)

ings were arranged on both sides (Illustration 6). In the territory to the right of the current Kalvarijų Street, behind the line of public buildings, no new residential blocks of flats were planned as their share envisaged for residential construction had already been constructed. However, in the core of the territory on the left side – in the encirclement of the Giedraičių Street half-ring (Giedraičių Street is linked to Lvovo Street) – it was proposed to form micro districts by podding one-floor primary service centers (stores) and houses rather high (7 to 10-floors) yet pettier in volume in comparison with the Šnipiškės planning vision of 1968. This, as well as the volume design not very typical to large cities, reminiscent of traditional houses with sloping roofs, creates an image of somewhat more "humane" planning. I tend to believe that the authors of this project were inspired to look for smaller

scale solutions in the block by the existing dense structures of Šnipiškės with one or two-floor houses with sloping roofs.

While a big part of the most brutal Soviet utopias has remained unimplemented as just project visions, individual planned or realized solutions had an undeniable impact on the further development of Šnipiškės and the city. A new complex of public buildings erected between Upės Street and the current Konstitucijos Avenue, which has been functioning until now within the framework of similar functions, gave rise to the "New Center of Vilnius" which is still under development on the right bank of the Neris. When creating this center, the historic extension of Ukmergės Street was removed and the current Konstitucijos Avenue, avoided by people, laid - to be more specific, just a part of the projected avenue - until the juncture with Kalvarijų Street, and therefore virtually not solving traffic jam issues in the city but dividing the residential district, and creating an unpleasant physical and psychological barrier. Following development plans from different periods, other arteries, dividing the residential district and the city, as well as streets unfriendly to residents without a vehicle – Žalgirio and the particularly intensive Geležinio Vilko Street, have been formed. In the territory of the former Old Jewish Cemetery, there still stands the desolate Palace of Concerts and Sports, and the authorities have not made up their minds what to do with it. Whereas the "dull" city blocks established with precast residential blocks of flats mainly in the northern and north-eastern parts of Šnipiškės, as well as the public spaces around them, have been awaiting renovation or other solutions.

After Lithuania regained independence, no systemic efforts have been made to identify problem sites in Šnipiškės resulting from Soviet planning or problem sites that formed naturally due to their desolateness, and to find a complex solution for them. There has virtually been no assessment and agreement on what is valuable in this historic residential district and needs to be restored, recreated or preserved. Therefore, with no new basic solutions put forward, some processes have been continuing since Soviet times. With a failure to earlier demolish the old small

wooden and masonry houses in Šnipiškės at a go, residential blocks of flats or small groups of them are erected here and there in place of them and in place of the orchards that still flourish here (except for the small territory referred to as Skansen). The New Center of Vilnius which continues to be designed and the tall buildings erected around Konstitucijos Avenue are a continuation of the idea of "the architectural hill of Vilnius" that arose as far back as the hotel "Lietuva." The laying of Kernavės Street strengthens and develops the Lukiškės–Šnipiškės axis (as well as that of the New Center of Vilnius).

In pursuit of converting Šnipiškės into the modern center of the capital and to revive its neglected parts, effort is made to attend to its different public spaces: the old riverbed has been adapted to residents' leisure and rest, Konstitucijos Avenue is "humanized" by planting it with trees and bushes, a sports ground has been equipped and many new plants planted on the approaches to Baltasis bridge. Such and similar endeavors do have a positive impact on this residential district; nevertheless, it is doubtful whether the continued conversion of the former suburb by leaning largely upon the visions formulated in Soviet times and inspired by modernism will allow for the development of a vibrant, safe, and involving central residential district of the city with a considerable cultural, residential, and business diversity, which, according to Jane Jacobs, is the task for the city.²⁴

Works Cited

Anikinas, & Sližys. *Vilniaus miesto dešiniojo Neries upės kranto detalaus išplanavimo projektas*. (F. 1011, Ap. 5, B. 103). Vilniaus regioninis valstybės archyvas, 1957.

Drėmaitė, M. (2022). *Vaduojantis iš stalinizmo. Pereinamasis etapas* (1955–1958). Accessed 02 17, 2022. http://www.mmcentras.lt/kulturos-istorija/kulturos-istorija/architektura/19551959-modernizmo-startas/vaduojantis-is-stalinizmo-pereinamasis-etapas-19551958/78188.

Jacobs, Didžiųjų Amerikos miestų mirtis ir gyvenimas, 217, 461.

- Drėmaitė, Marija, et al. *Architektūra sovietinėje Lietuvoje*. Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2012.
- Gabrėnienė, Agnė. "Šnipiškės: The Conversion of a Historic Suburb into the New Centre of Vilnius." In: *Site, Symbol and Cultural Landscape*, ed. Almantas Samalavičius, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2022.
- Jacobs, Jane. *Didžiųjų Amerikos miestų mirtis ir gyvenimas*. Random House, Leidykla Lapas, 2020.
- Jogėla, Vytautas. "The Old Jewish Cemetery in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Lituanus*, 61:4, 2015.
- Kasperavičienė, Birutė. *Šnipiškių rajonas Vilniuje. Detalaus išplanavimo projektas.* (F. 1036, Ap. 11, B. 652). Vilniaus regioninis valstybės archyvas, 1968.
- Kavaliauskaitė, L. "Paminklas senosioms žydų kapinėms Šnipiškėse atminti (Olimpiečių g. 1, Vilnius)." Accessed 02 17, 2022. https://www.vilnijosvartai.lt/vietoves/paminklas-senosioms-zydu-kapinems-olimpieciu-g-1/. https://www.vilnijosvartai.lt/vietoves/paminklas-senosioms-zydu-kapinems-olimpieciu-g-1/.
- Lėckienė, A. O. *Žalgirio rajonas. Detalaus išplanavimo projektas.* (F. 1011, Ap. 5, B. 400). Vilniaus regioninis valstybės archyvas, 1979.
- Mačiulis, Algimantas. *Architektai Algimantas ir Vytautas Nasvyčiai*. Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2007.
- Mikučianis, Vladislavas. Vilniaus miesto generalinis planas. Išplanavimo ir užstatymo projektas. Aiškinamasis raštas. Architektūrinis-planinis miesto užstatymas, 2 tomas, 1 dalis. (F. 1011, Ap. 5, B. 51). Vilniaus regioninis valstybės archyvas, 1948.
- *Pastatų Vilniuje, Krokuvos g. 9, nacionalizavimo byla* (F. 761, Ap. 15, B. 1030). Vilniaus regioninis valstybės archyvas, 1941.
- Vaškevičius, J., Sližys, V., & Jurgelionis, J. *Dzeržinskio gatvės rajono detalaus išplanavimo projektas* (F. 1011, Ap. 5, B. 136). Vilniaus regioninis valstybės archyvas, 1962.
- Žilevičius, L. and Gabriūnas, V. XIX–XX a. Kultūros paminklas Gyv. Namas Vilniuje Dzeržinskio g-vė Nr. 1/2. Istorinių-meninių tyrimų apybraiža. T. 1 (F. 1019, Ap. 11, B. 6062). Vilniaus regioninis valstybės archyvas, 1976.

Translated by DALIA ŠATIENĖ and KERRY SHAWN KEYS

The Significance of the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center and Science in the Life of Lithuanians in Emigration

ROBERTAS VITAS

Folklore is a part of culture that is passed down by way of tales from generation to generation. In this way, by passing down orally, Lithuanian culture was retained for many centuries. Whereas Martynas Mažvydas passed down this tradition in writing by publishing his book - The Simple Words of Catechism in 1547. It was the first printed book in Lithuanian. The writing tradition continued. Kristijonas Donelaitis wrote the poem Metai (The Seasons), and also wrote on faith and literature. Simonas Daukantas (1793–1864) – a historian of the new era, graduate of Vilnius University, collected historical material in the archives of Karaliaučius (Königsberg). He studied documents of the Lithuanian nation from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century in a government institution in Petrapilis. Daukantas refused to write in Polish and was the first to write the history of Lithuania in Lithuanian. His first work Darbai senujų lietuvių ir žemaičių (Deeds of the Ancient Lithuanians and Samogitians) was issued in Kaunas in 1822. Then his *Istorija žemaitiška* (Samogitian History) came out, that he later rewrote for the public in general under the title Pasakojimas apie veikalus lietuvių tautos senovėje (Story of the Deeds of the Ancient Lithuanians) (1850). His most important work is Būdas senovės lietuvių kalnėnų ir žemaičių (The Character of the Ancient Lithuanians, Highlanders, and Samogitians). Dau-

Dr. ROBERTAS VITAS is Chairman of the Council of the LRSC and took part in founding it forty years ago. The LRSC is active at 15533 129th Street, Lemont, IL 60439. Website: www.lithuanianresearch.org. Email: info@lithuanianresearch.org. Tel. (773) 434-4545.

kantas tried to come to closer terms with the people whom he respected for the retaining of the Lithuanian language and nation at a time when Poles were rampant in the country.

The Lithuanians also realized the importance of introducing themselves to other nations. Take, e.g., Jesuit Albertas Kojelavičius from the seventeenth century, who studied at Vilnius University and later was a professor there and its rector. He was the rector of Vilnius University during the Russian invasion of 1654-1656 and promoted the acquaintance of the students with Lithuanian history when it was not among the disciplines taught at the University. His major works include the monographs of the Radziwiłł and Sapieha Families, as well as the later issued work Historia Lituaniae in two volumes written in Latin so the knowledge of Lithuanian history was available to other nations as well. It was the first time that the Lithuanians formally introduced themselves to foreign nations. German scholar August Ludwig von Schlozer, eighteenth-century historian and publicist, followed Kojelavičius' path. He abbreviated Kojelavičius' Historia Lituaniae and included the period from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania till the Union of Lublin (1569) into his world history. It was a significant familiarization of Western Europe with Lithuanian history. Kronika Polska, Litewska by Stryjkowski issued in 1582 was the first work which included Lithuania in world history. Unfortunately, issued in Polish, the book was incomprehensible to many and a rarity even in Poland.

During the independence fights, the Lithuanians again understood the need to introduce themselves to foreign nations. The Lithuanian American Council and other Lithuanian American organizations began to write in English and to familiarize the world with Lithuanian history, culture, and our political demands. One of such works was *The History of the Lithuanian Nation and its Present National Aspirations* by Kostas Jurgėla. He later issued *History of the Lithuanian Nation* and *Lithuania and the United States*. In the period of Soviet occupation, *Lithuania in the Last Thirty Years* by Dr. Benediktas Mačiuika and *Lithuania Under the Soviets* by Dr. Vytautas Vardys were issued. It was important

to broaden our outlook, to use theory and other sources. For example, Dr. Tomas Remeikis, the first President of the Council of the Lithuanian Research and Studies Centre (LRSC) and one of the three main political scientists of the twentieth-century Lithuanian diaspora (together with Vardys and Dr. Leonas Sabaliūnas), had used resistance theories in describing Lithuania during Soviet occupation and in writing his works, including his enormous book *Opposition to Soviet Rule in Lithuania*: 1945–1980. Pranas Čepėnas, who issued his *Naujųjų laikų Lietuvos istorija* in 1986, used the theories of Fritz Fisher, a German historian, in the analysis of the goals of the Germans in World War I.

Obviously, science does not exist without sources. At this point, we come to the significance of the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center. As regards the establishment of the LRSC, we should begin with the establishment of two other institutions and their separate but parallel development. The first institution is the Lithuanian World Archives (LWA), established by Vincentas Liulevičius in 1946 in Germany in the camps of refugee displaced persons. It contains documents of the postwar history of Lithuanians in Germany that cannot be found anywhere else. Therefore, among the dates significant for the LRSC, we have not only the year 1982 but the year 1946 as well. The Lithuanian World Archives is our largest entity. How Liulevičius managed to establish and maintain it under so harsh conditions is hard to imagine. He realized that it was important to not only create but also preserve our cultural heritage – programs, newspapers, Lithuanian books issued in postwar Germany. After Liulevičius emigrated to Chicago, the LWA operated in the Convent of the Sisters of St. Casimir in Chicago. When, in 1956, the Youth Center was built by Jesuits, the Archives took shelter there. Having built an annex to the Youth Center in 1970, a place for the Lithuanian World Archives was foreseen for its third floor. Upon V. Liulevičius' withdrawal from LWA activities, writer Česlovas Grincevičius and writer Leonardas Kerulis, who issued a monumental work on the exiles to Siberia, worked in the archives for many years. Already at the time of Grincevičius, the LWA was so significant that it became customary for each Lithuanian publisher in emigration to send to the Archives a copy of each Lithuanian book, magazine or newspaper for free. This way, the LWA became richer and even more significant for our scientific activities.

The second institution is the Lithuanian Institute of Education (LIE) founded by Domas Velička, Dr. Albinas Liaugminas, and Aleksandras Dundulis in 1958. At that time, the conditions in emigration were different. We were in need of teachers. Nowadays, our Saturday school teachers arrive from Lithuania. We even have a possibility to establish new schools. Whereas in the period of Soviet occupation, we had to educate and develop teachers of our own. Hence, the LIE was founded with the purpose of preparing teachers for Saturday schools. Students who graduated from a Lithuanian Saturday school and were willing to work in it as teachers, would register with the LIE and complete a three-year program. At the Institute, a new world opened up for its students - the history of the Lithuanian diaspora. Those who were born and raised in emigration heard about Lithuanian history very often, but very few - about the history of the Lithuanian diaspora, even though living in emigration themselves. Once again, we saw Vincentas Liulevičius' influence in his books, e.g., his Amerikos lietuvių ekonominė veikla opened the door for the students to the history of the diaspora.

At this point, one incident should be mentioned. Adomas Kantautas, who began to prepare his great Lithuanian bibliography, *A Lithuanian Bibliography*, corresponded with the LWA director, Česlovas Grincevičius. Kantautas wanted to describe LWA collections as the LWA had grown into one of the largest Lithuanian libraries and archives of the Lithuanian diaspora. Unfortunately, Grincevičius was unable to help him because the books, archives, periodical press, though accumulated, but were not catalogued. Hence, finding materials and sources was an issue. As a result, in *A Lithuanian Bibliography* which came out in 1970, the Lithuanian World Archives were not described. This is a big gap in our historiography. A supplement was published

in 1979, but LWA collections were not included again. Our intellectuals realized that this gap was to be filled. That same year, 1979, Dr. Jonas Račkauskas was elected rector of the LWA. He immediately undertook restructuring the LWA library - cataloguing books, putting up shelves, drawing up a card index – so that the books were accessible, and the sources used. Those works commenced in 1980 and increased in scale in 1981 after beginning to catalogue LWA books. They revealed the necessity to coordinate the scientific and education organizations functioning in the Youth Center. In 1982, pillars of science such as Dr. Adolfas Damušis, historian Jonas Dainauskas, Česlovas Grincevičius, Father Vaclovas Gutauskas S.J., Bronius Kviklys, Dr. Arūnas Liulevičius (son of the late Vincentas Liulevičius), Tomas Remeikis and, of course, Jonas Račkauskas gathered together to establish the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center as a science "umbrella" or a coordination institution.

On January 5, 1985, in the culture supplement of *Draugas* there appeared the first rather comprehensive piece of writing about the establishment and activities of the LWA. It was a talk with Jonas Račkauskas and Tomas Remeikis which dealt with the significance of the LWA establishment. Račkauskas said:

The idea originated at the Fourth Science and Creation Symposium in Chicago in 1981. A man from Philadelphia came to the Lithuanian Institute of Education and showed a copy of Aušra that he had bought for 10 cents at an old books store. It appeared in the store because it had been thrown away from the University bookstore. This is not an accident since this has been happening repeatedly: for example, the set of *The Booster* magazine (from 1916-1917) that was published in 1960 in Chicago, was thrown away from the John Crerar Library in Pennsylvania of which, to our knowledge, only two copies exist, used to be sold for two dollars. Or the originals of the Hoover Institution in California, where documents are microfilmed, are thrown away. Lithuanians need to be stirred up for the cultural independence of this country's institutions. The principle one needs to get into one's head constantly: 'If our cultural valuables are preserved, they will only be preserved by Lithuanians.""

The LRSC has been sponsored generously since the beginning of its establishment by the Lithuanian Foundation (LF). The Lithuanian Foundation is our main financial collaborator. Without the LF there would be no LRSC, and the Center is forever grateful to the Foundation's leadership and members for their trust. We were supported and continue to be supported by various organizations, the Lithuanian community, the Lithuanian American Community (LAC) Archives, the American Council of Education, the Lithuanian American Council. The Father Bronius Krištanavičius, S.J. Foundation was one of our major sponsors. Jesuit Father Vaclovas Gutauskas, who monitored the establishment and works of the LRSC, decided that, to secure the future of the LRSC, a foundation – financial backing – must be set up. The first two major sponsors were Natalija Danilevičienė and Stefa Tarasevičienė. Father Gutauskas remembered Brother Petras Kleinotas who in the old days used to cycle from one Lithuanian settlement to another collecting donations for Jesuit Fathers and distributed their newspaper Mūsų žinios. Father Gutauskas, having drawn up the lists of potential supporters, almost every day drove a car, knocked on the door, familiarized people with the LRSC activities, the aim of the Krištanavičius Foundation, and asked for money. It was in this way that donations were initially collected - five dollars, ten, twenty, sometimes - fifty or a hundred.

The Krištanavičius Foundation was active for almost a decade – until Lithuania regained Independence. The statute of the Foundation provided that when Lithuanian Jesuits would be free to act in Lithuania, the main capital would have to be transferred to them. The Jesuits, in acknowledgement of the significance of the LRSC, shared their main capital, taking two-thirds for themselves and leaving one-third for the LRSC. This share of the capital has been our financial backing until the present day. In the LRSC, near the entrance to it, there is a memorial plaque with a portrait of Natalija Danilevičienė and the major sponsors listed.

During its existence, the LRSC has published 54 books. Onethird of them have been published in English because, in Kojelavičius' and von Schlozer's understanding, it is important for us to introduce ourselves to the people of other nationalities.

The LRSC encompasses twelve large units:

The Archives – the largest unit of the LRSC. It has accumulated the archives of different political, national, cultural, education organizations, and holds personal archives of public and cultural activists. It is also the official Archives of the Lithuanian American Community.

The Archives houses large collections of: The LWA Library, Department of Periodicals, Department of Manuscripts, funds of individuals and organizations, Education Fund, Cartography Fund, Religious Literature Fund. The collections include the fund of the documents of the former Consulate of the Republic of Lithuania in Chicago 1924–1997, as well as the personal fund of Lithuania's consuls, Petras and Juzė Daužvardis. The plentiful correspondence of Lithuania's Consulate and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Legation in Washington, consuls in New York, Los Angeles, Lithuanian American organizations and individual figures are also in storage. Mention should also be made of the archives of Dr. Leonardas Šimutis, the funds of the old Lithuanian organizations in Pennsylvania, the archives of the Lithuanian American Council.

The pride of the Archives – material of Lithuanian DPs (Displaced Persons) in Germany, which consists of more than 235,000 pages of documents.

The Library comprises a big part of the LRSC, housing more than 100,000 books in different languages and topics on any Lithuanian topic, history, and culture.

The collection of periodicals comprises over 2,500 collections of Lithuanian periodical publications of different titles. *Tilžės keleivis*, published as far back as before the ban on the Lithuanian press, in 1850, is the oldest newspaper in LRSC collections.

The Žilevičius-Kreivėnas Musicology Archive is the largest archive of its kind of the diaspora. It takes pride in holding the originals of M.K. Čiurlionis' notes. The archive was established by Professor Juozas Žilevičius in Petrapilis (former Lithuanian name of St. Petersburg) in 1920. In 1929, the archive was taken

to the USA, Elizabeth, N.J. Still later, it was brought to the Youth Center in Chicago. In 1986, the Juozas Kreivėnas Musicology Archive joined it, which had been previously functioning in the suburb of Cicero. Hence, even two musicology archives were active in Chicago at the same time. After Profesor Žilevičius' death, there was a gap in the work of the archive, and here Juozas Kreivėnas came to help. An agreement was signed according to which Kreivėnas' archive was attached to that of Žilevičius, and that resulted in the origination of the Žilevičius-Kreivėnas Musicology Archive. It houses a wealth of video and audio records as well - materials of inestimable historical value: records of Chicago Margutis Radio's "Pelkių žiburėlis" program, sets of records of the Lithuanian programs of the Lithuanian Opera Company of Chicago, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Europe Radio and the Voice of America, as well as records of events made by individuals.

The main initiator and founder of the Lithuanian Museum of Medicine and Archives is Dr. Milda Budrienė. Dr. Audrius Plioplys, Dr. Vacys Šaulys, Dr. Stasys Vanagūnas, Dr. Renata Staniškienė, Dr. Gediminas Balukas, Dr. Kazys Ambrozaitis, Dr. Arvydas Vanagūnas and Dr. Jonas Valaitis have also contributed to the foundation and activities of the Museum. The Museum accumulates and exhibits archival material of the Lithuanian doctors of the diaspora: personal items, manuscripts of scholarly works, periodical medical literature. Personal items of the Lithuanian President Dr. Kazys Grinius are on display.

The Stasys Budrys Photo Archive has accumulated and preserved quite a copious amount of old photos and negatives, films about the life of the Lithuanian diaspora. Its founder and first curator – photographic artist Algimantas Kezys, who took care of organizing a lot of exhibitions at the Čiurlionis Gallery and Youth Center. Late Milda Budrienė was a long-time sponsor of the Photo Archive.

The Jonas Dainauskas Library and Archive of a public and cultural figure of the diaspora, scientist, historian Jonas Dainauskas comprises more than 18,000 books in different languag-

es. It houses a great deal of publications related to Lithuania's historic past and regaining of independence. Dainauskas fostered his library at his home. It was full of books everywhere – under the tables, behind the couches, in the bedroom – everywhere where there was room. Gradually, Dainauskas began taking his library to the LRSC. After his death, the rest of his library was brought over by truck.

The foundation for the *Fine Art Archive* was laid by Kazimieras Baltramaitis, who donated his rich collection to it. Later it was supplemented with the materials collected by photographer A. Kezys. The Archive is supplemented on an ongoing basis. It houses works of artists, catalogues of their exhibitions, art albums, printings. This Archive takes pride in rare works of Mstislav Dobuzhinsky and Viktoras Petravičius.

The Ramovans Museum of Freedom Fighters has amassed valuable materials of invaluable historic significance related to resistance fighting. Rare and unique exhibits are on display at this Museum – flags, orders, medals. The Lithuanian flag that used to hang near NATO headquarters, handed over by Gen. Kronkaitis, is also stored here.

The exposition of *the Lithuanian Museum* displays interesting material that reflects Lithuania's past: pensive Christs carved by folk artists, eighteenth-century roadside poles with a statuette of a saint, carved sun-shapes (*saulutės*), nineteenth-century books, original material from prelate M. Krupavičius' archive (including the decree on his promotion to prelate signed by Cardinal Montini – later Pope Paul VI), personal items, documents of Vydūnas, and other material. Upon the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center moving to Chicago's suburb of Lemont, this Museum stayed in its place, i.e., the Youth Center, so that children learning at a Chicago Lithuanian school could have visual material related to the diaspora and Lithuanian history before their eyes.

The Dr. Tomas Remeikis Political Science Library and Archive opened in 2014. It houses the books, manuscripts, documents and photos of this political scientist and the first Chairman of the Council of the LRSC.

The Art Archive of Dr. Audrius Plioplys, one of the USA's most outstanding neurologists and artists, was handed over to the LRSC in 2021. It comprises the artist's works, documents, and photos.

The period of the LRSC existence can be divided into three main parts phases. The first one is the 1980s. The staff of the Center included mainly emigrants, postwar arrivals, some scientists of foreign nationalities. At that time, the life of the Lithuanian diaspora seemed quite grim. Our major activists increasingly departed this life, the members of our organizations and children at our schools declined in number. At that time, two Saturday schools and the Kristijonas Donelaitis Lithuanian School operated at the Youth Center. Those three schools were joined into one due to the decline in the number of schoolchildren. Even the future of the Youth Center was not clear. As the district in which the Youth Center was situated became increasingly notorious, some Lithuanians began to avoid coming here and the Youth Center would often be deserted. The activities of the Youth Center livened up thanks to the LRSC. Our staff came here almost every day, thereby actually helping to maintain the Youth Center. Having calculated the rentals paid to Father Jesuits and the Youth Center, the amount turned out to be about USD 600,000. This was really a significant contribution to the finance of Father Jesuits and the Youth Center. It is safe to assume that in the 2000s, the LRSC was one of the Youth Center's major sources of income, thus an important contributor to its maintenance.

With the union of the Lithuanian World Archives (LWA) and the Lithuanian Institute of Education (LIE) – and the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center (LRSC) having taken up its quarters – the benefit was bilateral. The LWA had materials and veterans of science. The LIE had young students who made up a work team. The students were able to get acquainted with the sources of Lithuanian science and Lithuanian scientists. Our scientists and veteran archivists, in turn, drew inspiration from the students, their energy, and realized that there was hope for the future.

March 11th, 1990, marked not only the regaining of Independence of Lithuania but the inception of the second phase of the

LRSC activities as well. While we had cooperated with Lithuanian scientific institutions before, after the regaining of Independence of Lithuania, those activities intensified even more. The first example we could provide was the deliveries of duplicates of books to the Martynas Mažvydas National Library and other institutions. On the LRSC's initiative, over a million and a half books have been delivered to the libraries in Lithuania. Since the reestablishment of the Independence of Lithuania, more than 900 scientific workers from Lithuania have worked or were on an internship learning from the LRSC in the cataloguing of their collections, or conducted research for their scientific works. Mention should be made of not only scientists and collaborators who arrived from beyond the Atlantic, but of employees on this side of the Atlantic as well. One of them was the late Milda Budrienė, the founder of the Museum of Medicine. She issued five books with us: Amerikos lietuvių gydytojų vardynas, Iš Lietuvos sveikatos apsaugos istorijos, Amerikos lietuviai gydytojai (1884–1984), Lietuviai gydytojai šešiuose kontinentuose, Lietuviai gydytojai ir mokslininkai. One more collaborator – Dr. William Urban, professor emeritus at Monmouth College and a historian of a global scale. The LRSC has published his books The Livonian Crusade, The Baltic Crusade, The Prussian Crusade, The Samogitian Crusade, The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle, Tannenberg and After. Tannenberg and After was published in 2001 and was recognized as one of 30 best historic works of a scientific level in the world that year.

Hence, people from different fields and different parts of the world work in the LRSC all together. I already mentioned above that our veteran scientists work with young students. Postwar arrivals, DPs and their children, have worked and continue working here. And, certainly, new arrivals who arrived after March 11th, 1990, after Lithuania reestablished its Independence. So we at the LRSC try not to repeat the past mistakes when each new wave of Lithuanian immigrants wanted to set up their own organizations and not to communicate with other Lithuanians.

With reference to the people who have worked at the LRSC, we cannot but mention Jonas Račkauskas. Although the LRSC

has existed owing to a number of committed persons, it would not exist now without its long-time founder, Chairman of the Board and *spiritus movens*, Račkauskas' contribution to the establishment and activities of the LRSC. His contribution to the development of Lithuanian science was invaluable. His professional career and the history of the LRSC is almost the same thing – a long, interesting, and important Lithuanian novel. Račkauskas, former rector of the LIE, founded the LRSC in 1982 to hold the position of Chairman of the Board untiringly until 2009. Subsequently, the Council of the LRSC elected a new Chairman of the Board – Dr. Augustinas Idzelis – an attorney and historian who has published scientific articles on various issues of Lithuanian history. Since 2018 the Board has been chaired by Kristina Lapienytė; the director of the archives is Dr. Indrė Antanaitis-Jacobs.

We should also single out the third phase in the existence of the LRSC - the acquisition of the building of the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center in Chicago's suburb of Lemont. The Center had for a long time been based in Chicago at the Youth Center; however, the idea of the acquisition of own premises that would be better adapted to keeping the archives in storage was increasingly considered. This way the LRSC acquired new premises with the help of the Lithuanian Foundation. Due to the global pandemic, the removal and opening up took a few years, yet on October 24, 2021, the Archives building in Lemont was opened up officially. While at some distance from the city center (which probably makes it not really convenient to reach by public transport), the Archives is situated in a district thickly populated with Lithuanians, and so, the place is very commendable for expecting assistance from them. The coordinator of the Center's volunteers, Gailė Vitienė, noticed that in Lemont, it is much easier to find volunteers and to involve them in attending to the Archives' work. There is also a small hall there in which lectures, meetings, and sessions are held - even rehearsals of national dances. The LRSC is now housed in two premises in Chicago and Lemont; a total of 15,000 square feet of material.

I would like to finish with these four thoughts – Science and amateurs; Lithuanians within the framework of global science; What is living Lithuanity?; What is Lithuania?

First, the main topic of my lectures when I represent the LRSC by visiting other organizations and institutions is – let us be a nation of scientists, not just amateurs. At this point, I would like to cite Tomas Remeikis in *Draugas* in 1985:

Sticking to the principle of amateurism and voluntariness, we lose professionalism. For example, in education institutions, the raising of salary is always linked to the teacher's professional contribution. Whereas in our different Boards, people work sacrificially; they do not accept criticism as, well, you can't reproach one who sacrifices his work.

I'd like to emphasize that we have to encourage our youth to study those branches of science in which the studies of Lithuania can be applied, i.e., history, political sciences, sociology, literature, linguistics, etc. It is too often that we drive our youth away from such studies. They must study a so-called practical branch of science and then find a job. At the same time, we groan: Where are scientists among our diaspora? We cannot moan and groan about the absence of scientists among the Lithuanian diaspora if we do not encourage our youth to study those disciplines that would embrace the studies of Lithuania as part of the theory. As well as the former Chairman of the Council of the LRSC, Kazys Ambrozaitis risked his life in the 1941 Uprising fighting for his Homeland, our Lithuanian youth, too, can risk their future a little for the land of their ancestors. If they wish to study certain branches of science, we must encourage and support them.

The second line of thinking – Lithuanians within the framework of global science. According to Dr. Giedrius Subačius, Chair of the Department of Lithuanian Studies at the University of Illinois, the target audience of the spread of Lithuanian culture is the world rather than Lithuania and Lithuanians. We, Lithuanians should consider our place in the wide world of science. From the article of Dr. Augustinas Idzelis in *Draugas'* culture supplement of March 16, 2013:

The necessity to establish the LRSC, according to Dr. Remeikis, was caused by two factors. First of all, according to him, 'we cannot trust universities or libraries to preserve materials important for us because they would do that only as long as their budget does not run out of money.'

The second factor which at that time showed the necessity of a research center was the activities of the US Office of Special Investigations (OSI). According to Remeikis:

The current [1985] OSI files clearly show a gap in our historic documentation. The period of German occupation has not been researched; there are no documents about the relationship between Lithuanian officials and German occupation authorities. As a result, it is those files that write our history now.

Hence, it should be emphasized that every nation, institution, organization, even every individual must preserve testimonies of their history because, if they are not available, our history will be written by strangers.

The third line of thinking – What is living Lithuanity? When I was a member of the Profit Distribution Committee of the Lithuanian Foundation, we once discussed a request from one organization (not the LRSC) for the support of the Lithuanian Foundation in publishing a book. One member of the Committee, (no longer alive) spoke against the support for the publication of the book. He claimed that we have to support living Lithuanity rather than the publication of books. As if books were a phenomenon of dead Lithuanity. Book smugglers who risked their lives in the period of the ban on the Lithuanian press did not think so. If they had thought like this, we would probably be not here today, the Lithuanian language would probably have vanished, and the name of Lithuania had been wiped off the world map. The Chairman of the Board of the LRSC, Kristina Lapienytė, has written in the press:

Sometimes, archives in people's imagination are associated with dull stacks of papers, documents. However, when you come to archives, you see that the things preserved in them can be of a very personal character, sometimes intriguing, sometimes exciting. A human being's history. Sometimes, the history of a family,

organization, nation. [...]. Protocols, official writings, [...] personal archives with family documents, photographs, [...] children's drawings from DP camps in Germany, their diaries. Then, through archival material, one can get not only an objective understanding of the period but also very subjective: what was that family about, what was their mutual relationship like, etc. A valuable archive is no less interesting than some very good book.

The fourth line of thinking – What is Lithuania? Idzelis has written: "Lithuanian values which, according to Dr. Juozas Girnius, are that spiritual space that we had previously referred to as history." Girnius' words have been taken from his book *Tauta ir tautinė ištikimybė* which came out fifty years ago.

Having left the Lithuanian territory, we still have not left Lithuania itself... In spiritual terms, Lithuania is equally everywhere where we are – in both its land and Russia's expanses, and equally in any corner of the world where we happen to find ourselves. Everyone is equally brought together by the same spiritual space that we had named history before (141).

It is this thought of Girnius that provides a peculiar philosophical basis for our activities in the LRSC. The spiritual space is eternal – it does not die. It has been preserved in letters, diaries, writings, books, newspapers, works of music and art. When we read an old writing or book, ancestors talk to us. This is the essence of our identity no matter if we live in Vilnius or Chicago.

LRSC staff participate in the academic and cultural activities of the diaspora with lectures and reports. Scientists from Lithuania and other countries come to the Centre to make use of our archives. The LRSC provides materials for exhibitions that are organized not only in Chicago but Lithuania as well. In this connection, mention should be made that LRSC materials were used in such exhibitions as the centennial event of the *Ateitininkai* organization and the exhibition in Chicago and Lithuania, a cycle of events organized by Plioplys in commemoration of the exiles to Siberia. Cooperation is carried out with the National Museum in Vilnius for which exhibits from the 1939 World Exhibition in New York have been lent. The LRSC has also pub-

lished a fair number of books on Lithuanian history, with books in English raising a particular interest.

The twists of our history have turned us a world nation. Wars, migrations, occupations, deportations and economic deficiency have taken our people beyond their State and ethnographic borders. Irrespective of that, we are not helpless. We live and create across the world. We are indeed "global Lithuania." After the tearing down of the Berlin Wall and reinstating Independence in the Baltic States, there appeared people asserting that the cultural and scientific activities of the diaspora can now be allowed to wither away and die as we will now devote attention to our Motherland. They resist the concept of "global Lithuania". We, Lithuanians, hear that clearly in our community when it comes to our libraries and archives: "Close, pack and send everything home." They tell us to send everything home, but where is home? What is home for us, Lithuanian emigres? For those who were born in emigration, the land near the Baltic Sea is home in our hearts. Whereas the Lithuanian communities scattered across the world in which we live and create is our home too! We cannot deny that and turn the hand of the clock of history backwards. We cannot rush into a deceptive shelter. We not only live and create but also, we must accumulate, distribute and disseminate where we live. By not doing that we would betray our culture, our heritage, and this great academic initiative - the LRSC.

'Lithuanians' is no longer just an ethnographic nation, a diaspora nation but a truly global nation. And Lithuania is where Lithuanians act and create – in Chicago, Germany, Australia, Argentina, Vilnius – anywhere. Lithuanians and Lithuania are where Lithuanian hearts beat. I am a Scout and a leader of Scouts. The following words resound in the traditional chant of Rovers and Rangers: "Holy works, let's go, friends. We need to hurry, work and move. To help the poor, educate the little ones. These are our works, our matters." I think that the works of maintaining and preserving the cultural heritage of the LRSC are sacred, too.

Translated by DALIA ŠATIENĖ and KERRY SHAWN KEYS

VITALIJA STRAVINSKIENĖ

The Issue of Restitution of Vilnius' Valuables from Russia – Experiences from 1918–1939/1940

This article focuses on the forcible taking away of cultural valuables from Vilnius to Russia in the nineteenth to first half of the twentieth century, Lithuania's and Poland's attempts to reclaim them, and Russia's opposite position – not to give them back. The author discusses more widely the following aspects: 1) groups of cultural valuables taken away from Vilnius to Russia in the nineteenth to first half of the twentieth century; 2) the way the Lithuanian-Polish conflict over Vilnius affected the cultural valuables reclamation process; 3) the results of the valuables reclamation action.

INA ĖMUŽIENĖ

Beginnings of the Lithuanian Diaspora's Radio Media: Contexts, Establishment, and Breaking Points in the USA in 1928–1945

The article analyzes the hitherto not researched beginnings of Lithuanian Americans' radio communication. The research covers the period from the Lithuanians' first radio attempts in 1928 to the end of World War Two. The aim of the article is to reconstruct the beginnings of Lithuanian Americans' radio communication in the diaspora. To achieve this aim, the preconditions for the creation of the Lithuanian radio and the context of its oper-

ation are presented in general terms. Lithuanian radio programs created in this period are also discussed and the guidelines for the Lithuanians' activity are also presented; exceptional cases that reveal the principles of the Lithuanian radio operation are analyzed more widely. The specificity of the diaspora's radio communication during the war years is presented as well as the breaking point in the diaspora's communication, when entertainment radio became also an instrument of communication, a means of preserving one's identity and community.

AGNĖ GABRĖNIENĖ

Visions and Utopias of the Development of Šnipiškės Suburb in Vilnius in 1940–1991

Šnipiškės is one of the most important suburbs of Vilnius. It was densely covered by wooden and masonry buildings. The territory was subjected to essential changes during the Soviet period when private property was nationalised and new projects of urban development were introduced. Later in the twentieth century, large scale reconstruction was started that changed the structure and character of the area. The article examines these changes.

ROBERTAS VITAS

The Significance of the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center and Science in the Life of Lithuanians in Emigration

The article discusses the history and activities of the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center. LRSC staff participate in the academic and cultural activities of the diaspora with lectures and reports and maintains important archives. Scientists from Lithuania and other countries come to the Centre to make use of its archives.

LITUANUS

47 West Polk Street Suite 100-300 Chicago, IL 60605-2000 www.lituanus.org



Stone near Švendubrė village

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

FRONT COVER: Panemunė castle Photo by Almantas Samalavičius