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DISRUPTION OF CULTURAL LIFE AND CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY

Introduction

Nazi occupation of Lithuania in 1941-1944 has received great interest from the side of researchers and that is quite understandable since important events for not only Lithuania but global history took place in the country at that time. Even today a great number of both Lithuanian and world historians turn to reinvestigating and revisioning the said period of Lithuanian history, which is not so distant in terms of time. Taking into account the historiography on this topic, it should be noted that so far the researchers have dedicated insufficient attention to the situation of Lithuanian education and culture of that period. Usually, books and publications about Lithuania in 1941-1944 contain only fragmented descriptions of cultural politics of the Nazi regime and its effects on the local population. This situation in the historiography prevents overall understanding and evaluation of complex and even today nearly unexplainable events and phenomena that took place in Lithuania during the years of Nazi occupation. The elucidation of Lithuanian cultural life of these years is to assist researchers and public in better understanding of the specifics of Nazi politics in our country and the efforts of suppressed population to retain their cultural and political consciousness. This Paper will touch upon only a few aspects of Lithuanian cultural life in 1941-1944 more extensively. First, the Nazi politics aimed at the disruption of Lithuanian cultural life and closely related theme of the confiscation of property will be revealed. Second, there will be provided the evaluation of the effect of Nazi cultural politics in the country on the existing cultural and educational institutions.

During the period of Soviet occupation, this theme has been investigated more thoroughly only by a small number of authors. The damage caused to the Lithuanian education and culture by Nazi occupation was concisely described by A. Bendžius in his article *Organisation of Mass Cultural and Educational Work in Soviet Lithuania in 1944-1950*¹, published in 1962. Operation conditions of Lithuanian schools in 1941-1944 and the efforts of Nazis to involve local schoolboys into war were discussed by A. Endzinas in his publication *Education under Hitlerites' Heel*². More extensively Nazi cultural politics was discussed by J. Bulavas in his 1969 paper *Occupation Rule of German Fascists*. The author focuses on the situation of general education schools and high schools in Lithuania during Nazi occupation. The book describes reforms conducted by occupation government in the Lithuanian education field and reveals Nazis' endeavours to employ Lithuanian

¹ Bendžius A. *Masinio kultūros – švietimo darbo organizavimas Tarybų Lietuvoje 1944-1950 m.* (*Organisation of Mass Cultural and Educational Work in Soviet Lithuania in 1944-1950*) in *Istorija* (History), 1962, Volume 3, p. 25-27.

² Endzinas A. *Švietimas po hitlerininkų padu* (*Education under Hitlerites' Heel*) in *Hitlerinė okupacija Lietuvoje* (Hitlerian Occupation in Lithuania), Vilnius, 1961, p. 224-239.

schools for the dissemination of propaganda and the goals of war with Soviet Union. The author also discusses the destruction and disruption of Lithuanian cultural institutions as well as looting of valuables of art and history conducted by Nazis³. Issues of Nazi cultural and educational politics were also examined in K. Rukšėnas' dissertation *Hitlerian Politics in Lithuania in 1941-1944*. Here the author analyses the approach of Nazi occupation government to the Lithuanian gymnasia and progymnasia, vocational schools and high schools, as well as discusses Nazis' attempts to disrupt the operation of these educational institutions. In his dissertation, K. Rukšėnas maintains that "Hitlerites, relying on the Laws on the Confiscation of Antihitlerian, Soviet and Jewish Publications, conducted mass looting of Lithuanian cultural valuables" and provides a number of facts on the shipment of valuable books, pictures, museum exhibits and expensive equipment spirited by Nazis from Lithuania to Germany⁴.

Libraries and museums functioning during Nazi occupation have received substantial interest in Soviet times. Complicated operation conditions of these cultural institutions were described by K. Sinkevičius, A. Rakūnas, and V. Pšibilskis⁵ in their papers. Activities and the conditions of functioning of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences were elucidated in A. Liekis' paper *Academic Education during the Hitlerian Occupation of Lithuania (1941-1944)*⁶.

During Soviet occupation, fragments of information on the cultural and educational politics of Nazis and its effects on the country's population were publicised in books and articles of other researchers⁷ of this period, too.

Historiography of Lithuanian emigrants is also rather modest on the issues discussed here. Nazi cultural politics is touched upon in B. Kviklys' book *Lithuanian Strife with Nazis*, published in emigration in 1946. The author elucidates the situation of Lithuanian schools, activities of

³ Bulavas J. *Vokiškių fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, Vilnius, 1969, p. 202–229.

⁴ Rukšėnas K. *Hitlerininkų politika Lietuvoje 1941 – 1944 m. (Hitlerites' Politics in Lithuania in 1941-1944)*, Vilnius, 1970, stored in Manuscript Department in the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science (hereinafter referred to as LMAB), funds 26-1475, pages 299-320.

⁵ Sinkevičius K. *Bibliotekų būklė vokiškosios okupacijos metais (Situation of Libraries during Nazi Occupation)* in *Bibliotekų darbas (Work of Libraries)*, 1960, No.3, p. 29-40; Pšibilskis V. *Kultūros-švietimo įstaigos Lietuvoje hitlerinės okupacijos metais (Cultural and Educational Institutions in Lithuania during Hitlerian Occupation)* in *Istorija (History)*, 1983, Vol. 23, p. 120.

⁶ Liekis A. *Akademiniis mokslas Lietuvos hitlerinės okupacijos metais (1941-1944) (Academic Education during the Hitlerian Occupation of Lithuania (1941-1944))* in *Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos darbai (Papers of Lithuanian SSR Academy of Science)*, Series A, 1989. Vol. 3, p. 97-114.

⁷ Bendžius A. *Bendrojo lavinimo ir aukštoji mokykla Tarybų Lietuvoje 1940 – 1970 m. (General Education School and High School in Soviet Lithuania during 1940-1970)*, Vilnius, 1980, p. 14-15, 141-142, 62-63; Dobrovolskas J. *Švietimo, mokslo ir kultūros slopinimas (Suppression of Education, Science and Culture)* in *Tarybų Lietuva Didžiąjame Tėvynės kare (Soviet Lithuania in the Great War of Motherland)*, Vilnius, 1975, p. 61-63; Rakūnas A. *Lietuvių liaudies kova prieš hitlerinę okupaciją (Strife of Lithuanian Nation against Hitlerian Occupation)*, Vilnius, 1970; Juozas Jurginis *Lietuvos meno istorijos bruožai (Characteristics of Lithuanian History of Art)*, Vilnius, 1960; *Lietuvių tarybinis teatras 1940-1956 (Lithuanian Soviet Theatre in 1940-1956)*, Vilnius, 1979; *Vilniaus universiteto istorija (History of Vilnius University)*, Vilnius, 1994, p. 257-265; *Vilniaus universiteto istorija 1940-1979 m. (History of Vilnius University in 1940-1979)*, Vilnius, 1979, p. 27-40.

intelligentsia and publishing of illegal periodicals in 1941-1944⁸. Reference article *Education during the World War Two* of V. Čižiūnas and S. Sužiedėlis discusses the operation of educational institutions during the said period⁹. The article reveals the restructure of general education schools, their financial condition, thoroughly considers Nazis' attempts to mobilise local youth into German Army and auxiliary military units. Lithuanian music life during Nazi occupation is mentioned in V. Jakubėnas' article *Historical Review of Lithuanian Music*¹⁰.

Nazi education and cultural politics of 1941-1944 has not received much interest after the Restoration of Lithuanian Independence either. This gap in Lithuanian historiography is partially filled in by historians' publications and individual sections of monographs on this topic. The activities of Lithuanian general education schools in 1941-1944 are discussed in the following publications of S. Buchaveckas: *On the Activities of Lithuanian Gymnasia and Progymnasia in 1941-1944*¹¹, *Lithuanian Gymnasia of Vilnius City in the Statistical and Cultural Mirror of 1941-1944*¹². The jubilee paper *600 Years of Lithuanian School*¹³ of T. Bukauskienė gives a short review of the situation of the secondary schools during Nazi occupation years. The operation of Vilnius Pedagogical Institute during Nazi occupation is concisely elucidated in *Vilnius Pedagogical Institute (1935-1995)*¹⁴ and F. Sliesoriūnas' paper *Republican Pedagogical University in 1935-1943*¹⁵. Different aspects of cultural life in Šiauliai City in 1941-1944 were considered by S. Buchaveckas, L. Dromatienė, A. Gumuliauskas, I. Klimašauskienė and V. Rimkus¹⁶.

Activities of Lithuanian libraries and museums during Nazi occupation are touched upon in V. Pšibilskis' paper *From Lithuanian Cultural History of the 20th Century*¹⁷. Extent of book destruction in Lithuania is discussed in K. Sinkevičius' publication¹⁸. Literary Researcher V. Kubilius assists in understanding the difficulties of Lithuanian cultural life during Nazi occupation.

⁸ Kviklys B. *Lietuvių kova su naciais (Lithuanian Strife with Nazis)*, Memmingen, 1946.

⁹ Čižiūnas V., Sužiedėlis S. *Švietimas II pasaulinio karo metais (Education during the World War Two)* in Lietuvių enciklopedija (Encyclopaedia of Lithuanians), Boston, 1968, Vol. 15, p. 780-781.

¹⁰ Jakubėnas V. *Istorinė lietuvių muzikos apžvalga (Historical Review of Lithuanian Music)* in Lietuvių enciklopedija (Encyclopaedia of Lithuanians), Boston, 1968, Vol. 15, p. 695.

¹¹ Buchaveckas S. *Dėl Lietuvos gimnazijų ir progimnazijų veiklos 1941-1944 m. (On the Activities of Lithuanian Gymnasia and Progymnasia in 1941-1944)* in Lietuvos istorijos metraštis 1992 (1992 Yearbook of Lithuanian History), Vilnius, 1994, p. 132-143.

¹² Buchaveckas S. *Vilniaus miesto lietuvių gimnazijos 1941-1944 m. statistikos ir kultūros veidrodyje (Lithuanian Gymnasia of Vilnius City in the Statistical and Cultural Mirror of 1941-1944)* in Vilniaus kultūrinis gyvenimas 1939-1945 m. (Cultural Life in Vilnius in Vilnius in 1939-1945), 1995 p. 44-53.

¹³ Bukauskienė T. *Lietuvos mokyklai 600 metų (600 Years of Lithuanian School)*, Vilnius, 1997, p.56.

¹⁴ *Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas (1935-1995)(Vilnius Pedagogical Institute (1935-1995))*, Vilnius, 1995.

¹⁵ Sliesoriūnas F. *Respublikos pedagoginis universitetas 1935-1943 metais (Republican Pedagogical University in 1935-1943)*, Vilnius, 1996.

¹⁶ *Šiauliai Antrojo pasaulinio karo metais (Šiauliai City during the World War Two)*, Šiauliai, 2002.

¹⁷ Pšibilskis B. *Iš Lietuvos XX a. kultūros istorijos (From Lithuanian Cultural History of the 20th Century)*, Vilnius, 1997.

¹⁸ Синкевичюс К. *Нацистские “черные списки” книг в Лумве (1914-1944) (Nazis' Black Lists of Books in Lithuania)* in Starptautiska konference. Biblioteka, gramatnieciba, ideologija Otra pasaules kara laika (1939-1945) (International Conference. Libraries, Publishing and Ideology in the World War Two (1939-1945)). 8.10.1996-12.10.1996., Jūrmala. Materialu kraujums, Rīga, 1999, p. 167-181.

In his publications, the author not only provides the facts on the operation of educational and cultural institutions that existed in Lithuania at that time but also attempts at evaluating the consequences of Nazi politics on the further development of Lithuanian culture¹⁹.

The situation of Lithuanian education and culture is touched upon in the study *German Occupation in Lithuania (1941-1944)* of A. Bubnys, published in 1998. In his book, the author provides data on the activities of Lithuanian educational and cultural institutions during this complicated period, and reveals key objectives of Nazi cultural politics in the occupied country²⁰. The operation of Lithuanian vocational schools in 1941-1944 is discussed to a modest extent in A. Gražiūnas' book *Lithuania in the Grip of Two Occupations in 1940-1944*²¹. Data on Nazi educational politics in Lithuania are provided in the history studies of individual schools²².

Nazi cultural politics received the interest of foreign researchers in their works. Investigating the occupation regime of Nazi Germany in the occupied territory of Soviet Union and Ostland, A. Dallin²³, W. Bonusiak²⁴ and H. D. Handrach²⁵ touch upon Nazi cultural politics in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, too. Polish Historian M. Walczak also discusses Nazi education politics in Lithuania²⁶.

This Paper relies on the press and archival documents of the period in question. The author used sources stored in the Lithuanian Central State Archive, that is, material from the funds of the Education Board (R-629), Vilnius Radio Station (R-636), Vytautas Magnus War Museum (R-423), Central State Archive (R-854), and Central Library (1655). Furthermore, the author used the documents of 1941-1944 kept in Manuscript Department of Vilnius University Library (Vilnius University and Vytautas Magnus University, Years 1941-1944, funds: 96-196), and the material of Kaunas Region Archive (Inspection of Elementary Schools of Kaunas City, Years 1941-1944 funds: R-1045). Documents (Funds P-1018 of the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich) stored in the State Historical Archive of Latvia also were used as a source of reference. For the

¹⁹ Kubilius V. *XX amžiaus literatūra. Lietuvių literatūros istorija (Literature of the 20th Century. History of Lithuanian Literature)*, Vilnius, 1996; Kubilius V. *Neparklupdyta mūza (Unprostrate Muse)*, Vilnius, 2001.

²⁰ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva (1941-1944) (German Occupation in Lithuania (1941-1944))*, Vilnius, 1998.

²¹ Gražiūnas A. *Lietuva dviejų okupacijų replėse 1940-1944 (Lithuania in the Grip of Two Occupations in 1940-1944)*, Vilnius, 1996.

²² Gaigalaitė A. *Mūsų karo mokytojai (Our Wartime Teachers)*, Vilnius, 2000; *Įkalinta jaunystė: Šakių gimnazijos mokinių kovos ir kančių kelias (Youth Imprisoned: Road of Strife and Sufferings of Schoolchildren of Šakiai Gymnasium)*, Marijampolė, 2000; *Mažeikių Merkelio Račkausko gimnazija (1919-1999) (Mažeikiai City Gymnasium of Merkelis Račkauskas (1919-1999))*, Šiauliai, 1999; *Prienuų "Žiburio" gimnazija 1918-1998 (Prienu Town ŽIBURYS Gymnasium in 1918-1998)*, Prienai, 1998.

²³ Dallin A. *Deutsche Herrschaft in Russland. Eine Studie über Besatzungs Politik. (German Rule in Russia. A Study on the Politics of Occupation)*, Düsseldorf, 1958.

²⁴ Bonusiak W. *Polityka ludnościowa III Rzeszy na okupowanych obszarach ZSRR (1941-1944) (Public Politics of the Third Reich in the Occupied Territories of the USSR)*, Rzeszow, 1992.

²⁵ Handrach H. D. *Das Reichskommissariat Ostland. Die Kulturpolitik der deutschen Verwaltung zwischen Autonomie und Gleichschaltung 1941-1944 (The Reich Commissariat of Ostland. The Cultural Policy of the German Administration between Autonomy and Synchronisation in 1941-1944)*, Scheden, 1979.

²⁶ Walczak M. *Polityka oświatowa i naukowa w okupowanej Polsce w latach 1939-1945 (Education and Science Politics in the Occupied Poland in 1939-1945)* in *Polityka oświatowa i naukowa Trzeciej Rzeszy Niemieckiej w*

discussion of the educational politics of the Interim Government of Lithuania, the compilation of its adopted resolutions *Laws, Resolutions and Decrees of the Interim Government of Lithuania*²⁷ and the Minutes²⁸ of the sessions were used. For the research of damage caused by Nazis to the Lithuanian culture, the author used the 1945 Statement of the Special State Commission²⁹. In the development of this Paper, the author referred to publicised sources, books and publications prepared by historians.

Disruption of Educational and Science Institutions and Their Subjection to War Objectives

Lithuanian education and science institutions were most autonomous during the rule of military Nazi authorities. At that period, Nazis meddled into the education and science affairs very little since their main interest lay in the subjection of the country's economic potential to the war with Soviet Union. Within six weeks of its rule, the Interim Government of Lithuania (hereinafter referred to as the "IG"), formed on the 23 June 1941, in essence managed to restore the education system that had existed during the years of the Republic of Lithuania. Following the orders of J. Ambrazevičius, Minister of Education, the schools regained their former names, i.e. secondary schools were again named gymnasias, incomplete secondary schools were named progymnasias, while economic schools were called trade schools³⁰. Twelve-year general education, which has been shortened to ten years during Soviet Occupation, was also restored³¹. From secondary and other schools the IG dismissed secretaries of communist organisations, teachers of constitution and Russian language, as well as teachers who compromised themselves during Soviet occupation, as well as appointed new and reinstated previous headmasters of schools³². On 03 July 1941, the IG adopted the Resolution on the Operation Harmonisation of the Ministry of Education, which stated that all institutions under the Ministry of Education had to follow only the orders, statutes and other regulations effective during the Independence years of the Republic of Lithuania until new regulations were released³³.

okupowanych krajach Europy (Education and Science Politics of the Third Reich of Germany in the Occupied Countries of Europe), Warsaw, 2000, p. 615.

²⁷ *Laikinosios Lietuvos vyriausybės įsakymai, nutarimai ir potvarkiai (Laws, Resolutions and Decrees of the Interim Government of Lithuania)*, Kaunas, 1941.

²⁸ *Lietuvos Laikinoji vyriausybė. Posėdžių protokolai (Interim Government of Lithuania. Minutes of the Sessions)*, Vilnius, 2001.

²⁹ Statement on the Crimes of Hitlerian Invaders in the Lithuanian Soviet Social Republic issued by the Special State Commission for the Evaluation and Investigation of the Crimes of German Fascist Invaders and their Accomplices, Vilnius, 1957.

³⁰ Order No.5 of 03 July 1941 adopted by J. Ambrazevičiaus, Minister of Education, stored in the Lithuanian Central State Archive (hereinafter referred to as "LCVA"), fund: R-629, folder 1, file 98, page 4.

³¹ Brazaitis J. *Vienių vieni (Absolutely Alone)*, Vilnius, 1990, p. 79.

³² Endzinas A. *Švietimas po hitlerininkų... (Education after Hitlerites...)*, p. 229.

³³ *Laikinosios Lietuvos vyriausybės įsakymai, nutarimai ir potvarkiai (Laws, Resolutions and Decrees of the Interim Government of Lithuania)*, p. 64 – 65.

The IG left the Academy of Sciences established in the years of Soviet occupation, and added three faculties (Faculties of Philosophy, Forestry and Theology) to Kaunas and Vilnius universities³⁴.

However, under the influence of the Lithuanian Activist Front and racist National Socialist ideology³⁵, the Interim Government closed not only schools established for the children of Red Army authorities but also all secondary, incomplete, specialised and elementary schools and kindergartens where subjects were taught in Jewish and Russian languages³⁶. Thus, already in Summer 1941, the majority of schools of national minorities were no longer functioning.

After the dismissal of the IG, Nazi occupation authorities left Lithuanian autonomy in place. General Commissar of Lithuania restructured the Ministries restored by the IG into Boards, while instead of former ministers it appointed General Advisers to run Lithuanian self-government. Pursuant to the Orders and Directives adopted by Alfred Rosenberg, Minister of Occupied Eastern Lands, Lithuania had to be ruled and managed by Germans, under whose supervision Lithuanians had to implement the politics of occupants' authorities in the country³⁷.

Respective changes took place in the institutions in charge of educational and cultural affairs of Lithuania. After the IG was dismissed, the Ministry of Education was restructured into the Education Board, whereas, on 18 August 1941, Dr. Pranas Germantas-Meškauskas was appointed General Adviser on Education.

Beside the country's schools, the Education Board also governed libraries, the Institution Of Cultural Heritage Protection, museums, Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and theatres³⁸. Only on 01 April 1942, all libraries (with exception of Kaunas Central Library, libraries of Šiauliai and Panevėžys cities) were commissioned to the Board of the Interior. Pursuant to the instructions of the General Adviser of the Interior, public libraries were put in commission of the Department of Municipalities, or, in localities, of Regional Municipalities and City Burgomasters.

Lithuanian educational and cultural affairs were respectively supervised by the Culture Department of the General Commissariat. Education Board had to fine-tune all their decisions with the officers of the said Department. At first, the Culture Department of the General Commissariat was managed by W. Dudzus, later by Haefke. Reporters of cultural affairs, who supervised school activities in regions and cities, worked in the commissariats of regions and cities. Kaunas City Commissariat employed Köppen, later Morgenrot as the reporters of cultural affairs. German Commissioner for

³⁴ Brazaitis J. *Vienų vieni (Absolutely Alone)*, Vilnius, 1990, p. 79.

³⁵ Brandišauskas V. *Siekiai atkurti Lietuvos valstybingumą (Efforts to Restore Lithuanian Statehood)*, Vilnius, 1996, p. 138-139.

³⁶ Order of 17 July 1941 adopted by J. Ambrazevičiaus, Minister of Education in LCVA, funds: R-629, folder 1, file 8, page 1.

³⁷ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 162.

³⁸ *1941 m. Švietimo vadybos etatai (Payroll of Education Board in 1941)*, stored in LCVA, funds: R-629, folder 1, file 672, pages 1-55.

the education affairs in Lithuania acted as the mediator between the General Commissariat and the Education Board. This position until October 1943 was held by Prof. Schreinert, later by Riefenstahl³⁹. Thus, the operation autonomy of the officers of the Education Board was especially restricted. Nazis sought to make Lithuanian officers who collaborated with them to be simple executors of orders and instructions issued by the occupant authorities.

In Autumn 1941, Nazi occupation authorities in the entire General Region of Lithuania were still procrastinating the issue of permission to the country's schools for the start of the new school year. Only at the end of September, the Education Board announced that the school year of 1941-1942 had to begin on the 1st of October in elementary school⁴⁰. Although decrees of the same character were not mailed to secondary and specialised schools, they also started the school year on the said date. However, in some cities, due to the shortage of premises and the obstructions made by occupation authorities of Nazi, gymnasia started their school year only on the 15th of October⁴¹. Lithuanian High Schools also started their work in Autumn 1941.

In Autumn 1941, 2,758 elementary schools, where subjects were taught in German, in addition to those under the Education Board, were functioning in the general region of Lithuania. They were attended by 232,089 schoolchildren and employed 6,558 teachers⁴². Occupation government of Nazis allowed Polish, Russian and Belarusian elementary schools to work in parallel with Lithuanian ones. Fifty gymnasia and thirty progymnasia, attended by 31,732 pupils and employing 1,274 teachers, started the new school year. In all secondary schools, except Belarusian-Russian gymnasium in Vilnius, the subjects were taught in Lithuanian. Two further technology schools, 23 crafts schools and four trade schools started their work in the country, too. These vocational schools were attended by 6,588 students and employed 631 teachers⁴³. Besides general education, technical, crafts and trade schools, there were teacher seminaries, art schools, schools for disabled children, agricultural and high schools functioning in the country⁴⁴.

³⁹ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 458–459.

⁴⁰ *Decree passed by the Inspection of Kaunas City Elementary Schools on 25 September 1941 to all headmasters and teachers of Kaunas City Elementary Schools* stored in Kaunas Region Archive (hereinafter referred to as “KAA”), funds R-1045, folder 1, file 12, page 6.

⁴¹ Endzinas A. *Švietimas po hitlerininkų... (Education after Hitlerites...)*, p. 231.

⁴² Statistical data of the Education Board on elementary schools in 1941-1944, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 789, page 20; Statistical data of 01 October 1941 of the Education Board on the number of grades of the elementary schools and the number of pupils attending individual grades, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 789, page 14; Statistical data of 11 November 1941 of the Education Board on the number of teachers in the elementary schools stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 789, page 25.

⁴³ Data of the Education Board on the students of specialised schools as of 01 October 1941 stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 782, page 5; Statistical data of the secondary and specialised schools in years 1941-1942 stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 774, page 4.

⁴⁴ Statistical data of the Education Board on the secondary and special schools in years 1941-1942 stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 774, page 4; Statistical data of the Education Board on the number of students of high, secondary and specialised schools in 1941–1942 stored in LCVA funds R-629, folder 1, file 782, page 90.

The Nazis did not close Lithuanian education and science institutions that have just opened. They also left a few Belarusian, Polish and Russian schools in operation. However, there is no doubt that occupation government of Nazis deemed the existence of country's secondary and high schools as a temporary matter. Nazi ideologists held that no secondary and high schools should exist in the occupied Eastern territories. In the opinion of Heinrich Himmler, Leader of German SS and Police, four-year elementary school sufficed for the residents of non-German origin inhabiting Eastern regions, therefore, no other education institutions should function in the East. He maintained that the goal of education in this national school had to be "(...) simple calculation not more than up to 500, teaching to put a signature, to believe that the obedience to Germans is God's law, and to be honest, diligent and lively. I do not hold that ability to read is necessary"⁴⁵. Nazis did not dare implement these regulations of education policy at once in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In these countries, the occupation government of Nazis allowed the existence of not only elementary, secondary or vocational schools, but also high schools. Meanwhile, the Polish were deprived of the opportunity to receive both secondary and university education without any compromise. All secondary and high schools were closed in the territory of Poland that was annexed to the Third Reich. The remaining elementary schools taught children only German language and crafts⁴⁶. Nazis' policy towards Belarusians and Russians was equally mean. Only elementary schools were allowed to function in the occupied territories of Russia, whereas Belarusians were permitted to have seven-year schools⁴⁷. Likewise, in the occupied territory of Ukraine, the occupation government of Nazis allowed education only in seven-year elementary schools⁴⁸.

Some authors explain this policy of Nazi officers in Baltic states saying that Nazis deemed wartime needs to be more important than planned germanisation, therefore, field of culture was usually left for the local authorities⁴⁹. Yet, it is more likely that this Nazi position was provoked by absolutely different matters. Anti-Soviet uprising of June 1941 in Lithuania and adequate events in Latvia and Estonia facilitated the campaign of Nazi Germany into the East, which prompted Nazis to make certain concessions in the fields of culture and education to the population of these countries. Obviously, the occupation government of Nazis were willing to make compromises with Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians because they expected to utilise their anti-Soviet spirit in the war against Soviet Union. However, it should be noted, that these were only temporary Nazi concessions to the

⁴⁵ Gražiūnas A. *Lietuva dviejų okupacijų replėse 1940-1944 (Lithuania in the Grip of Two Occupations in 1940-1944)*, p. 199.

⁴⁶ Walczak M. *Polityka oświatowa i naukowa w okupowanej Polsce w latach 1939-1945 (Education and Science Politics in the Occupied Poland in 1939-1945)*, p. 615.

⁴⁷ Ю. Туронак *Беларусь под нямецкай акупацыяй (Belarus under German Occupation)*, Мінск, 1993, p. 76.

⁴⁸ Resolution Concerning the Mandatory Education of Ukrainian Youth passed by the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich on 21 February 1942 stored in Latvian State Historical Archive (hereinafter referred to as the "LVIA"), funds P-1018, folder 1, file 23, pages 18-19.

⁴⁹ Misiūnas R. J., Taagepera R. *Baltijos valstybės: priklausomybės metai 1940-1980 (Baltic States: Years of Subjection 1940-1980)*, Vilnius, 1992, p. 59-60.

occupied nations. Not only the future of the educational institutions of the said countries, but also the very survival of the population of this region depended on the progress and the end of the war.

Despite the fact that schools of all levels ranging from elementary to high schools were allowed to function, occupation government of Nazis hindered the work of these institutions in various ways. The actions and statements of Nazi officers clearly spoke of their wish to gradually liquidate the majority of Lithuanian schools, and - before this goal was finalised - utilise them for the needs of the conducted war. Nazis took to softer policies only in respect of elementary, secondary and specialised schools, but high schools were much more controlled and disrupted. However, general education schools also had to undergo a number of trials, restructures and losses during Nazi occupation. Troubles descended on the schoolchildren and teachers as early as on the first days of Nazi occupation. Hardly had the Nazis entered Lithuania, when they started persecuting and killing Jewish lecturers, teachers, schoolchildren and students as well as Communists, pro-Soviet persons and Comsomols employed in the schools. K. Rukšėnas maintains that, at the start of the war, 27 teachers of Lithuanian nationality were shot after charging them with Communist activities⁵⁰. Equivalent violence involving teachers and pupils recurred throughout the entire period of Nazi occupation. General assumption is that over one thousand teachers of different nationalities were killed in Lithuanian under Nazi occupation⁵¹.

Jewish persons were removed from the lists of pupils and students and transferred to the control of occupation government⁵². Pursuant to the circular note of General Adviser on Education of 29 October 1941, the authorities of secondary and specialised schools had to expel all ex-Comsomols from their schools. School Headmasters had to provide arguments supporting their decision to leave these pupils at schools. Furthermore, arguments for previously joining the Comsomol Party had to be provided, too⁵³. At the beginning of 1942, General Adviser on Education repeated his order to expel ex-Comsomols from schools. The report of 07 November 1941 sent by the Ostland Reich Commissariat to Berlin states that with the help of Security Department (SD) politically incorrect teachers were dismissed from educational institutions, while Bolshevik textbooks and books were destroyed. Moreover, the publishing of new school books, except special literature, was prohibited for the meantime⁵⁴.

⁵⁰ Rukšėnas K. *Hitlerininkų politika Lietuvoje 1941-1944 m. (Hitlerites' Politics in Lithuania in 1941-1944)*, page 299.

⁵¹ Buchaveckas S. *Dėl Lietuvos gimnazijų ir progimnazijų veiklos 1941-1944 m. (On the Activities of Lithuanian Gymnasia and Progymnasia in 1941-1944)*, p.132.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 133; Report of Vilnius University Rector to the General Adviser on Education dated 03 June 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 622, page 45.

⁵³ Circular note No.3 of the General Adviser on Education of 29 October 1941, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 104, page 114.

⁵⁴ Report of 07 November 1941 sent by the Ostland Reich Commissariat to Scheidt, Head of Central Management of Reich, stored in LVIA, funds P-1018, folder 1, file 42, page 441.

Throughout the Nazi occupation, elementary, secondary and vocational schools functioning under the supervision of the Education Board were troubled by the shortage of premises. A number of schools, esp. those located in major cities, had to cede their buildings to German army, war hospitals or institutions of occupation government. Schools had to find other premises, but even when they settled in these new buildings they were again moved out. Vilnius Adult Gymnasium, for example, was moved out for nine times⁵⁵. Schools were forced to function in two or three shifts. For instance, in Telšiai Gymnasium rooms of seven classes were occupied by the army, therefore, six classes were located in the trade school and one class in a private house. Lessons were also arranged in the third shift from 5 pm⁵⁶. Lessons had to be shortened in general education and specialised schools, so that they could function⁵⁷. Furthermore, it has to be noted that usually after the army withdrawal from school premises, it was impossible to resume lessons without repairs because school rooms and laboratories were devastated, learning materials were destroyed or stolen⁵⁸.

Both teachers and pupils faced numerous problems because of the shortage of teaching and writing tools. Pursuant to the Order of the General Adviser on Education dated 26 December 1941, the Headmasters of all schools were either prohibited to use textbooks characterised by Marxist or anti-German tendencies in schools, or required to remove pages with respective chapters from the said textbooks. The following textbooks were prohibited in schools: *History of Lithuanian Nation* by S. Matulaitis, *Textbook of World History* (for the 5th and 6th grades of elementary schools) by J. Norkus and all textbooks published during Soviet period. Libraries of educational institutions were required to remove books of Jewish writers; works of writers who were in favour of Communism by their activities, words or writings; articles with prevailing Marxist or Jewish tendencies; articles, the contents of which were against Reich, etc.⁵⁹. Therefore, schools that were already lacking teaching materials had to reduce their quantity even further. Besides, a great deal of teaching materials was destroyed or disappeared from schools irretrievably on the first days of war. Newly prepared textbooks and other teaching materials were most often prevented from being published by Nazi censorship.

⁵⁵ Statistical data of the Education Board on the secondary schools in 1943-1944, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 146, pages 22-26.

⁵⁶ Report of Telšiai Gymnasium of 20 April 1944 to the Education Board, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 149, page 65.

⁵⁷ Circular note of the General Adviser on Education of 17 September 1942 to the Headmasters of all further education and secondary schools as well as the inspections of elementary schools, stored in LCVA, funds 1759, folder 1, file 155, page 85.

⁵⁸ Report of the Headmaster of Vilnius II Gymnasium of 12 December 1941 to the Secondary Education Department of the Education Board, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 448, page 116; Report of the Headmaster of Kaunas Further Education Technical School of 27 September 1941 to the Education Board, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 551, page 136.

⁵⁹ Circular note of the General Adviser on Education of 23 December 1941 to the Headmasters of all gymnasias, progymnasias, teacher seminaries and special schools as well as the inspections of elementary schools, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 140, page 99.

Under the requirement of occupation government of Nazis, teaching content was also changed in general education schools. The officers of the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich especially emphasised the teaching of German language in Lithuania. They proposed teaching schoolchildren German language from the fifth grade in Lithuanian schools. Moreover, they sought to eliminate history lessons in schools, while it was planned to allow pupils to study Religion until the eighth grade⁶⁰.

In response to this Resolution and considering the fact that it was not mandatory for Lithuanian schoolchildren of the 5th or 6th form to attend German lessons, Nazi officers of General Region of Lithuania planned to introduce German language lessons from the second form of an elementary school in Kaunas. In October of the same year, German language courses were arranged for the elementary school teachers in Kaunas and Vilnius cities. The courses were aimed at conveying to teachers knowledge and ideas required for giving new type of political lectures on New Europe instead of forbidden history classes. All Lithuanian schools were also ordered to place Führer's portrait in an honourable place⁶¹.

On 23 August 1941, the General Adviser on Education approved the study plan of secondary schools for the academic year of 1941-1942⁶². Teaching of all foreign languages except German was excluded. Nazis had plans to make German parallel language with the native one and to make it the first foreign language in schools. They sought to make the schools use both German and native language⁶³. In comparison with the study plan of the academic year of 1939-1940, the number of lessons of Latin and music was reduced. The number of German lessons per week exceeded the number of Lithuanian language and literature lessons. Pursuant to the circular note No. 1, dated 27 October 1941, of the General Adviser on Education, all schools were prohibited to set up organisations or courses without the knowledge of the Education Board. According to the instructions, only subject courses "for deepening pupils' knowledge of their fancied subject" conducted by teachers were allowed to function in schools⁶⁴.

Nazi officers also harmed general education schools from the financial side. In April 1942, Adrian Renteln, General Commissioner of Lithuania, expressed his dissatisfaction to Gen. Petras Kubiliūnas, First General Adviser, concerning the substantially exceeded annual budget of the Education Board allocated for the budget year of 1942. It was proposed to reduce State support to

⁶⁰ Report of 07 November 1941 sent by the Ostland Reich Commissariat to Scheidt, Head of Central Management of Reich, stored in LVIA, funds P-1018, folder 1, file 42, page 441.

⁶¹ Ibidem, page 441.

⁶² Study plan for the academic year of 1941-1942 approved by the General Adviser on Education on 23 August 1941, stored in LCVA, funds 665, folder 1, file 207, page 17.

⁶³ Dallin A. *Deutsche Herrschaft in Russland. Eine Studie über Besatzungs Politik (German Rule in Russia. A Study on the Politics of Occupation)*, p. 153.

⁶⁴ Circular note No. 1, dated 27 October 1941, of the General Adviser on Education, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 805, p. 86.

elementary and secondary schools⁶⁵. Thus, for the sake of saving it was decided in May to reduce the number of classes in elementary schools, gymnasia and progymnasia.

On 20 May 1942, Alfred Rosenberg, Minister of Occupied Eastern Lands, visited Kaunas City. This visit of the top Nazi official has become the introduction into the new reforms of Lithuanian education system.

Officers of the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich demanded that in conveying knowledge and skills to the schoolchildren, schools would concurrently perform conditioning function, that is, prepare “local youth for the Europe ruled by Arayan Germans”⁶⁶. Furthermore, the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich requested the performance of stringent selection of the pupils for the passage from the lower to the higher grades in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, that is, political views had to be assessed besides race and traits of character⁶⁷. For this end, four-year secondary schools for selected gifted schoolchildren after four academic years in elementary schools were planned to be introduced in the said Baltic states. Two-year or three-year vocational crafts, business, trade, agriculture or administration schools were planned to be established for other pupils. Their attendance was mandatory. Moreover, it was planned to eliminate Lithuanian progymnasium and to reorganise secondary schools or seven-year gymnasia existing in the General Regions of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia into eight-year further education schools⁶⁸. Starting from the academic year of 1942-1943, it was sought to close three or even four out of eight operating four-year teacher seminaries so that the number of teacher seminaries would return to the number that was before Soviet occupation. Nazis maintained that four or five teacher seminaries would suffice for educating the required number of young teachers⁶⁹.

Following the instructions of the occupation government of Nazis, the Education Board has only partially fulfilled Berlin plans in Summer 1942. The structure of Lithuanian general education schools was reorganised. From the academic year of 1942-1943, five-year elementary school (Grades from 1 to 5) became mandatory, while its higher level (Grades from 6 to 7) was more specialised, that is, in rural schools more hours were allocated for agriculture, while in urban schools – for trade. Classes of Soviet elementary school were renamed into grades⁷⁰. The duration

⁶⁵ Letter of General Commissioner to the First General Adviser dated 02 April 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 648, page 26.

⁶⁶ Letter dated (?) July 1942 from the reporter of the School Policy Group of the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich to the Commissioner of Ostland Reich, stored in LVIA, funds P-1018, folder 1, file 23, page 13.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, page 13.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, page 14.

⁶⁹ Letter dated 22 May 1942 from the Commissioner of Ostland Reich to the School Policy Group of the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich, stored in LVIA, funds P-70, folder 3, file 19, page 21.

⁷⁰ Circular note dated 01 September 1942 from the Elementary Education Department of the Education Board to the Senior Inspectors of elementary schools, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 7, page 200.

of studies in gymnasia and progymnasia was extended by one year. Thus, from the new academic year, education in gymnasia consisted of eight years, while in progymnasia - of four years⁷¹.

Implementing the above-mentioned reorganisation of the structure of the general education schools, occupation government of Nazis sought to subject Lithuanian education system to the goals of Germany's war. Nazis needed not intellectuals coming from the occupied country but ordinary workers that could serve German army on its way to the East. Grades 6 and 7 of elementary schools were supposed to prepare craftsmen and traders necessary for Nazis. By extending the duration of secondary education, Nazis sought to make the opportunity to acquire secondary education more complicated so that schoolchildren and their parents would rather opt for vocational schools.

Along with the reorganisation of the structure of general education schools, Nazis also changed the content of pupil education. In 1942, the Education Board prepared new study plans for elementary and secondary schools. Furthermore, new study plans of the academic year of 1942-1943 for general education schools were also drafted⁷². Study plans for elementary schools were complemented by special education subjects. It was planned to start teaching German language from the fifth grade. According to the new study plans, there had to be as many German language lessons in elementary and secondary schools as there were Lithuanian language and literature lessons.

The content of history and geography subjects was changed to the largest extent in comparison with other subjects. According to the history study plan of an elementary school for 1942, in the 4th grade, the teachers had to teach pupils about Gediminas, Algirdas and Kęstutis, Grand Dukes of Lithuania, without mentioning their battles with German Orders. In history classes, teachers were forbidden to mention defence of Pilėnai Castle, Prussian battles with Crusaders, Žalgiris Battle, but had to emphasise the nobleness of Crusaders as well as their military and cultural supremacy over Lithuanians. In other grades, pupils had to learn about National Socialism in Germany, Hitler - the Father of the Third Reich and his "crusade against Bolsheviks and the liberation of Lithuanian nation". In geography classes, schoolchildren were taught about German conquests and the resulting changes in the political map of Europe⁷³.

Following the instructions of the occupation government of Nazis, the Education Board published a number of circular notes, guidelines and orders prescribing new education principles and methods to be introduced in schools. Pursuant to these instruments, teachers had to foster the following character traits in their pupils: discipline, tidiness, dutifulness as well as gratitude to both Adolf

⁷¹ Circular note dated 31 July 1942 from the Secondary and Pedagogic Education Department of the Education Board to the Headmasters of gymnasia and progymnasia, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 99, page 98.

⁷² Table of secondary school lessons for the academic year of 1942-1943 in Study Plans for Secondary Schools, Vilnius, 1942, p. 10.

⁷³ Study Plans for Elementary Schools, Vilnius, 1942, p. 44-51.

Hitler and German officers for granted freedom and “fruitful work throughout the complicated war”,⁷⁴.

Despite the difficulties caused by war and occupation, the number of pupils and teachers grew in both elementary and secondary schools, while the network of general education schools expanded within the first years of Nazi rule. According to the official statistics, in Autumn 1942, there functioned 2,874 elementary schools attended by 274,152 pupils and employing 6,337 teachers in the General Region of Lithuania⁷⁵. In the academic year of 1942-1943, the Education Board had 57 gymnasia and 23 progymnasia in its supervision. The gymnasium network was expanded at the expense of seven progymnasia. 1,426 teachers worked in and 39,092 pupils attended gymnasia and progymnasia at this period⁷⁶.

New academic year started in many more specialised schools, too. In Autumn 1942, pupils were welcomed to 30 crafts, 7 trade and 2 further education technical schools. About ten thousand pupils attended these schools⁷⁷. Nazis expanded the network of the said educational institutions and encouraged pupils to study in these schools. A few circumstances destined this policy of Germans. First, Nazi ideologists had a belief that after war the residents of the subjugated peoples will perform only the functions of labourers, low-rank officers and workers⁷⁸. Next, for the utilisation of the country's economic potential Nazis needed ever more workers and craftsmen of technical professions (woodworkers, construction carpenters, masons, metalworkers, mechanics, engineering mechanics, etc.). Therefore, throughout the occupation period, officers of the civil government of Germans required the Education Board to conduct campaigns among the young to choose specialised schools of crafts, trade, etc. rather than study in gymnasia or progymnasia. In January 1943, the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich issued directions to allocate more attention to the training of qualified workers in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The Letter drafted in Berlin maintained that “it was necessary to give the right to the socially deprived but progressive youths from both rural and urban areas to study in craft schools, by granting them allowances and free-of-charge studies, thus, promoting the importance of vocational schools in the restoration of both

⁷⁴ Circular note No. 5 of the General Adviser on Education, Vilnius, 1942, p. 131-135; Circular note No. 8 of 1942 of the General Adviser on Education, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 648, page 479.

⁷⁵ Statistical data of 15 October 1942 of the Education Board on elementary schools and grades, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 782, page 17; Data of the academic year of 1942-1943 of the Education Board on the pupils of the elementary schools, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 789, page 15; Statistical data of 15 October 1942 of the Education Board on the distribution of elementary school teachers in terms of their salaries. Ibidem, page 20;

⁷⁶ Statistical data of 1942-1943 of the Education Board, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 785, page 1-3.

⁷⁷ Data of the academic year of 1942-1943 of the Education Board on the specialised schools, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 782, page 83.

⁷⁸ Proclamation “Lithuanians” of Freedom Fighters’ Union of Lithuania dated 01 September 1942, stored in the Manuscript Department of the Library of Vilnius University (hereinafter referred to as the “VUB RS”), funds 96-196, page 56.

economy and significance of manual and qualified workers”⁷⁹. School Headmasters and teachers had to explain to pupils and their parents that persons with the knowledge in crafts and trade are especially valuable for the economic and cultural life of the country, and, thus, affect the decision of the young. Press was also employed for the promotion of vocational education⁸⁰.

The growth in the number of general education schools caused dissatisfaction among occupation government of Nazis. The officers demanded that the Education Board reduced the network of secondary schools and the number of gymnasium pupils. In Autumn 1942, the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich approved the plan for reducing the number of 14-15 year old and older pupils to only 5 thousand in gymnasia and progymnasia, while the rest had to be sent to work in agriculture, factories, workshops, etc.⁸¹. However, the implementation of this plan was not initiated right away. Nazi officers have postponed the planned liquidation of parallel grades in gymnasia and progymnasia for a while. On 20 November 1942, Alfred Rosenberg, Minister of Occupied Eastern Lands, ordered to withhold from changing the structure of secondary schools so far but merely to prepare for these measures⁸².

At the end of 1942, the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich drafted the project “System of Agricultural Schools in the General Regions of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia”, which prescribed mandatory vocational education for the rural young people from 14 to 18 years of age in the Baltic States. The document stated that “so far no obligation of vocational training existed for young people from 14 to 18 years of age working in agriculture and related fields. Since especial importance (education) is given to the schools of this type, their establishment must be immediate and necessary matter as much as possible. At the time being, due to certain reasons, there are no possibilities to conduct the record of all young people residing in rural areas. Therefore, the obligation of vocational training should be first introduced in areas where there exists a need and interest from the side of residents, and where sufficient teaching human resources and required premises are available”⁸³. Reich Commissioner of Ostland proposed to implement this solution in the Baltic States gradually, until required circumstances naturally occur⁸⁴.

At the end of 1942 - beginning of 1943, Lithuanian residents were reached by the news that Germans were doing worse and worse in the Eastern front. Nazis’ tolerance to the country’s

⁷⁹ Directions dated (?) January 1943 of the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich concerning further activities of crafts, vocational and technical schools in the General Regions of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, stored in LVIA, funds P-1018, folder 1.24, page 20.

⁸⁰ *Amatų, prekybos ir aukštesniosios technikos mokyklos Lietuvoje (Crafts, Trade and Further Education Schools in Lithuania)* in Ateitis, 05 March 1943, No. 29, p. 2.

⁸¹ Rukšėnas K. *Hitlerininkų politika Lietuvoje 1941-1944 m. (Hitlerites’ Politics in Lithuania in 1941-1944)*, Vilnius, 1970, in LMAB, funds 26 – 1475, page 303.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 300.

⁸³ Project “System of Agricultural Schools in the General Regions of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia” drafted by the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich in 1942, stored in LVIA, funds p. 1018, folder 1, file 30, page 23-24.

educational and science institutions started to melt also. The first blow of the occupation government shook Lithuanian educational and science institutions in January 1943. Nazi officers markedly cut down funds allocated to schools (about 175,000 marks per month) then. At that critical moment, the General Adviser on Education addressed Lithuanian public requesting officers and workers to contribute a small portion of their salaries, and other residents to contribute affordable money sums for the educational affairs⁸⁵. Thus, substantial funds were collected, which allowed Lithuanian education system to function.

With the defeats of Germany in the Eastern front, Nazi education politics in Lithuania also changed. In Spring 1943, occupation government of Nazis sought by any means to mobilise the pupils studying at gymnasia and progymnasia into German Army or its auxiliary units. For this end, in April 1943 the Headmasters of secondary schools received the forms of lists where the pupils had to register as volunteers for the German Army and Reich Labour Service⁸⁶. However, the majority of gymnasia and progymnasia returned the lists to the Education Board empty or containing one or two family names of the pupils⁸⁷. Pupils of the final grades were not fascinated by promises to be issued matriculation certificates without passing examinations if they joined *Vermacht* or Reich Labour Service⁸⁸. Despite all these measures, Nazis failed to subject Lithuanian youth for their war goals. However, campaigns and recruitment into German Army continued until the very end of the occupation.

After closing of Lithuanian high schools on 17-18 March 1943, Nazis reinforced control of educational institutions and took to practical implementation of previous restructure plans. In July and August 1943, the Commissioner for Lithuanian Education Affairs announced that starting from the academic year of 1943-1944 seven-year elementary school becomes mandatory in the entire country. However, he recalled his decision already at the very beginning of the new academic year⁸⁹. The majority of Lithuanian elementary schools had only five grades, which rendered the implementation of this decision practically impossible⁹⁰. The order of the occupation government

⁸⁴ Letter of Ostland Rech Commissioner dated 11 December 1942 to the Ministry of Eastern Lands Occupied by Reich, stored in LVIA, funds P-1018, folder 1, file 30, page 22.

⁸⁵ Letter of the General Adviser on Education to all administrations of institutions under the Education Board, dated 08 January 1943, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 653, page 1.

⁸⁶ Circular note dated 10 April 1943 from the Secondary and Pedagogic Education Department of the Education Board to the Headmasters of gymnasia and progymnasia, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 653, page 55.

⁸⁷ Lists of volunteers willing to join the German Army and Reich Labour Service of 1943, stored in LCVA in R-629, folder 1, file 1046, page 22a-55.

⁸⁸ Letter dated 03 February 1944 of the Commissioner for Lithuanian Education Affairs, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 99, page 38.

⁸⁹ Order dated 20 September 1943 of the Commissioner for Lithuanian Education Affairs, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 30, page 6.

⁹⁰ Statistical data of 15 October 1943 of the Education Board on elementary schools and grades, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 782, page 10.

concerning mandatory seven-year elementary school remained effective only in Kaunas and Vilnius⁹¹.

According to official statistics, in Autumn 1943, the Education Board controlled the number of elementary schools by 59 schools exceeding the number of the last academic year. However, due to various reasons, 204 schools did not function. In the General Region of Lithuania, new academic year started in 58 progymnasia (Vilnius mixed gymnasium of Belarusians and Russians was divided into Vilnius Russian Gymnasium and Vilnius Belarusian Gymnasium). 36 progymnasia also welcomed pupils. 1,638 teachers worked and 40,794 pupils studied at secondary schools⁹². Thus, the number of pupils and teachers further grew, while the school network expanded during the last year of Nazi rule. Yet the policy of occupation government towards vocational schools did not work. Although the network of these schools further expanded and the number of teachers grew, the number of pupils studying in these educational institutions decreased⁹³. Lithuanian public was more inclined to educate new intelligentsia, therefore, it vehemently resisted Nazis' attempts to make its young generation into obedient Nazi workers.

In Autumn 1943, Nazis restructured gymnasia and progymnasia into secondary schools. They existed in two levels: further education school (ex-gymnasium) and secondary school (progymnasium). Ex-gymnasia were forbidden to have more further education grades than it had during the academic year of 1943-1944. It was planned that all secondary schools would have only four grades in the academic year of 1944-1945⁹⁴. On 11 October, parallel and pedagogical classes training elementary school teachers were liquidated in secondary schools⁹⁵.

New study plan for secondary schools for the academic year of 1943-1944 was prepared. The planned number of German lessons per week exceeded the number of Lithuanian language and literature lessons. 36 lessons were allocated for German language per week in all grades, whereas there were only 34 allocated for Lithuanian language and literature. New subject courses such as stenography, Russian and Greek lessons, and typing were included into the study plans for Grades 1-4. Study plans for Grades 5-8 included academic hours for natural sciences group. However, social sciences, basics of philosophy and choir were excluded from the new study plans⁹⁶.

⁹¹ Letter dated (end of – L.J.) 1943 of the Lithuanian Education Affairs for the General Commissioner of Lithuania, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 35, page 27-29.

⁹² Statistical data of the academic year of 1943-1944 of the Education Board, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 146, page 22-26.

⁹³ Circular note dated 07 March 1944 from the Education Board to the Headmasters of elementary schools, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 628, page 16.

⁹⁴ Circular note dated 17 September 1943 from the Secondary and Pedagogic Education Department of the Education Board to the Headmasters of gymnasia and progymnasia, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 141, page 166.

⁹⁵ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 463.

⁹⁶ Study plan for secondary schools for the academic year of 1943-1944, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder, 140, page 25.

By restructuring the teaching contents of gymnasia and progymnasia, Nazis sought to equal these schools to the vocational schools. Comparing study plans for the academic years of 1942-1943 and 1943-1944, it is obvious that the new study plan for the academic year of 1943-1944 contains especially narrowed teaching content. Pupils were supposed to acquire minimal knowledge in biology, chemistry, physics and mathematics. By reinforcing the teaching of German language, history and geography, the process of young generation germanisation had to be accelerated. In newly-restructured secondary schools, pupils were not supposed to be prepared for university education. They only had to form workers' contingent necessary for Nazis. These goals are also confirmed by their last attempts to make local youths involved in war.

In Spring 1944, Nazis demanded that all school-leavers would join Reich Labour Service, while the pupils of last grades would join the camps of antiaircraft education⁹⁷. However, these instructions given by the occupation government were little obeyed. East front inexorably approaching Lithuania forced Nazis to cancel their initiated tasks and retreat from the country as soon as possible. The majority of schools again turned into barracks and hospitals. A number of Lithuanian schools discontinued their operation because of Soviet carrier-borne attacks in April 1944. Therefore, plenty of orders and instructions issued by the General Adviser on Education in Lithuania remained in paper copies only.

During Nazi occupation, Lithuanian high schools functioned in much more difficult conditions than elementary and secondary schools. In Autumn 1941, the following high schools started their operation in the General Region of Lithuania: Vytautas Magnus University, Vilnius University, Šiauliai Trade Institute, Vilnius Pedagogical Institute, Vilnius Academy of Arts, Kaunas Conservatoire, Kaunas Academy of Agriculture and Academy of Veterinary⁹⁸. As early as at the start of the occupation, all lecturers of Jewish nationality as well as Marxists and pro-Soviet persons were dismissed from high schools. On the command of Nazis, all students of Jewish and Polish nationalities were removed from the lists of students in Autumn 1941 – Spring 1942⁹⁹. In Summer 1941, 50 employees were dismissed from Vilnius University, including 25% of all education personnel, whereas 98 personnel employees and officers were dismissed before 10 September¹⁰⁰. Lecturers suspected of collaboration with Soviet government or of being politically incorrect were dismissed from Dotnuva Academy of Agriculture. The administration of high schools was also

⁹⁷ Čižiūnas V., Sužiedėlis S. *Švietimas II pasaulinio karo metais (Education during the World War Two)*, p. 781.

⁹⁸ Statistical data of the Education Board on the number of students of high, secondary and special schools in 1941–1942 stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 782, page 90-91; Bulavas J. *Vokiškųjų fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, p. 210.

⁹⁹ Bulavas J. *Vokiškųjų fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, p.211.

¹⁰⁰ *Vilniaus universiteto istorija (History of Vilnius University)*, p. 257.

replaced. Prof. M. Biržiška remained the Rector of Vilnius University, but Prof. J. Gravrogkas replaced the previous Rector of Kaunas University¹⁰¹.

The number of students of Lithuanian high schools decreased by almost half during Nazi occupation. In Spring Semester of 1941, 2,270 students studied in Vilnius University, whereas in Spring Semester of 1942, there were only 900 students¹⁰². According to the official statistics, during the academic year of 1941-1942, there were 916 students in Vilnius University, 246 students in Šiauliai Trade Institute, 186 students in Vilnius Pedagogical Institute, 75 students in Vilnius Academy of Arts, and 222 students in Kaunas Conservatoire¹⁰³.

Lithuanian high schools were forced to function in difficult financial conditions. From the very beginning of occupation, the premises of some high schools were occupied by German Army and occupant institutions. Both elementary and secondary schools lacked electric power and fuel for building heating. Lecturers and students had to carry out various obligations imposed by occupation government.

During the very first months of occupation, the destiny of the majority of Lithuanian high schools has become ambiguous. In Autumn 1941, occupation government of Nazis planned to allow only graduate courses of high schools to operate and to forbid the enrolment of new students¹⁰⁴. But as there was resistance to such arrangement, high schools were permitted to accept new students to the Faculties of Medicine, Construction and Technologies only¹⁰⁵. However, occupation government of Nazis started threatening universities with closing Faculties of Theology and Philosophy in Kaunas, and Faculties of Humanities, Law, Mathematics and Natural Sciences in Vilnius¹⁰⁶. In November 1941, a new threat occurred to the high schools. Pursuant to the Decree of Alfred Rosenberg, Minister of Occupied Eastern Lands, all high schools in Ostland, except Faculties of Medicine, Veterinary, Agriculture, Forestry and Technology. had to be closed. Rosenberg planned to leave open only Tartu University, Riga High School and Kaunas Academy of Agriculture and Academy of Veterinary¹⁰⁷.

On 04 March 1942, Schreinert, German Commissioner for Lithuanian Education Affairs, informed Senates of Vilnius and Kaunas Universities that starting from spring only specialists in medicine, mechanics, veterinary, agronomy and forestry will be allowed to be trained¹⁰⁸. Nazis needed high

¹⁰¹ Bulavas J. *Vokiškųjų fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, p P.212.

¹⁰² Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p.465.

¹⁰³ Statistical data of the Education Board on the number of students of high, secondary and special schools in 1941–1942 stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 782, page 90-91.

¹⁰⁴ Memorandum of Lithuanian High Schools dated 12 September, stored in VUB RS, funds 96-196, page 2.

¹⁰⁵ Memorandum of Senate of Vytautas Magnus University dated 20 March 1942, stored in VUB RS, funds 96-196, page 2.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem, page 2.

¹⁰⁷ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 465.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, p. 466.

schools that were left to function to prepare for them specialists required in war with Soviet Union. The meeting of the Senate of Vilnius University on 17 March 1942 convened for the consideration of closing Faculties of Humanities and Law, was attended by Prof. H. Stegmann, Commissioner for the High Schools in Riga. He asserted that at the time when German students and professors fight in the front having abandoned their work at university, it would be unethical for others to continue with studies. Furthermore, he indicated that since all studies were undergoing major crisis lately, “it would be more convenient to start work in the Faculties then to be closed with new ideas and sobered heads after some two years”¹⁰⁹.

In Spring 1942, following Nazi command, the Education Board released a decree according to which school-leavers who were willing to study in high schools had to perform one-year labour service in Germany. Consequently, high schools lacking students had to be liquidated gradually on their own initiative. In Summer 1942, Nazis decided to prohibit conferring diploma of university education, arranging academic discussions, defending theses and granting academic degrees¹¹⁰.

Universities and high schools allowed to function had their study curricula changed. Nazis put all their efforts to include into the curricula as many hours of German language and “National Socialist theory” as possible. Students were given lectures on “National Socialist theory”, told about the impurity of races, leader cult, and anti-Semitic Nuremberg laws. Racial theory was included into the study plans of universities and high schools as the major subject¹¹¹.

Lithuanian Academy of Sciences found itself in a difficult situation during Nazi occupation, too. It was short of funds not only for salaries but for the ordinary domestic items such as firewood, office supplies, telephone bills, let alone repairs or printing of scientific papers. Payroll of the said institution was reduced, while the employees often waited for their salaries a few months¹¹².

In Spring 1943, after Nazis’ failure to involve Lithuanian youths into organised Lithuanian SS Legion, German Army or other auxiliary military units, they took to repressions against high schools. With the approval of Reich Commissioner of Ostland, A. T. von Rentlen, General Commissioner of Lithuania, SS and Police Head ordered the closing of Lithuanian high schools and universities. Kaunas and Vilnius Universities, Academy of Sciences, Academy of Arts, Pedagogic University and National Philharmonic were closed on 17-18 March 1943. Along with high schools, Nazis closed four teacher seminaries. 46 renowned Lithuanian intellectuals were arrested and taken to the concentration camp of Stutthoff. The arrested intellectuals included General Adviser on Education P. Germantas, five professors and four headmasters of gymnasia. Nazis did not appoint a

¹⁰⁹ *Vilniaus universiteto istorija 1940-1979 (History of Vilnius University of 1940-1979)*, p. 32.

¹¹⁰ Dobrovolskas J. *Švietimo, mokslo ir kultūros slopinimas (Suppression of Education, Science and Culture)*, p. 64.

¹¹¹ Bulavas J. *Vokiškųjų fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, p. 214-215.

¹¹² Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 467-471; Liekis A. *Akademinis mokslas Lietuvos... P.97-114.*

new General Adviser on Education since his position was taken by Schreinert, Commissioner for Education of Lithuania¹¹³.

Closing of universities caused public dissatisfaction. However, occupation government of Nazis did not respond to numerous memoranda and requests of administrations of Vilnius and Kaunas Universities to allow to resume work in closed Lithuanian high schools. Illusion that Nazis have entrusted Lithuanians with the management of the country's cultural life, which has been alive among the public for a while, absolutely crumbled after Spring 1943. Country's intelligentsia after the closing of Lithuanian high schools could hardly repeat these words of the memorandum of Lithuanian high schools, dated 24 August 1941: "If today Lithuanians can with difficulties bear various economic restrictions and constraints, that is only because they expect their cultural life to be left for them to manage and arrange"¹¹⁴.

In May 1943, Lithuanian educational institutions were visited by H. Stegman, Head of Education Service of Ostland Reich Commissariat. He met with the staff of Lithuanian education and discussed the research of topics that Germans were concerned about. Nazis wanted to make Lithuanian scientists conduct researches of war-related topics. However, the majority of scientists procrastinated these researches and they remained unfinished until the end of occupation¹¹⁵.

Control of Press, Book Publishing and Radio

Occupation government of Nazis sought to severely control all mass media. According to historian A. Bubnys, "Nazis attempted at introducing total control of mass media and utilise it for their propaganda goals"¹¹⁶. Nazis introduced military censorship of press right after occupying Lithuanian territory. They also took control of printing-houses, bookshops, other printing and distribution enterprises and institutions including all their equipment and assets. Pursuant to the Decree issued by H. Lohse, Reich Commissioner in Eastern Lands, on 22 December 1941, all persons intending to work with press had to receive written permit from Reich Commissioner or General Commissioner. Later Nazis made requirements for the country's press publishing even more stringent. Pursuant to the Decree issued by H. Lohse on 05 March 1942, the permit issued by occupant institutions was needed to establishing or opening enterprises of newspaper, magazine and book publishing, information bureaus as well as companies that engaged in the distribution of the products of the said publishers and bureaus. Already existing periodicals and other writings also needed a permit. Already issued permits could be recalled or re-issued complemented by some

¹¹³ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 463.

¹¹⁴ Memorandum of Lithuanian High Schools dated 24 August 1941, stored in VUB RS, funds 96-196, page 26.

¹¹⁵ Bulavas J. *Vokiškųjų fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, p. 228.

¹¹⁶ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 471.

additional obligations by the competent institution¹¹⁷. Occupation government of Nazis also wanted all publications to be published in Lithuania only with their knowledge. Striving to use press publishing not only for political but also for material reasons, A. T. von Renteln, General Commissioner of Lithuania, issued a Decree on 23 September 1942 following which there was set up Press Union of the General Region of Lithuania, subordinate to him¹¹⁸. All enterprises related to Lithuanian press publishing and distribution such as publishers, printing-houses and news agencies, had to become the members of the Union. Members of the Press Union were directly subordinate to the Head who in his turn was the officer of General Commissariat¹¹⁹.

The number of newspapers and magazines in Lithuania has dramatically decreased because of Nazi censorship and difficulties of war and occupation. Before war, over a hundred periodicals were published in Lithuania. During Nazi occupation, there remained only several. Readers still received two dailies: “Į laisvę” (“To Freedom”, which in 1943 became “Ateitis” (“Future”)) and “Naujoji Lietuva” (“New Lithuania”) in Kaunas, and a few weeklies “Ūkininko patarėjas” (“Farmer’s Consultant”) in Kaunas, “Tėviškė” (“Motherland”) in Šiauliai, “Žemaičių žemė” (“Samogitians’ Land”) in Telšiai, “Panevėžio apygardos balsas” (“Voice of Panevėžys Region”), “Biržų žinios” (“Biržai News”), and “Naujoji gadynė” (“New Epoch”) in Marijampolė. Also some magazines were published: “Naujoji sodyba” (“New Homestead”), “Savaitė” (“Week”), “Savitarpinės pagalbos žinios” (“News of Mutual Help”), “Žemės ūkis” (“Agriculture”), “Karys” (“Warrior”), children publication “Žiburėlis” (“Twinkle”), “Kūryba” (“Creation”). Two dailies were published for Germans in Lithuania: “Kauener Zeitung” and “Wilnaer zeitung”¹²⁰.

Germans employed legally published press for the dissemination of their propaganda and germanisation of the country. For this end, Nazis did not allow “Tėvynė” newspaper, published in Šiauliai City, to retain its name and renamed it into “Tėviškė”. Only since the end of 1943, they allowed to publish cultural magazine “Kūryba”, the Editor of which was appointed by the very General Commissar¹²¹. Literary Researcher V. Kubilius is, of course, right when stating that such “Lithuanian press (...) was the press of the occupied land”¹²². Newspapers and magazines could publicise only articles approved by censorship. Editorial offices were forced to include into their publications editorials and advertisements sent by Nazis. Press pages were full of portraits of A. Hitler, A. Rosenberg, H. Himmler and other leaders of the Third Reich, glorifying pictures with episodes of Reich Labour Service and heroic deeds of German Army. Situation of such gravity

¹¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 471.

¹¹⁸ Bulavas J. *Vokiškųjų fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, p. 232.

¹¹⁹ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 473.

¹²⁰ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 472; J. Tamošiūnas *Lietuviškų periodinių leidinių bibliografija 1832-1982 (Bibliography of Lithuanian Periodicals of 1832-1982)*, Kaunas, 1991, p. 754-759.

¹²¹ Brazaitis J. *Vienų vieni (Absolutely Alone)*, Vilnius, 1990, p. 124-125.

¹²² Kubilius V. *Neparklupdyta mūza (Unprostrate Muse)*, p. 112.

made quite a number of publicist, poet or writer remaining in Lithuania to disappear from the pages of newspapers and magazines, boycott official press¹²³. However, Nazis managed to reduce the circulation even of the censored Lithuanian press.

As a response to the constriction of press and freedom of speech imposed by Nazis in the country, there blossomed illegal press. By the abundance of titles of the publications of various currents and organisations operating underground, and by the readership, illegal press has surpassed legal press censored by Nazis. Circulation of a few underground newspapers was quite similar to that of the official newspapers¹²⁴.

Occupation government of Nazis dedicated great interest to the radio control. Listeners of foreign radio stations were esp. important target. Nazis sought that only information selected by the occupation government of Nazis would reach Lithuanian population and encourage the acceptance of Nazi Germany among the country's residents, thus, aiding Nazis to employ them for the war goals. Therefore, occupation government of Nazis severely prosecuted listeners of foreign anti-Germany radio stations, took away residents' radio sets and punished spreaders of information and rumours against Germans¹²⁵. Pursuant to the Decree of H. Lohse dated 13 September 1942, all Ostland residents were forbidden to listen to foreign radio stations and underground local transmitters. Those breaching the prohibition could find themselves in the penitentiary and could have their radio sets confiscated, while persons who deliberately distributed news of prohibited radio stations and transmitters could be punished by penitentiary or capital punishment¹²⁶.

Right after the occupation of Lithuania, Nazis took over the control of Vilnius and Kaunas radio stations. They were entered into the Management System of German Radio Stations and became subordinate to Reich Radio Company (Reichs-Rundfunk GmbH)¹²⁷. Radio as the press was utilised by Nazis for the spreading of propaganda and disinformation. Programmes from Nazi Germany and announcements of Nazi officers had priority over all other local programmes¹²⁸. Local programmes had secondary role but anyway they were strictly controlled as the press.

Occupation government of Nazis made obstructions for the publishing of Lithuanian books, too. Nazi censors took their time before giving response concerning the publications submitted for publishing. They held fiction and scientific books for two years by not giving any reply to either the authors or the publishers¹²⁹. Commissioner of Vilnius City in his 30 July 1942 report boasted about

¹²³ Ibidem, p. 112-113.

¹²⁴ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 473.

¹²⁵ Ibidem, p. 475.

¹²⁶ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 473.

¹²⁷ Bulavas J. *Vokiškųjų fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, p. 233.

¹²⁸ Programme arrangement No. 7 of J. Neveravičiaus, broadcaster of Vilnius Radio Station, dated 02 April 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-636, folder 1, file 44, page 4.

¹²⁹ Brazaitis J. *Vienų vieni (Absolutely Alone)*, Vilnius, 1990, p. 125.

nearly absolute restriction of publishing business in Vilnius. Only Lithuanian-German and Polish-German conversation books and anti-Bolshevik calendars were permitted to be published. He stated the fact that there were solitary trends to publish national songs and poems but these, of course, were not implemented because of our censorship work¹³⁰. Therefore, due to war hardships and stringent censorship of Nazis, only 100 books of different titles were published throughout the entire occupation period. A great deal of these books were released by bribing the censors or were printed and distributed covertly. Thus were published Maironis' "Pavasario balsai" ("Spring Voices"), B. Brazdžionis' "Per pasaulį keliauja žmogus" ("A Man Travels Round the World"), S. Zoborskas' "Arti žemės" ("Down to Earth"), P. Rimkūnas' "Kiemenuų kaimas" ("Kiemenui Village"), K. Bradūnas' "Vilniaus varpai" ("Vilnius Bells"), E. Matuzevičius' "Audros paukščiai" ("Tempest Birds")¹³¹, etc. The circular note issued by the Commissariat of Ostland Reich on 04 February 1943 reads: "(...) Today, the publishing of translations from German should prevail."¹³². The publishing of the Great Dictionary of Lithuanian failed because of obstructions made by Nazis, but the Lithuanian-German Dictionary was issued successfully¹³³.

The shortage of textbooks was especially sore issue for the Lithuanian schools during Nazi occupation. Occupation government of Nazis forbade schools to use textbooks published during the first Soviet occupation and other textbooks that Nazis deemed unsuitable, but they did not allow printing enough teaching material or re-issuing old textbooks. These Nazis' decisions led to the shortage of textbooks which was especially painful for secondary and high schools, whereas elementary schools starting from the second grade had no reading books, grammar, mathematics, biology and other textbooks. To solve the problem, on 10 December 1942 the General Adviser on Education issued a circular note announcing "the campaign of textbook collection". The letter stated that "during war textbook issue has become critical for all schools and parents of schoolchildren. Since considering the present circumstances it is by no means possible to satisfy the textbook demand completely, it is especially important to use rationally the amount of textbooks existing in the hands of schoolchildren"¹³⁴.

In November 1943, the Secondary Education Department of the Education Board addressed the State Publishers with a request to accelerate the publishing of textbooks and increase the number of textbook copies printed¹³⁵. However, the solving of the problem did not advance much. In 1944 the

¹³⁰ Report of Vilnius City Commissioner dated 30 July 1942, stored in LVIA, funds P-1018, folder 1, file33, page 262.

¹³¹ Kubilius V. *Neparklupdyta mūza (Unprostrate Muse)*, p. 354

¹³² Ruseckaitė A. *Pamiršto laikotarpio literatūros bruožai 1941-1944 m. (Characteristics of Literature of Forgotten Period of 1941-1944)*, Kultūros barai, Vilnius, 1991, No.7, p. 77.

¹³³ *Baigiamas didis kultūros darbas (Great Cultural Work is Soon to be Finished)*, Ateitis, 10 June 1944, No. 134, p. 3.

¹³⁴ Circular note of the General Adviser on Education of 10 December 1942 to the Headmasters of all secondary and specialised schools as well as the Senior Inspectors of elementary schools, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 140. page 62.

¹³⁵ Letter dated 26 November 1943 from the Secondary and Pedagogic Education Department of the Education Board to the State Publishers, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 835, page 628-629.

issue of textbook shortage became even more critical. The Education Board issued one more circular note “On the Textbook Shortage”. It read: “At the time being, the major hardship of the schools lies in the tremendous textbook shortage. The Education Board is well aware of this situation and, therefore, calls for the collection of textbooks among the schoolchildren”¹³⁶. All Lithuanian schools were instructed to make record of their textbooks and explain to the schoolchildren that textbooks had to be especially cherished and not sold at the end of the academic year but given to schools so that other schoolchildren could study from them. School Headmasters, teachers and even schoolchildren had to convince others of contributing textbooks to schools. Unfortunately, these measures could provide little help to the schools. In April 1944, “Nepriklausoma Lietuva” (“Independent Lithuania”) stated: “(...) Elementary schools and gymnasia cannot function normally because they are short of textbooks”¹³⁷.

Books publishing experienced decline in Latvia and Estonia, too. Nazis refused to publish Estonian authors arguing that there was not enough paper¹³⁸. However, many more books were published in Latvia during the World War Two. Approximately 1,500 books and musical works were released in Latvia in 1941-1944. The majority of these consisted of textbooks and fiction¹³⁹.

Restriction of Cultural Life

At the beginning of the war between Nazi Germany and Soviet Union, a number of writers, artists, theatre actors, musicians and other persons related to the cultural field retreated to the Soviet Union. Along with the participants of the Soviet regime, the following literary persons retreated: S. Nėris, P. Cvirka, K. Korsakas, A. Venclova, J. Šimkus, J. Marcinkevičius, L. Gira, J. Baltušis, etc. As many as 236 litterateurs or persons who later became litterateurs found themselves in the emigration in 1940-1944¹⁴⁰. Artists S. Žukas, V. Jurkūnas, I. Trečiokaitė, Z. Vaineikytė, performers, musicians, culture workers K. Kymantaitė, R. Marijošius, A. Staškevičius, P. Vosyliūtė, J. Banaitis, etc.¹⁴¹ left Lithuania. During Nazi occupation, only these artists and painters who worked as pedagogues in Vilnius or Kaunas Art Schools stayed in the cities of Vilnius or Kaunas¹⁴².

¹³⁶ Circular note dated 31 April 1944 from the Education Board, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 141, page 31.

¹³⁷ *Vokiečiai slopina Lietuvos švietimą (Germans Suppress Lithuanian Education)* in *Nepriklausoma Lietuva*, 16 April 1943.

¹³⁸ Toivo U. Raun *Estonia and The Estonians*, California, 1987. p. 167.

¹³⁹ Zanders V. *Latviešu gramatniecība nacistu okupācijas laikā (Latvian Publishing during Nazi occupation)* in *Starptautiska konference. Bibliotēka, gramatniecība, ideoloģija Otrā pasaules kara laikā (1939-1945) (International Conference. Libraries, Publishing and Ideology in the World War Two (1939-1945))*, 8.10.1996-12.10.1996., Jūrmala, *Materialu krajums*, Rīga, 1999, p. 120.

¹⁴⁰ *XX amžiaus lietuvių literatūra (Literature of the 20th Century)*, Vilnius, 1994, p. 176.

¹⁴¹ Rakūnas A. *Lietuvių liaudies kova prieš hitlerinę okupaciją (Strife of Lithuanian Nation against Hitlerian Occupation)*, p. 129.

¹⁴² *Lietuvos dailės istorija (History of Lithuanian Art)*, Vilnius, 2002, p. 263.

After Nazi Germany occupied Lithuania, there started the persecution of Jewish persons who had collaborated with Soviet government, or politically unreliable theatre actors, composers, conductors, musicians and other culture workers. In order to get rid of the remaining phenomena of Soviet regime, this work has been started by the Interim Government. Pursuant to the order of J. Ambrazevičius, Minister of Education, there were dismissed Juozas-Kelpša, Conductor of Kaunas State Theatre, Borisas Dauguvietis, Director of Drama, Bronius Keblauskas, Director of Ballet, etc¹⁴³. Later Jewish and politically incorrect persons were imprisoned, taken to concentration camps or cold-bloodedly killed. Nazis killed Poet V. Montvila, Sculptor V. Grybas, Graphic Artist T. Lomsargis, Artist B. Žekonis, Conductors L. Hofmekler and Durmaškinas, as well as Vyrvičius-Vichrovskis, Director and Arts Director of Polish Theatre of Musical Comedy in Vilnius, A. Martenas, Director of Kaunas Drama Company, and many more¹⁴⁴.

To the very end of occupation, Nazis persecuted Lithuanian intelligentsia. A number of culture or public figures were either imprisoned in Lithuania or taken to German concentration camps where they died. Poet T. Tilvytis was imprisoned in Pravieniškės concentration camp, writers I. Simonaitytė, A. Churginas, J. Būtėnas, P. Juodelis and others were arrested by Gestapo a few times. According to B. Pšibilskis, “one of the first to be taken to Stutthoff concentration camp was writer and journalist R. Mackonis, Senior Editor of Vilnius newspaper “Naujoji Lietuva”, who publicised the translation of article “To Germanise?” from SS official paper “Das Schwarze korps”, whose openly stated intents upset Lithuanian population”¹⁴⁵. Lithuania experienced the great loss of intellectual power on 16-17 March 1943. After closing Lithuanian schools, 46 renowned Lithuanian intellectuals were arrested and taken to the concentration camp of Stutthoff¹⁴⁶. Second and more severe Nazi campaign was conducted on 29 April 1943. In order to liquidate underground press, Gestapo arrested 16 journalists and printers. All of them were taken to Stutthoff¹⁴⁷. Thus, occupation government of Nazis made Lithuanian cultural life decline even more than it was already weakened by occupation and war. Nevertheless, mass annihilation of intelligentsia was not conducted. It seems that at least, until the end of war, the total disruption of Lithuanian culture was not intended. On the contrary, during this transition period, this field of country’s life was sought to be controlled and employed for propaganda goals, while national and political awareness of the subjugated nation was intended to be gradually suppressed. The said three directions of Nazi activities were reflected in all areas of Lithuanian cultural life.

¹⁴³ Ibidem, p. 131.

¹⁴⁴ Dobrovolskas J. *Švietimo, mokslo ir kultūros slopinimas (Suppression of Education, Science and Culture)*, p. 66-67; Kubilius V. *Neparklūdyta mūza (Unprostrate Muse)*, p. 30.

¹⁴⁵ Pšibilskis B. *Iš Lietuvos XX a. kultūros istorijos (From Lithuanian Cultural History of 20th Century)*, p. 140.

¹⁴⁶ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 466.

¹⁴⁷ Pšibilskis B. *Iš Lietuvos XX a. kultūros istorijos (From Lithuanian Cultural History of 20th Century)*, p. 143.

During occupation, Nazis put all efforts to restrict theatre operation and musical life. Certain changes in Lithuanian theatre life took place already during the rule of the Interim Government. Following its orders, theatres set up by the Jewish and the Polish as well as those opened during Soviet occupation¹⁴⁸. Later still functioning State Theatres of Kaunas, Vilnius, Šiauliai and Panevėžys, Kaunas State Children Theatre, Vilnius State VAIDILA Theatre and Vilnius Philharmonic were transferred by the Arts Department of the Education Board to the control of city municipalities¹⁴⁹. Following decrees issued by Commissioner of Ostland Reich on 19 December 1941 and 18 December 1942, it was established that the prior permit of the General Commissioner or his authorised institution was needed for the performance of any stage plays (opera, drama, ballet, circus, etc.)¹⁵⁰. Thus, from the very start of the occupation, the government of Nazis censored theatre activities and their repertoires. Hardly have the theatre season of 1941-1942 begun, when the plays of Jewish, Soviet, some Lithuanian and West European playwrights were removed from repertoires, while Russian classics were prohibited¹⁵¹. Each play planned for staging was inspected by Nazi censors as to its potential instigation of anti-Hitlerian tendencies or any other ideology, esp. Communism propagation. Following the set procedure, the request for the permit for staging any play had to be submitted to the regional Commissioner even before starting to study the play. The request had to indicate whether it was the first staging or recast, what would be the language of the play. Provided the play was not staged in German, the entire text of the play and the summary of the director had to be enclosed to the request¹⁵². Violation of this procedure could result in imprisonment, penalty or property confiscation. Nazis did not dare close Lithuanian theatres immediately but imposed stringent restrictions on their activities, which hindered natural development of creative process in theatres. However, it was planned to gradually liquidate these art institutions in future. Until that occupation government of Nazis expected to change the direction of theatre operation, force them to serve Hitlerian propaganda and suppress national awareness with the help of theatres. Nazis wanted German influence to be visible in press, literature, cinema and theatre¹⁵³. For this end, the stages of theatres, cinemas and concert halls were pervaded with the works of German artists. This gives an explanation as to why theatres unlike other culture institutions were not closed right away, although there were attempts to do that. For example, a few troupes of Kaunas Drama Theatre and VAIDILA Theatre were in continuous threat of liquidation.

¹⁴⁸ *Lietuvos Laikinoji vyriausybė. Posėdžių protokolai (Interim Government of Lithuania. Minutes of the Sessions)*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁹ Payroll of the Education Board of 1941, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 672, page 43-54.

¹⁵⁰ Bulavas J. *Vokiškųjų fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, p. 234.

¹⁵¹ Letter of the General Adviser on Education of 10 December 1941 to all institutions under the Education Board, stored in LCVA, funds R-854, folder 1, file 58, page 2.

¹⁵² *Lietuvių tarybinis teatras 1940-1956 (Lithuanian Soviet Theatre in 1940-1956)*, p. 33-34.

¹⁵³ Handrach H. D. *Das Reichskommissariat Ostland (Reich Commissariat of Ostland)*, p. 167.

Nazis supervised musical life of the country with steady hand, too. Request submitted for the staging of musical play had to enclose the score or complete piano music¹⁵⁴. Opera troupes had to refuse staging previously especially successful operas such as A. Rubinštein's "Demon", J. Karnavičius' "Gražina", etc. because of Nazi censorship.

The change of the owners of Kaunas Radio Station was a major loss for Kaunas musical life. When it was overtook by Nazis, they did not allocate much time for the broadcasting of local music. In 1943, together with all other Lithuanian high schools there was closed Kaunas Conservatoire, which was even bigger blow to the former Interim Capital¹⁵⁵. If before war all musical life concentrated in Kaunas, during Nazi occupation musicians had to seek for a new cultural centre in other cities. Occupations changing one after another distorted the situation in Vilnius, too. Polish Conservatoire, Jewish Music Institute and private Music School of Vuyevudska were liquidated in the city. When persons of Jewish nationality were dismissed from the orchestras of Vilnius Radio Station and Vilnius Philharmonic, these collectives markedly abated and were merged into one orchestra. Thus, only one orchestra with three functions – concerts, musical activities in the radio and playing in operas - remained in Vilnius.

Due to the hardships of war and occupation as well as conducted changes, during the first years of occupation very few concerts were arranged, yet later when the situation stabilised more concerts were organised. When Vilnius Philharmonic was closed in 1943, musical life that has temporarily been restored was again disrupted.

On the Nazis' demand, music of German composers prevailed in the concert halls¹⁵⁶. German music was also broadcasted by radio waves. Occupation government of Nazis did not restrict cultural activity of the residents of the occupied country, yet sought to make it serve the preservation of national awareness as little as possible and to subject Lithuanian artistic activity to the goals of germanisation of Lithuania as much as possible.

Nazis followed similar cultural policy in both Latvia and Estonia, too. In these countries neighbouring Lithuania, Nazis also restricted cultural life, esp. theatre, music and cinema. Nazis allowed only classical plays, comedies and couplets to be staged in theatres, yet in Estonia they prohibited staging of "Faust" opera arguing that the level of the Estonian theatre was not sufficient for staging plays of this kind. No musical production of Russian, Polish and French composers was permitted in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia¹⁵⁷.

¹⁵⁴ Bulavas J. *Vokiškųjų fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, p. 234.

¹⁵⁵ Jakubėnas V. *Istorinė lietuvių muzikos apžvalga (Historical Review of Lithuanian Music)* in *Lietuvių enciklopedija (Encyclopaedia of Lithuanians)*, Boston, 1968, Vol. 15, p. 695.

¹⁵⁶ *Vilniaus muzikinis gyvenimas (Musical Life in Vilnius City)* in *Kūryba*, 1944, No. 1, p. 53.

¹⁵⁷ Bonusiak W. *Polityka ludnościowa III Rzeszy na okupowanych obszarach ZSRR (1941-1944) (Public Politics of the Third Reich in the Occupied Territories of the USSR)*, p. 135

Meanwhile, Nazis strove to annihilate the culture of local people and create “intellectual wasteland” in Poland and occupied territory of Soviet Union¹⁵⁸. A. Dallin calls this Nazi policy “cultural castration” (policy of annihilating culture – L.J.), which constituted a part of Nazi programme of nation extermination¹⁵⁹.

Looting and Annihilation of Culture Institutions

Lithuanian libraries, museums, institutes, research laboratories and other educational and science institutions incurred great losses during Nazi occupation and war. During the capture of Lithuania, fires annihilated over 20 libraries (those in Lazdijai, Vilkaviškis, Zarasai, Rietavas, Antalieptė, Varniai, Merkinė, Marijampolė, etc.) and heavily harmed 62 libraries¹⁶⁰. All Jewish libraries were closed in the country¹⁶¹. War hospitals and headquarters were set up in the majority of the remaining libraries. In most of them there settled German soldiers, who often made cots out of periodicals, burnt books and inventory. Libraries were often moved from one place to another, removed from their premises to worse premises, even premises unsuitable for book storage. For example, occupation government in Kaunas moved the Central State Library to other places and took its premises for their own use¹⁶². Žaliakalnis Library of Kaunas City was moved to the barn, while the Third Library of Vilnius was transferred to the half-ruined building. In 1942, one library and three reading-rooms were closed. At the beginning of 1944, the situation of the libraries was even worse in Kaunas. Most of the rooms were taken away from the Library of Vytautas Magnus University, thus, it had to squeeze into the basement. Central State Library was scattered in a few locations, while Žaliakalnis District Library was closed due to the shortage of premises¹⁶³.

During Nazi occupation, funds of Lithuanian libraries suffered major loss, too. Already the Interim Government initiated the selection of library books. On 15 July 1941, J. Ambrazevičius, Minister of Education, announced on the radio and press that all Communist books received after 15 June 1940 would be removed from the libraries¹⁶⁴. On 29 July 1941, Propaganda Department of the Reich Commissariat of the Eastern Lands ordered the removal of Marxist and Soviet books, Jewish writings and books of foreign writers published after 1933 from the libraries. Only books in favour

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 135.

¹⁵⁹ Dallin A. *Deutsche Herrschaft in Russland. Eine Studie über Besatzungs Politik. (German Rule in Russia. A Study on the Politics of Occupation)*, p. 682-684.

¹⁶⁰ Pšibilskis V. *Kultūros-švietimo įstaigos Lietuvoje hitlerinės okupacijos metais (Cultural and Educational Institutions in Lithuania during Hitlerian Occupation)*, p. 120.

¹⁶¹ Review of Activities of Public State Libraries of 01 August 1941 - 01 April 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 1051, page 204.

¹⁶² Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 481.

¹⁶³ Pšibilskis V. *Kultūros-švietimo įstaigos Lietuvoje hitlerinės okupacijos metais (Cultural and Educational Institutions in Lithuania during Hitlerian Occupation)*, p. 121.

¹⁶⁴ Review of Activities of Public State Libraries of 01 August 1941 – 01 April 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 1051, page 205.

of Germany and inline with National Socialist ideology were left in the libraries¹⁶⁵. The Education Board, which had taken over the functions of the Ministry of Education under the Interim Government, proceeded with the clearing of library funds from unsuitable literature. On 18 December 1941, Elementary Education Department of the Education Board sent to all libraries the lists of books published during the Soviet occupation. The first list contained books published during the Soviet occupation that could be left in the libraries. The second list included books that had to be removed from the library funds and forwarded to other institutions for extermination later. The third list contained books that had to be removed from the library shelves and catalogues, and temporarily withheld from issuing to readers until next instructions were delivered. The last list mainly included books of Lithuanian authors who collaborated with Soviet government¹⁶⁶. The circular note of the Education Board dated 27 January 1942 made the list of books to be removed more detailed. It instructed to remove from libraries the following books as soon as possible: 1) books of Jewish authors, for example, Bieleckin, Heine, Gershenzon, C. Marx, Zimann, etc. published at all times (translations, originals, scientific literature and fiction); 2) books of Lithuanian authors for example, P. Cvirka, L. Gira, K. Korsakas, S. Nėris, J. Paleckis, J. Šimkus and A. Venclova, published at all times; 3) all books published by various publishers such as Press Fund, “Raudonoji vėliava” (“Red Flag”) or State Publishers of the Lithuanian SSR, in Lithuania during Soviet times, with the exception of 29 works including those of Lithuanian authors such as J. Balys, J. Baltrušaitis, S. Čiurlionienė, S. Daukantas, M. Ivanauskas, etc., and foreign authors such as P. Buck, W. J. Claxton, F. Dostoyevsky, A. Dumas, R. Kipling, etc.; 4) all those books that unfavourably for the current situation elucidated any historical facts or issues, for example, J. Būtėnas’ “Mėlyni kareivėliai” (“Blue Little Soldiers”), M. Daugys’ “Žydai Lietuvos gyvenime” (“Jews in Lithuanian Life”), B. Dūda’s “Klaipėdos voratinkliuose” (“In the Webs of Klaipėda”), A. P. Dviese “Adolfas Hitleris” (“Adolf Hitler”), T. Hertz’s “Rasė istorijos šviesoje” (“Race in the Light of History”), E. M. Remarque’s “All Quiet on the Western Front”, etc. The circular note provided the following instruction: “Books removed from the libraries shall be stored in well-secured archives or warehouses until further instructions as to their storage are provided”¹⁶⁷. On 22 April 1942, the Heads of Public Libraries were forbidden to issue to readers not only Soviet literature but also all Russian literature in originals or translations, but later this prohibition was expanded to include books of authors from all countries fighting with Germany in the war. During the inspection of libraries and book removal, readers were not served in the libraries¹⁶⁸. Following

¹⁶⁵ Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 481.

¹⁶⁶ Review of Activities of Public State Libraries of 01 August 1941 – 01 April 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 1051, page 205.

¹⁶⁷ Circular note dated 27 January 1941 from the Education Board to all institutions under the Education Board, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 1052, page 186.

¹⁶⁸ Ibidem, page 205; Pšibilskis B. *Iš Lietuvos XX a. kultūros istorijos (From Lithuanian Cultural History of 20th Century)*, p. 131-132.

the instructions of the Education Board, Lithuanian libraries have removed from their funds thousands of books. Lithuanian Academy of Sciences have removed from its funds about 4,000 books considered unsuitable for readers¹⁶⁹, Central State Library has removed 1,500 books¹⁷⁰, Vilnius University Library – over 100 books of Polish authors¹⁷¹, Vegeriai Public Library – 381 books¹⁷², Akmenė State Public Library - 94 books¹⁷³, Kruonas State Public Library – 31 books¹⁷⁴, etc. During occupation, library funds have hardly been complemented by valuable literature, periodicals have often been delivered with delay, while the libraries lacked fuel and electrical power. In September 1941, Lithuanian Central State Library expressed a concern to the General Adviser on Finances stating that due to the reduction of funds it cannot pay all its bill, let alone the complete cancellation of all books and journals after the 1st of April¹⁷⁵.

Thus, libraries found it hard to implement the obligation imposed by the Education Board, that is, “(...) to show more initiative in reducing the occurring hardships and to put all the efforts to ensure that the principal purpose of the libraries, i.e. to satisfy justified requirements of the readers, would suffer as little as possible”¹⁷⁶.

Special staff of A. Rosenberg (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg) conducted the book removal process. On 21 October 1941, the Education Board informed the libraries that in the fight against Bolshevism and its ideas, all propaganda literature was given to the Rosenberg’s institution for the destruction. Following the instructions of the officers from this institution, in Autumn 1942, 984 books were picked from the Central State Library and taken to Germany, while 13 985 propaganda-type publications, which had not been entered into the inventory, were transferred to the Raw Material Centre for destruction¹⁷⁷. 1,536 books were removed from the Library of Dr. V. Kudirka under Kaunas City Municipality and taken away or destroyed. Furthermore, all literature in Russian, Polish, French and English languages was removed from the catalogues and public usage. The most valuable and expensive publications were selected from the fourth, fifth and eighth libraries of Vilnius City, while the remaining books were destroyed. Other libraries like A. Balošeris library, Vilnius Library of Evangelical Reformer Synod (established in 1611 and previously storing 20,000

¹⁶⁹ Letter dated 25 March 1942 from the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences to the General Adviser on Education, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 1054, page 22.

¹⁷⁰ Bulavas J. *Vokiškųjų fašistų okupacinis Lietuvos valdymas (Occupation Rule of German Fascists)*, p. 235.

¹⁷¹ Letter of 02 April 1942 from the Library of Vilnius University to the Education Board, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 1054, pages 23-26.

¹⁷² List of books removed from Vegeriai Public Library of 14 April 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 1054, pages 56-62.

¹⁷³ List of books removed from Akmenė State Public Library of 13 April 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 1054, pages 52-53.

¹⁷⁴ Letter of Kruonas State Public Library to the Director of the Elementary Education Department of the Education Board of 21 March 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 1054, pages 10-13.

¹⁷⁵ Letter of the Director of the Lithuanian Central State Library to the General Adviser on Finances of 04 September 1941, stored in LCVA, funds 1655, folder 1, file 108, page 128.

¹⁷⁶ The Letter dated 28 January 1942 from the Elementary Education Department of the Education Board to all Managers of State Public Libraries, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 1054, page 187.

unique books from the 16-18th c.) and Strašūnas' library based in Kaunas were entirely destroyed. According to B. Pšibilskis, during the war and Nazi occupation, about 3 million books were destroyed in Lithuania. Libraries lost about half a million of publications¹⁷⁸.

During Nazi occupation, Lithuanian museums also functioned in difficult circumstances. In March 1942, the custody of museums of regional studies was entrusted to Kaunas Museum of Culture, which has been renamed after Vytautas Magnus. Nazis also allowed the institution of Cultural Heritage Protection to operate further. However, these institutions could hardly guarantee the security of objects of art and culture heritage displayed in museums.

The funds of museums were cut down, their payroll was reduced and museums were moved out of their premises. For example, in 1942 one of the major museums in province, Šiauliai "Aušra" Museum, was taken under control of the Education Board from the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. It was granted the status of provincial museum of regional studies, thus, cancelling its link with the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and its Institute of Ethnology. Starting from 01 April 1942, only four full-time employees out of seven were left in "Aušra" Museum. In Autumn 1943, the museum had to cede its premises to the German war hospital¹⁷⁹. German Army burnt the museum when retreating from Lithuania in 1944. Panevėžys Museum of Regional Studies was moved from one building to another until finally it has to settle in the cramped basement. Rokiškis museum was moved out from the Palace of Count Pšezdecky. Zarasai Museum had to move from one place to another three times, too. In February 1944, pursuant to the instructions of Nazi officers, Vilnius Museum of Belarusians was moved from its premises at No. 9 Aušros Vartų Street to No. 4 Šv. Onos Street¹⁸⁰.

Valuable exhibits, historical monuments, works of art, rare books and equipment were plundered in Lithuania and spirited away to Germany. On 01 September 1941, H. Lohse, Reich Commissioner in Eastern Lands, informed the staff of the General Commissariat of Lithuania that Hitler requested the exportation of all items of "German-origin" to Germany¹⁸¹. Rear-admiral Lorey, the Director of Berlin Museum, and the museum staff took care of this exportation of cultural items of "German-origin". From September 1941, the Unit of Rosenberg's Ostland headquarters got involved into this process, too. The unit inspected and collected the objects of culture heritage from former Soviet State institutions, Jewish residents and persons who retreated from Lithuania¹⁸². In Lithuania, the

¹⁷⁷ Pšibilskis B. *Iš Lietuvos XX a. kultūros istorijos (From Lithuanian Cultural History of 20th Century)*, p. 132.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem, p. 132.

¹⁷⁹ Gumuliauskas A. *Kultūrinio gyvenimo problematiškumas Šiauliuose 1941-1945 m. (Issues of Cultural Life in Šiauliai in 1941-1945)* in *Šiauliai Antrojo pasaulinio karo metais (Šiauliai During the World War Two)*, Šiauliai, 2002, p. 43-44.

¹⁸⁰ Letter of Vilnius Museum of Belarusians dated 09 February 1944 to the Director of the Department of Science and Arts of the Education Board, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 673, page 68.

¹⁸¹ Rukšėnas K. *Hitlerininkų politika Lietuvoje 1941-1944 m. (Hitlerites' Politics in Lithuania in 1941-1944)*, page 297.

¹⁸² Bubnys A. *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva... (German Occupation in Lithuania...)*, p. 482.

looting of culture heritage was conducted by Vilnius Unit of Rosenberg's Headquarters, security police, and the staff of the Culture and Propaganda Departments of the General Commissariat¹⁸³. During the first days, plenty of cultural heritage objects such as books and pictures from Kaunas and Vilnius Libraries were transferred to the Königsberg Library. Until 20 November 1941, the staff of Rosenberg's Headquarters occupied and kept sealed the Central State Archive in Pažaislis, Kaunas Archive at No. 46 Laisvės Ave, Archive of the Ministry of Agriculture in Kaunas, Archive of the Archdiocese in Kaunas, etc. 100 Synagogues, 2 Jewish Libraries, 1 bookshop, 4 theatres, 12 cinemas, State Archive on Mindaugas Street, University, Collections of the Academy of Sciences and Archive of Civil Records were sealed in Vilnius City¹⁸⁴. On 21-26 January 1941, displays owned by Jewish people were confiscated and removed from Vytautas Magnus Museum of Culture. These include exhibits of Zachary Margolin comprised of the collection of golden coins; and of teacher N. Lidsky comprised of cultural monuments of judaika and general character, as well as silver coins; attorney V. Cimkauskas' library and collection of ex-libris. Concurrently, the property of Jewish Society of Ethnography and History (from Kaunas), entrusted to the museum for temporary custody, was spirited away from the premises of the museum. This property was in the control and under custody of the Institution of Protection of Cultural Heritage¹⁸⁵. In Winter 1942, Nazi scientific officers Dr. Tyle and Prof. Hanibuland visited all major Lithuanian museums. They collected works of art of Lithuanian folk supposedly created under the influence of German culture. Selected exhibits were written-off and shipped to Berlin Museum of Ethnography¹⁸⁶. A part of Lithuanian cultural heritage objects were looted by individual Nazi officers and soldiers. H. Hingst, Commissar of Vilnius City Region, appropriated valuable furniture collections, ancient porcelain, carpets, paintings, etchings and other museum property and took it from the Museum of Vilnius Academy of Arts. From the same museum, Germans carried off forty valuable paintings of the 19th and 20th c., 130 especially rare plates of copper etchings (from 17th, 18th and 19th c.), and the competition model for the monument of Peter the Great created by sculptor T. Kriuger. Germans spirited off 743 oldest and rarest publications, historical collections of gold and medals from the Library of Vilnius Academy of Arts¹⁸⁷. Paintings of J. Buračas, J. Šileika, A. Žmuidzinavičius, Z. Petravičius, etc. were taken from Kaunas Museum of Culture as a gift for a top Nazi officer¹⁸⁸. Nazis took ancient French cannon, bust of cultural figure S. Dagilis, still unassembled bronze

¹⁸³ Rukšėnas K. *Hitlerininkų politika Lietuvoje 1941-1944 m. (Hitlerites' Politics in Lithuania in 1941-1944)*, page 297.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 297.

¹⁸⁵ Letter from Vytautas Magnus Museum of Culture to the General Adviser on Education through the High Education Department, dated 29 January 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-629, folder 1, file 986, page 35.

¹⁸⁶ Pšibilskis V. *Kultūros-švietimo įstaigos Lietuvoje hitlerinės okupacijos metais (Cultural and Educational Institutions in Lithuania during Hitlerian Occupation)*, p. 125.

¹⁸⁷ Statement on the Crimes of Hitlerian Invaders in the Lithuanian Soviet Social Republic issued by the Special State Commission for the Evaluation and Investigation of the Crimes of German Fascist Invaders and their Accomplices, Vilnius, 1957, p. 5-6.

¹⁸⁸ Pšibilskis V. *Kultūros-švietimo įstaigos Lietuvoje hitlerinės okupacijos metais (Cultural and Educational Institutions in Lithuania during Hitlerian Occupation)*, p. 126.

sculptures of P. Rimša called “Lithuanian Warrior” and “School of Poverty” from War Museum of Vytautas Magnus. Looted works of art were re-fused into cartridges¹⁸⁹. During the plundering of the museum, Nazis were not stopped by the report of the commission formed of the experts of Lithuanian history and art, stating that for re-fusion only bust of cultural figure S. Dagilis and the statue “Knight”, located in the abutment of the museum tower, could be used. Meanwhile, other museum exhibits that were in danger of being looted were acknowledged by the commission as “very valuable works of art (...) that are appreciated symbols of the Lithuanian Nation”, therefore, “they should not be destroyed and turned into the scrap-iron”¹⁹⁰. Gestapo took over and annihilated the Museum of Jewish Culture Institute, which had collections important for Lithuanian history, and Jewish Museum of History and Ethnography in Kaunas¹⁹¹.

Institutions of education and science suffered from the officers of the occupation government of Nazis as they had their preserved books, pictures, furniture and equipment spirited off. On 17-18 March 1943 at the close of Lithuanian high schools, Gestapo officers broke the statues and ornaments in the building of Vilnius University, tore the paintings, carried off exhibits, valuable training materials, scientific literature, epidiascopes, electricity engines, machines and other auxiliary scientific equipment¹⁹². During its retreat from Lithuania, German Army ruined a part of Vilnius City with the majority of its monuments of architecture and art, blew to their foundations the Institute of Physics and Chemistry in Kaunas, Chamber of Agriculture Academy with its libraries, laboratories and rooms in Dotnuva, Chamber of Agriculture Technicum and Gymnasium in Kėdainiai, Drama Theatre in Šiauliai among the great number of other institutions of education, art and culture¹⁹³.

Consequently, looting of Lithuanian cultural heritage objects, along with the devastation of libraries, museums, and educational and science institutions constituted the policy of Nazi cultural politics intended to enfeeble culture of Lithuanian Nation and to set the scene for the further germanisation of the country.

¹⁸⁹ Ibidem, p. 126.

¹⁹⁰ Letter from Vytautas Magnus Museum of Culture to the Headmaster of Arts School, dated 16 April 1942, stored in LCVA, funds R-423, folder 1, file 12, page 3.

¹⁹¹ Pšibilskis V. *Kultūros-švietimo įstaigos Lietuvoje hitlerinės okupacijos metais (Cultural and Educational Institutions in Lithuania during Hitlerian Occupation)*, p. 126.

¹⁹² Statement on the Crimes of Hitlerian Invaders in the Lithuanian Soviet Social Republic issued by the Special State Commission for the Evaluation and Investigation of the Crimes of German Fascist Invaders and their Accomplices, p. 4.

¹⁹³ Juozas Jurginis *Lietuvos meno istorijos bruožai (Characteristics of Lithuanian History of Art)*, p. 350.

Conclusions

1. In Lithuania, Nazis executed the policy of restriction and disruption of cultural life of the country. Occupation government suppressed national self-awareness of the local population, executed organised annihilation and looting of cultural heritage of the country, made obstructions for the functioning of the educational and culture institutions and sought to employ them for the germanisation, and dissemination of propaganda and National Socialist ideology. Nazis expected to involve Lithuanian community into the war waged by Nazi Germany with Soviet Union to greater extent with the help of the said institutions.
2. At the beginning of the occupation, Nazis permitted general education schools, vocational and high schools of Lithuania to proceed with their functions. Following the orders issued by the Interim Government of Lithuania and occupation government of Nazis, schools where subjects were taught in Jewish and Russian were closed. Genocide of Lithuanian population conducted by Nazis resulted in the fact that neither Jewish teachers nor Jewish pupils remained in the country. Throughout the occupation period, Nazis persecuted and killed teachers that were either members of Communist Party or former Comsomols.
3. Occupation government of Nazis put all its efforts to gradually turn general education schools into vocational schools. For this end, they reorganised the structure of elementary and secondary schools, and changed the content of their study plans. Mandatory five-year elementary school was introduced from 1942-1943. According to Nazi design, it had to prepare only candidates for vocational education institutions, while its higher level (Grades 6 and 7) had to train traders and craftsmen required by Nazis. By extending the duration of studies in gymnasia and progymnasia, Nazis sought to provide more difficult conditions for obtaining secondary education and, thus, make schoolchildren and their parents choose vocational schools.
4. Nazis demanded that the Education Board should reduce the network of general education schools and limit the number of schoolchildren these schools educate. Instead of schools of this type, occupation government of Nazis expanded the network of vocational education institutions and encouraged the pupils to study in crafts and trade schools. The latter were designed for training workers and craftsmen required by Nazis to make possible further economic exploitation of the country.
5. In general education schools and specialised schools, Nazis tried to suppress national self-awareness and disseminate Nazi ideology. For this purpose, they increased the number of German classes in the study plans and expected much from the teaching of history and geography.

6. From the very beginning of occupation, Nazis made obstructions for the functioning of Lithuanian high schools. The purpose of the Occupation government of Nazis was to make high schools educate only those specialists that were required for the management of Nazi military economy. For this end, Nazis planned to close certain Lithuanian high schools completely as well as cancel the operation of the Faculties of Theology, Philosophy Humanities, Law, Mathematics and Natural Sciences in the universities of Lithuania. Employing different approaches, they restricted the enrolment of new students and hindered the graduation of the existing students.
7. Nazis also disrupted the operation of Lithuanian schools indirectly. Units of German Army, war hospitals and institutions of occupation government simply occupied school buildings, while the schools were not allocated even minimal funds for acquiring writing and education materials, teachers and lecturers received low salaries, schoolchildren and students had to perform various duties and were recruited to German Army.
8. Revenging for the failure to mobilise Lithuanian youth into SS Units, on 17-18 March 1943, Nazis closed the following Lithuanian high schools: Kaunas and Vilnius Universities, Academy of Sciences, Academy of Arts, Pedagogic University and National Philharmonic. Nazis also closed four teacher seminaries. Until the end of occupation, Nazis did not allow the closed high schools to proceed with their work.
9. In Lithuania, Nazis took command of country's publishers, printing-houses and enterprises of publication trade and distribution. During the occupation, book publishing was restricted and stringent censorship was imposed on press and any disseminated information. The said measures of Nazis resulted in the reduced number of periodicals in the country, while the publishing of Lithuanian books and textbooks was nearly suspended, and Lithuanian population was deprived of freedom of speech and receiving unbiased information on the events taking place both in Lithuania and the world.
10. Occupation government of Nazis restricted Lithuanian musical life and theatre activities, limited the arrangement of cultural and educational events conducted by local people. Productions of Jewish, Soviet, some Lithuanian and West European artists were removed from theatre and concert repertoires, while artists were instructed to perform only productions created by Germans.
11. Throughout the occupation period, Nazis persecuted Jewish writers, theatre actors, musicians and other public and cultural figures suspected of collaboration with Soviet government or deemed politically unreliable in their opinion. A great number of cultural and public figures were killed, imprisoned in Lithuania or taken to the concentration camps in Nazi Germany.

12. Lithuanian libraries and museums suffered from Nazi occupation, too. Quite a few of these culture institutions were forced to cede their buildings to German Army or institutions of occupation government of Nazis, and find shelter in unsuitable premises. Some of them were closed by Nazis or annihilated completely. During Nazi occupation, a great number of books of Jewish authors, books published during Soviet occupation as well as books by well-know writers and scientists were either removed from libraries and destroyed or taken to Germany. Museums suffered the loss of their exhibits because of war and Nazi looting of cultural heritage.
13. In Lithuania as well as in other occupied lands, Nazis looted cultural heritage. This was conducted by institutions of occupation government of Nazis, however, there were cases of license of individual Nazi officers. Valuable exhibits, historical monuments, works of art, rare books and equipment were looted from Lithuanian libraries, museums, educational and culture institutions and taken to Germany since that was the practice in all occupied countries.

ABBREVIATIONS

LCVA – Lithuanian Central State Archive

LVIA – Latvian State Historical Archive

KAA – Kaunas Region Archive

MAB RS – Manuscript Department in the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences

VUB RS – Manuscript Department in the Library of Vilnius University

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

I. SOURCES

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1. Funds R-629 - Education Board of General Region of Lithuania. 1941-1944
2. Funds R-423 - War Museum of Vytautas Magnus of General Region of Lithuania. 1941-1944
3. Funds R-636 - Vilnius Radio Station of General Region of Lithuania. 1941-1944

4. Funds R-854 - Central State Archive of General Region of Lithuania. 1941-1944
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6. Funds 1655 - Central Library of General Region of Lithuania. 1941-1944

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