

PRECONDITIONS OF THE HOLOCAUST

The Upsurge of Anti-Semitism in Lithuania in the years of the Soviet Occupation (1940-1941)

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After the Soviets occupied Lithuania in 15 June 1940, the Lithuanian-Jewish relations entered a new stage, dangerous for the Jews. Alongside the former images of the Jews as murderers of Christ, exploiters of Lithuanians, swindlers, parasites, new images appeared, more tenacious than the original ones, depicting the Jews as 'gravediggers' of Lithuanian independence, zealous collaborators of the occupants, informants, cruel NKVD interrogators, torturers of Lithuanians and active participants in the deportations. Many Lithuanians identified the Jews with the hateful Communists. The Lithuanian Activist Front (the LAF), established in autumn 1940, made a major contribution to the creation of the image. In the summer and autumn 1940, the Lithuanian periodical press started following the anti-Semitic line of the LAF,¹ and later the 'Lithuanian Archive' and the rest of the press did the same.² The myth of a special role played by the Jews in the establishing of the Soviet regime in the country took root not only in the consciousness of common Lithuanians, but in that of politicians, prominent intellectuals and the leaders of the Church as well.

In his political memoirs Vincas Kreve writes that in the afternoon of 15 June, when the Red Army units marched the streets of Kaunas, "a crowd of sorrowful Lithuanians were crying, only the Jews were joyous, and their women would smother the Red Army soldiers with flowers."³ Povilas Šilas, a Christian Democrat activist, deputy justice minister of the Provisional Government of 1941, member of the Lithuanian anti-Nazi resistance and prisoner of the gulags in the post-war period writes in his memoirs that in 1940-1941, "the Jews were the first active collaborators [of the occupants – L.T.] in establishing the Bolshevik power. They would occupy the most important posts in the state institutions and administration. They took control of the State Security and Public Police, occupied all the major posts in the nationalised industry and trade, they were the leaders of nearly all of our cultural life. Lithuanian Jews collaborated very actively with the Bolsheviks in compiling the lists of the thousands of Lithuanians arrested and to be

deported from Lithuania, the Jews took an active part in the annihilation of the Lithuanian nation. During the first Bolshevik period, the Jews sinned heavily against the Lithuanian nation [...], from the very first day they followed the occupants, with rare exceptions, and were their active collaborators in the genocide of the Lithuanian nation.”⁴ In the words of Mykolas Biržiška, the Lithuanians lost their patience due to the role of the Jews in the compiling of the lists of Lithuanians to be arrested and deported, and “the frequent participation of the Jews in the interrogations and their treatment of the arrested, often more violent than that of the NKVD officials.”⁵

Our celebrated historian Zenonas Ivinskis, the only member of the Provisional Government who proposed that the Government dissociate itself from the Nazi-incited killings of the Jews⁶, claims: “Lithuanians felt deeply disappointed with and even betrayed by the Jews who lived in the independent Lithuania since they [...] started collaborating with the occupants in various ways [...]. The older generation of the Jews and their Zionist movement were against the Communism [...] but did nothing to dissociate themselves from the atrocities of the “denationalised” Jews, thus [...] drawing the responsibility upon all the Jews”⁷. Lithuanian Envoy in London Bronius Balutis wrote in the summer of 1941: “we have received terrible ingratitude and unbelievable treason in turn for our tolerance and liberal treatment,” as “now it appeared that even the best of them are just the parasites of the country at best, or the slaughterers of the nation at worst... Lithuania will have to revise its position regarding some groups of its citizens.”⁸ The Metropolitan of Kaunas, Archbishop Juozapas Skvireckas, wrote in his diary at the end of June 1941: the Jews are being executed. “All family members, young and old, are killed. But the crimes committed by them are apparently brutal too: lists were being drafted and compiled of Lithuanians who would have been shot dead or killed in other ways [if the war had not broken out – L.T.]. The Jews are rather sadistic”⁹.

The quintessence of the accusations of treachery cast at the Jews is represented in the article “Lithuanians and Jews,” published under the pseudonym of Žuvintas in the underground Lithuanian anti-Soviet newspaper *Aušra* in 1977 that says: “They [the Jews – L.T.] did not cease committing their misdeeds with the Communists until they achieved what they were aiming at: with the help of tanks the Communist rule was established in Lithuania and the state was incorporated into the Soviet Union [...]. After the Soviet rule

was established in Lithuania, the influence of the Jews grew remarkably. In many institutions, the Jews occupied all the positions [...]. And what about the informing on the Lithuanians, the deportations of June 1941, the mass killings in Pravieniškės, in the Rainiai Grove, the savage torturing of the three surgeons [...] in the Panevėžys hospital? The Jews took nearly the most active part in these actions [...]. Thus, why should it surprise us that the pogroms of the Jews started after the war broke out?”¹⁰

Neither the half-century long Soviet occupation nor the years of independence were able to obliterate from the consciousness of many Lithuanians the stereotype of the Jews who allegedly committed a crime against the Lithuanian nation in 1940 – 1941. Adolfas Damušis (1997): “It is a fact that a considerable number of the Jewish-nationality citizens zealously collaborated with the Soviets by compiling the lists of the deportees and taking an active part in the deportation of innocent people (children, women, old people) to a certain death in the taiga of Siberia.”¹¹ The Chairman of the Christian Democrats Union, MP Kazys Bobelis (1997): “But you, gentlemen, [Jews and their supporters – L.T.] must remember that 85 percent of the prosecutors who tortured Lithuanians in 1940 – 1941 were Jews.”¹² Writer Jonas Mikelinškas wrote in 1996 and 1999 about “the disastrous role the Jews played” in 1940 – 1941, “the extraordinary activities of the Jews in deporting Lithuanians to Siberia,” and the traditional ingratitude of the Jews: “the Jews only love and respect the enemies of Lithuanians while on first occasion disdain and betraying those next to whom they had peacefully and safely lived for 600 years.”¹³ At the end of 1998, a group of Lithuanian politicians and academicians (Deputy Speaker of the Seimas Romualdas Ozolas, MP Rimantas Smetona, former Minister of Education and Science, academician Zigmantas Zinkevičius, Director of the Lithuanian History Institute, Professor Antanas Tyla, member of the Academy of Sciences, expert Romualdas Grigas, lawyer, Professor Mindaugas Maksimaitis and President of the Cultural Vydunas Society Dr. Vacys Bagdonavičius) issued a statement in relation to the trials of Aleksandras Lileikis and Kazys Gimžauskas claiming that “in the genocide of the Lithuanian nation, hundreds, or maybe even thousands of not only Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, but of Jews as well, have taken part.”¹⁴ The implications are clear enough. Several years ago, Jonas Morkus quoted an unknown Church leader as saying that the Lithuanian Catholic Church

may not ask for the Jews' forgiveness yet in that way as the Vatican did it since in Lithuania, "too many people remember the faces of the Jews who tortured them."¹⁵

Generally, the modern Lithuanian anti-Semitism is basing itself on historical speculations. It should be noted that the great majority of articles on the Lithuanian-Jewish relations and the role of Jews in 1940-1941 are of a journalistic level, while the accusations cast at the Jews are declarative throughout, based simply on emotions or, at best, on memoirs that are of little value as a historical source. From the middle of the 1970s, emigrant writer and dissident Tomas Venclova¹⁶ and the leader of the Lithuanian Freedom League Antanas Terleckas¹⁷ started expressing a new attitude towards the Lithuanian – Jewish relations. Although they mainly wrote on the killings of the Jews, their articles served as an encouragement for the historians for carrying out a more extensive and a deeper research into the relations of both nations and the alleged guilt of the Jews on the eve of the Holocaust.

Saulius Sužiedelis drew attention to the "pitiless geopolitical position of our nation" that had an impact on nearly every event of certain significance in the life of Lithuania, the Lithuanian – Jewish relations in 1940 – 1941 including; the Jews, forming a disproportionately large number of the Soviet institutions staff, made up only a minor part of all the Lithuanian Jews. Sužiedelis also revealed the anti-Jewish character of the "Orders for the Liberating of Lithuania" and other documents of the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF).¹⁸ Valentinas Brandišauskas has also discussed the Lithuanian–Jewish relations in the first Soviet period and the anti-Semitic character of some of the LAF documents.¹⁹ Works by Arvydas Anušauskas on the Soviet authorities' repressions carried out in Lithuania in 1940 – 1941, showing that Russian-speaking officials sent by Moscow were the main executors of the repressions, also added to the dispelling of the myth of the Jewish guilt.²⁰ My own works present an analysis of the national composition of the Lithuanian Communist Party (LCP) in 1939 –1941, also establishing the number of Jewish staff in the first Soviet period and in the institutions of the Soviet Lithuanian Republic, local institutions, and in the repressive institutions (the NKVD, NKBG, Offices of the Prosecutor).²¹ Further research by Nijole Maslauskienė extended my analysis of the national composition of the LCP in 1939 – 1941.²²

Israeli historians had started researching the life of the Jews in Lithuania in 1940 – 1941 still earlier than the Lithuanian researchers. Dov Levin has major achievements in the field. He has presented an extensive data on the role of the Lithuanian Jews in 1940 – 1941,²³ basing himself mainly on the Jewish periodical press and memoirs. Solomonas Atamukas, residing in Israel since 1992, dedicated a rather extensive chapter to the first Soviet period in ‘The History of the Lithuanian Jews’ published in 1998. Basing himself on a copious factual material, he produced an analysis of the attitude to the Soviet power of the various social layers of the Jews, as well as of the role of the Jews in the Soviet authorities, and the achievements made and losses suffered by the Jews.²⁴

In general, research conducted by historians demonstrates that the Jews did not play any special role in the Sovietisation of Lithuania and the repressing of its people, while the losses suffered by the Jews themselves in 1940 –1941 were even bigger than those of Lithuanians.

The purpose of this work is as follows: 1) to analyse the situation of the Lithuanian Jews in the first Soviet period and their role in the Soviet governing system; 2) to analyse the Lithuanian – Jewish relations, i.e. the evolution of anti-Semitism in 1940 – 1941; 3) to disclose the causes of the creation of the myth of the “Jewish guilt.” The main sources of the research are the works by the above-mentioned authors, archive materials (firstly reports by the State Security Police, county governors and the NKVD on the state of the public and the events), publicised and archive documents of the LAF, periodical press and other material.

The title of one of Levin’ works is ‘The Lesser of Two Evils’.²⁵ The Soviet Union, although limiting the national – religious life of the Jews, did not threaten their physical existence as Germany did. As it was becoming increasingly clear from autumn 1939 that either Germany or the USSR would occupy Lithuania, the latter was more acceptable for the Jews. A bulletin of the Panevėžys District State Security of 2 June 1940 says that the recent German victories in the West are having a very negative impact on the moods of the Jews since they are aware of what awaits them if the Germans win the war.²⁶ The same source claims that the note the USSR presented to the Lithuanian Government on 30 May due to an alleged capture of the Red Army soldiers has lifted the spirits of the Jews. They do not fear the occupation of Lithuania in the least, however, part of the Lithuanians do

not either. The majority of the peasants, the intelligentsia and conscious workers are allegedly fearing the Russian occupation, but “the pro-Communist and part of the non-conscious workers [Lithuanians – L.T.] are happy, saying that now the Soviet Union will definitely occupy Lithuania. They make remarks that if Lithuania resisted the Soviets, they would not fight and go over to the Soviet Union.”²⁷ However, the majority of Lithuanians were generally dispirited in the period between late May and early June.²⁸ The perspective of the occupation of Lithuania apparently did not frighten the majority of the Lithuanian Russians either. The Russian craftsmen and peasants of the Rokiškis district, earlier loyal to Lithuania, “were waiting for the coming of the Bolsheviks to Lithuania and for the joining of the latter to the Soviet Union as for some salvation” in winter 1940, the Panevėžys District State Security Police stated on 12 February 1940.²⁹ At the start of June, Russians of the Rokiškis and Obeliai areas and small Lithuanian peasants were saying that “soon Molotov would come and free them.”³⁰

However, the attitude of both the Jews and Lithuanians to the possible coming of the Red Army and the Sovietisation of Lithuania varied. After the Soviet Union declared war on Poland and occupied Vilnius in September 1939, the State Security Department (SSD) stated: “The well-off Jews are fearing the invasion of the Soviet Army to Vilnius. The leftist Jews are, on the contrary, living in hope that the Red Army would march to Lithuania as well.”³¹ At the end of May 1940, the Chief Rabbinate urged the country’s Rabbis to support the Lithuanian authorities and denounce the Jews joining the Communist Party (CP).³² On June 1, in the Varena Synagogue a Rabbi said in a sermon that the pro-Communist Jews are doing evil not only to themselves but to the whole Jewish nation as well since Lithuania is the second Jerusalem and “President Smetona is our father and we will not be hurt as long as he exists [...]. Let us obey the Lithuanian authorities and support them.” The Rabbi urged the people to report about the Jews who are acting against Lithuania to either him or the police.³³ With the tension between Lithuania and the USSR heightening, on 6 June the Rabbi of Vilnius and the neighbouring districts gathered into the Great Synagogue in the Vokieciu Street and prayed for the Soviets not to occupy Lithuania.³⁴ In early June, with Lithuania facing the real danger of the coming occupation, the Vilnius District State Security Police stated that “the Jews are not expressing any great joy with relation to this.”³⁵ And this is comprehensible: they had

the personal experience of the Soviet rule in autumn 1939. Another Security Police bulletin indicates that approximately half of all the Vilnius Jews are not frightened by the possible occupation of Lithuania.³⁶

“When the Soviet tanks finally drove into Lithuanian towns on 15 June 1941, the Jews, especially the young, were among the people who welcomed the Red Army soldiers,” Levin writes. “Such behaviour differed considerably from the feelings of anger and mourning that the Soviet occupation aroused in the majority of Lithuanians. Some Jews (especially those of the Zionist and religious wing and the middle class) feared the Soviet rule as well, however, they formed a minority. The majority of the Jews were full of enthusiasm and felt greatly relieved.”³⁷ The Jews were well disposed towards the so-called People’s Government formed on 17 June that ensured respect for the rights of national minorities³⁸ and which included, after a 13-year interval, a Jewish minister, the Health Care Minister Leonas Koganas. The role of this ministry in implementing the schemes of the Kremlin – creating a legal appearance for the occupation and annexation, and handing over the power to the Communist Party – was obviously a minimal one. It should also be noted that the organisations which recognised this government (the Seimas of Smetona, the Army, the Home Guard, the founders of volunteer structures, the peasant populists, the Christian Democrats, and economic organisations) did not include a single Jewish organisation. No Jewish institution had made any anti-State, anti-Lithuanian or pro-Soviet statement at all. The adviser to the Embassy of Lithuania in London, H. Rabinovitch (the only Jew by nationality in the diplomatic corps), was first to challenge the puppet People’s Government. In his telegram of 15 July to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs he regretted that “the efforts to retain the independence have failed [...] and I consider Stalin’s order inappropriate and disastrous for Lithuania.”³⁹

Apparently, the Jews holding non-communist views considered the status of Lithuania as a satellite of the USSR mostly acceptable. Sara Ginaite recalls her father to have started studying the constitution of the People’s Republic of Mongolia.⁴⁰ The SSD bulletin of 27 June 1940 says: “two points of view may be observed in the Jewish society. The rich favour the present government since it guarantees democracy and private property. However, the poor Jews hold contrary views.”⁴¹ The latter wanted the Communists to come into power.⁴²

The Jews, especially the young, participated in the meetings called by the Communists all over Lithuania in summer 1940, but the majority of the participants, particularly the speakers, were Lithuanian.⁴³ In a meeting held in the Kaunas Vileišis Square on 24 June that started a campaign of meetings, gatherings and manifestations, out of 9 speakers, two were Jews (Genrikas Zimanas who spoke on behalf of the MOPR and Jankelis Vinickas who spoke on behalf of former political prisoners).⁴⁴ In the meeting held in the Theatre Hall of the Vilnius City on June 26, the aim of which was to “rejoice at the regained freedom and express feelings of approval to the People’s Government, the comrade Soviet Union and its Army,” approximately 2000 people participated, including mainly Poles, also Lithuanians, and very few Jews. The speakers of the meeting were the following persons: a civil servant of the municipality Ksaveras Kairys, Krestnikovas, editor of the *Vilnius balsas* daily Albinas Žukauskas, a worker of St. Jacob Hospital Karosas, engineer Jonas Drutas and Šulija who spoke on behalf of the Prisoners’ Committee, a civil servant Aleksandras Uldukis, and a worker Bumbulis.⁴⁵ In the meeting of 10 July in Trakai, 300 people participated, mainly Lithuanians and Poles; the meeting was led by activists from Kaunas, also non-Jewish.⁴⁶ After the so-called People’s Seimas adopted the resolution on joining the USSR, a demonstration and a meeting was staged in Dotnuva, in which 500 people participated, and the County Governor Sakalauskas, Žydelis [a Lithuanian – L.T.], and Bagužis made speeches. In a meeting held on the same occasion in Raseiniai, County Governor Banys and leader of local Communists Petkevicius delivered speeches, while in the meeting in Utena, the Burgomaster of the city Cepenas and teacher Voloviccius spoke.⁴⁷ In the 28 July meeting in Šakiai, a county governor, a Red Army officer and the political instructor of the Army, as well as a school inspector spoke, and sculptor Vincas Grybas delivered a speech on behalf of “the workers of Jurbarkas.”⁴⁸ To a crowd of 18 thousand that gathered (or was gathered)⁴⁹ on 4 August in the Liberty Square of Panevežys, the following people spoke: Communist Base Garbaitė, a Red Army officer, Young Communist Jonas Macevicius, former political prisoner Joselis Šorferis, a worker of the sugar factory Lipnevicius, and on behalf of women – Butkiene, Commissar of the Food Factory Siniakas and Jonas Kanopa.⁵⁰ In the meeting held in Veisiejai on 17 August, County Governor of Seinai Vaškevicius, soldier of the Lithuanian People’s Army Kvedaras, member of the People’s Seimas Švitra,

teacher Sabalius, a Red Army officer, representative of the Seinai District LCP Committee Vytautas Žalionis, and doctor of Kapciamiestis, Goliskas spoke.⁵¹ The organisers of the meetings consciously avoided letting Jewish speakers mount the rostrum since the gathered Lithuanians and Poles would mock at their accent, make anti-Jewish remarks and even shout “down with the Jews!”⁵² It should be noted that the meetings of Jews only were also held in the summer of 1940.

Members of the Chief Electoral Commission, appointed by the acting President Paleckis, that directly falsified the results of the elections to the new Seimas⁵³, comprised Vladas Niunka, Kestutis Domaševičius, Andrius Bulota, Valerija Narvidaite and J. Kvetkauskas, thus, not a single Jewish person was member of the Commission. The so-called People’s Seimas that declared Lithuania a Soviet Republic on 21 July and addressed Moscow asking to admit Lithuania to the USSR comprised 67 Lithuanians, 4 Jews, 3 Poles, 2 Belarussians, 1 Russian, and 1 Latvian. The Seimas - appointed 20-member delegation that left for Moscow on 30 July to “bring home Stalin’s sun” (a phrase coined by Kazys Boruta) included only one Jew (Icikas Meskupas).⁵⁴

The anti-Semitic Lithuanian literature often speculates on the allegedly large number of the Jewish members in the LCP, the fifth pillar of Moscow in the Independent Lithuania period and the main supporter of the occupational regime in 1940 –1941. Even the solid Lithuanian Encyclopaedia says that “the Jews comprised a majority in the not numerous Communist Party in 1940 – 1941.”⁵⁵ Several authors even claim that the Jews comprised 80 and more percent of the LCP members. And what was the real situation? According to the SSD that had detailed information on the composition of the LCP, 1,120 party members were free at the end of 1939, including 670 Lithuanians and 346 Jews, while the remaining members were Poles, Russians, and Germans. Another 287 Communists, including 145 Jews, were imprisoned. Thus, the Jews comprised 35 percent of all members of the LCP⁵⁶. The same source indicates that the 263 most active Young Communists included 81 Lithuanians and 165 Jews, while the 234 activists of the MOPR included 90 Lithuanians and 141 Jews.⁵⁷ During the first six months of the Soviet rule, with Russian-speaking civil servants continuously sent to Lithuania, Lithuanians entering the party and the “purging” of the LCP, that affected mainly the Jews⁵⁸ as many of them were from the “exploitative layers” of society and were therefore expelled, being

conducted, the national composition of the party remained generally the same. On 1 January 1941, out of 2,500 members of the LCP, 67 percent were Lithuanians, 16.4 percent were Russian-speaking persons (Russians, Belarussians, Ukrainians and others), and 16.6 percent were Jews.⁵⁹ In the first half of 1941, the process was going in the same direction. Thus, in June 1941, out of 4,703 members and candidate members of the LSSR party organisation, 2,184 (46.4 percent) were Lithuanians, 1,926 (41 percent) were Russian-speaking persons, and as few as 593 (12.6 percent) were Jews.⁶⁰ The situation was different in Kaunas where the number of Jewish Communists was higher than that of Lithuanian Communists (21.7 percent Lithuanians and 25.9 percent Jews); on the other hand, a number of districts did not have a single Jewish party member.⁶¹ The Lithuanian Lenin's Communist Youth Union (LLCYU), "the closest collaborator of the party and its reserve", had a total of 13.3 thousand members, of whom 63.1 percent were Lithuanians, 17.5 were Jews, and the remaining were Russians, Belarussians, and Poles.⁶²

The LCP(b) Central Committee, especially its Bureau, was the highest institution of the Soviet power in Lithuania. In summer 1940, out of 13 members of the LCP CC, 7 were Lithuanians, 2 were Lithuanized Latvians (Fridis Krastinis and Karolis Didžiulis – Grosmanas, sometimes erroneously presented as Jews in Lithuanian literature), and 4 were Jews (Icikas Meskupas, Chaimas Aizenas, Jankelis Vinickis, Alteris Kleineris).⁶³ After the 5th Congress of the LCP(b) held in the beginning of February 1941, the role of the Jews in the leadership of the party diminished: out of 47 members of the new CC, 24 were Lithuanians, 18 were Russian-speaking persons (sent from the USSR), and 5 were Jews.⁶⁴ The new CC Bureau comprised 6 Lithuanians, 4 Russians and 1 Jew (the LCP(b) CC 2nd Secretary Meskupas).

The higher officials of the CC apparatus played an important role in the life of the Soviet Republic. The heads of the departments' of these institutions had more practical power than the ministers did. In June 1941, out of 25 directors and deputy directors of departments and sectors, 4 were Lithuanians, 5 were local Jews, and as many as 16 were persons sent from Russia (including 2 Russian Jews).⁶⁵ This data allows to maintain that the phrase of Jokubas Jasade (quoted many times by Jonas Mikeliniskas), saying that during the first Soviet period he, as a journalist, would talk with the state officials in his native Yiddish in nearly every cabinet of the CC, was greatly exaggerated.⁶⁶

The main local authorities were concentrated in the LCP(b) committees of cities and districts. In June 1941, out of 56 secretaries of city and district committees, as few as 3 were Jewish (Vilnius City 2nd Secretary Jankelis Vinickis, Šiauliai City 1st Secretary Alteris Kleineris, and Trakai District 2nd Secretary Šmuelis Šadevicius)⁶⁷. The majority of the 1st secretaries of cities and districts were Lithuanians, while the 2nd secretaries were mostly Russians and Belarussians. At the same time, out of 119 Party organisers in the regional administration, only 5 were Jewish.⁶⁸ The number of Jews among the party committees' was slightly higher. At the Kaunas City LCP organisation conference held on 27-29 January 1941, 35 members of the following nationalities were elected to the city's party committee: 19 Lithuanians, 12 Russian-speaking persons, and 4 Jews.⁶⁹ At the end of 1940, the city committee of the Kretinga LCP had 1 Jewish member out of a total of 9 members, while the committees of the district's regional administration had 3 Jewish members out of a total of 31 members.⁷⁰

The leadership of the Republic's Young Communists included in spring 1941 2 Jews (CC 2nd Secretary Mira Bordonaite and Secretary for the Personnel Affairs Izraelis Icikovicus), while the secretaries of the city and district committees included only one Jewish person (Vilnius City Secretary Solomonas Kancedikas).⁷¹

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the LSSR and the LSSR Council of the People's Commissars did not include Jewish leaders.⁷² In June 1941, out of 49 people's commissars (ministers) and their deputies, 26 were Lithuanian, 18 were Russian, 5 were Jews (Elijas Bilevicius – Sarinas, food industry commissar, Chaimas Alperovicus, deputy local industry commissar, Abraomas Plakchinas, deputy trade commissar, and Viktoras Micelmacheris and Davidas Bykovas, both sent from Russia, deputy health care commissar and deputy state security commissar respectively).

The middle sections of the executive power did not include many Jews either. For instance, in the State Plan Commission, out of 32 department directors and deputy directors, only two were Jewish at the start of 1941. The Local Industry People's Commissariat had only 6 Jewish deputies out of 36 directors and deputies of trusts and boards. The 19-member college of the Education People's Commissariat had 2 Jewish members, while the several hundreds of all the staff of the commissariat included as few as 6 Jews, all of whom served as inspectors of Jewish schools. Only 2 (in Jonava and

Kelme) out of 34 local branches of the State Bank were headed by Jews.⁷³ In spring 1941, out of 54 chairmen and deputy chairmen of the district and city executive committees, 32 were Lithuanians, 17 were Russians, and 5 were Belarussians, with not a single Jewish person occupying the mentioned posts.⁷⁴ All the 8 departments of the Šiauliai City Executive Committee were headed by Lithuanians, with the exception of one deputy chairman Furmanas.⁷⁵ The executive committees of Alytus City and the regional administration of Alytus district had as few as 9 Jewish members out of a total of 153.⁷⁶

The Jews played a more important role in the media: in spring 1941, Leiba Šausas was deputy director of the Telegram Agency ELTA, Emanuelis Ciranskis was deputy chairman of the Republic' Radio Committee, Genrikas Zimanas occupied the post of deputy editor of the LCP(b) CC organ *Tiesa*, and Eugenijus Vicas was deputy editor of a new daily *Truženik* published in Russian.⁷⁷ Bencionas Borisas Gurvicius, Abelis Sinjoras and Libe Korbaite occupied important posts in the Soviet censorship institution Glavlite (glavnoje upravljenje po delam literatury); out of 32 censors of the institution, 9 were Jewish.⁷⁸

Lithuanian journalistic literature is often speculating on the allegedly large number the Jews formed in the personnel of the Soviet repressive institutions. In summer 1940, the Jewish officials indeed played a significant role. Antanas Snieckus, who occupied the post of Director of State Security Department on 19 June and started the establishment of a Soviet security institution on the basis of the department, brought along with him from prisons not only a group of Lithuanians (Vladas Banaitis, Alfonsas Gailevicius, Antanas Milvydas, Vladas Taurinskas, Jonas Zdanavicius, Balys Baranauskas, and others), but also the Jewish Communists Eusiejus Rozauskas, Aleksandras Slavinas, Danielius Fodesas, Joselis Volfsonas, and others.⁷⁹ The 12-member headquarters established by the order of Snieckus for the preparation of arrests of leaders of “anti-State” parties and organisations included 6 Jews.⁸⁰ According to the estimates by Arvydas Anušauskas, from 15 June to the end of August, there were 92 (36.2 percent) Russians and 44 (17.3 percent) Jews among 254 newly employed staff at the State Security Department (SSD), whereas the rest represented Lithuanians.⁸¹ However, the number of local staff in the repressive institutions, especially in the security, sharply decreased as of autumn, since the USSR started mass sending of its Chekists to Lithuania. At the end of May 1941, out of 138

persons in the executive staff in the LSSR NKVD centre (department and section directors, their deputies and assistants, instructors, operation agents, interrogators and inspectors), 72 were Russian-speaking persons (52.2 percent), 42 were Lithuanians (31.2 percent), and 23 were Jews (16.6 percent).⁸² At the same time, out of 44 NKVD city and county governors and their deputies, only one was Jewish (Director of Šiauliai Department Jokubas Vicas).⁸³ In spring 1941, the Kaunas centre of the State Security People's Commissariat (the Security Board was separated from the NKVD and established as an independent commissariat, the NKGB, in March 1941) had a staff of 208 persons (excluding the personnel of the inner prison), 60 of whom (29 percent) were Lithuanians, 35 (16.8 percent) were local Jews, and the remaining 113 (53.6 percent) were of Russian, Ukraine, Belarussian, and other nationalities. The Jews occupied several important executive posts: Danielius Todesas was the Director of the Special Department, Eusiejus Rozauskas was the Director of the Interrogation Part, Benjaminas Fogelevicius was the Chief NKGB Inspector, and Aleksandras Slavinas occupied the post of Director of the Counter-espionage Section, but the majority of the executive staff of the institution, as much as 80 percent, were not local people sent to Lithuania from the USSR.⁸⁴ The NKGB Board of the Vilnius City, the second largest subdivision of the department, was even more Russian-dominated. A total majority of the directors and deputy directors of its departments and sections (21 persons) were not locals, while out of 37 operation agents, 4 were Lithuanian, 2 were Jewish, 2 were Polish, and the remaining ones were Russian-speaking persons; 14 investigators included 13 Russian-speaking persons and 1 Lithuanian.⁸⁵ A few Jews were employed as auxiliary workers (technicians, chauffeurs, typists, etc.). Nearly all directors of the NKGB district departments were Lithuanian, while their deputies were all Russian, with not a single Jew occupying the post.⁸⁶ In the spring of 1941, there were 55 local Jews (10.6 percent) among 519 staff members (apart from general and technical staff) of NKGB, the most important repressive institution, and only 5 (5.3 percent) (chiefs and deputy chiefs of the People's Commissariat and Vilnius administration divisions and sub-divisions as well as departments of the governors and deputy governors of the counties) out of 94 top ranking officials. The situation in NKVD, whose role of a repressive institution became secondary with the establishment of NKGB, was similar. There were only 24 (8.4 percent) local Jews among the top ranking staff of

the People's Commissariats within the system of the Interior.⁸⁷ In October – November 1940, the LCP(b) CC Bureau appointed 144 candidates to be sent to study at the NKVD higher educational establishment in Moscow. The candidates included 103 Lithuanians, 9 local Russians and 2 Jews.⁸⁸

On 23 May 1941, the LLSR People's Commissar Piotras Gladkovas signed an order on establishing the central headquarters for monitoring the operation of people deportation, that included 9 high NKVD – NKGB officials from Russia. District headquarters (the operation troikas) were formed of the NKVD and NKGB personnel for the local monitoring of the deportation operation. Judging from the surnames, a total of 77 members included 13 Lithuanians and several Jews, while the remaining were Russian – speaking persons.⁸⁹

In spring 1941, the 15-member Supreme Court of the LSSR included 2 Jews (Jokubas Zimanas and Berelis Fridmanis), 36 District Court Judges included 4 Jews, and the 41 Area (people's) Judges approved by the LCP(b) CC included 2 Jews. 30 high officials of the Office of the Prosecutor of the Republic (the Prosecutor of the Republic, his deputies, deputies for special cases, department directors and their deputies, department prosecutors) included 10 Jews (Deputy to the Prosecutor of the Republic for special cases Bese Garbaite, Special Department Director Nochima Špaite, Director of the Inquest Department Savelijus Zimanas, Director of the Personnel Department Mauša Joffe, Investigator for important cases Abramus Lisauskas, and Department Prosecutors Leja Zasaite, Isakas Vainesas, Motelis Gafanavicius, Rachile Kaseliene, and Simcha Krasovskis). Out of 45 known district prosecutors and their deputies, 6 were Jewish.⁹⁰

In spring 1941, out of 22 known heads of the LSSR prisons (governors, their deputies and political instructors), 4 political instructors were Jewish. The nationality of the remaining staff may be judged from the personnel list of the Vilnius (Lukiškes) prison: both operation agents of the prison were Russians sent from the USSR, deputies to the governor of the prison included 3 Lithuanians and 1 local Russian, seniors of the corps included 5 Lithuanians and 3 Lithuanian Russians, senior warders included 7 Lithuanians and 4 local Russians, 1st rank warders included 16 Lithuanians, 1 Jew, and 2 local Russians, warders included approximately 80 Lithuanians, several Poles, 7 Jews and 7

local Russians; the remaining 30 workers, mainly auxiliary workers, included 26 Lithuanians and 4 Jews (a doctor, an interpreter, a photographer, and a fireman).⁹¹

The material presented shows that in 1940–1941, the Jews were “everywhere,” and very often their ratio was bigger to that of the country’s population in general (in 1940, the Jews made up approximately 8 percent of the LSSR population), but there were not “only Jews”. The Soviet cadre system generally based itself not on the national, but on the “class” principle, i.e. the “good” social origin (working class or at least “half-proletarian”) and the blind devotion to the party “cause” was taken into consideration. Since the local “comrades” lacked “experience” and they were also considered less reliable, personnel from “sister republics” was being continuously sent in large numbers “to the aid” of Lithuanians.⁹² In one year of the Soviet rule in Lithuania, a system of “second persons” was established in all life spheres: a director would mostly be a “national”, i.e. a Lithuanian, and often nonparty, while his deputy would be a Russian, member of the Communist Party, having experience of working in the Soviet system and thus playing the key role in the institution.⁹³ The Jews fell out of this scheme.

One more reason existed due to which the Jews did not occupy such a place in the Soviet power pyramid that they might have expected to occupy taking account of the role they played in the Lithuanian Communist Party in the independent period of the country. Lithuanians were used to having only Lithuanian officials in the state institutions, therefore, they did not hide their dissatisfaction about seeing there the Jews in 1940 – 1941, noting that “now the Jews have come to power.” The leadership of the CP, both in Kaunas and in Moscow, could not ignore such tendencies in the society, the more so as the Jews had already been ousted from the leading posts in the Soviet Union. At the start of 1941, the Zarasai District LCP Committee 1st Secretary Melynys dismissed a very diligent Jewish leader of the Young Communists of the Dusetos regional administration and appointed a Lithuanian to his post. To the Young Communists Melynys explained that the peasants dislike the Jews, therefore, persons of this nationality should not be lead primary party organizations or go to the villages to agitate for Communism as they would only be mocked at.⁹⁴

In 1940 – 1941, the Jews generally had the same possibilities as the inhabitants of other nationalities for participating in the political – social life and getting employed at the

state institutions. The Soviet authorities were fighting any manifestation of anti-Semitism. Consequently, the Jews felt themselves equal citizens of Lithuania. Positive changes occurred in their cultural life. State Jewish theatres were established in Vilnius and Kaunas, and in the Lithuanian Writers' Society, a section of the Jewish writers was formed. The Lithuanian Radio made broadcasts in Yiddish. With the total number of students having risen from 4,000 to 6,000, the number of Jewish students rose from 400 to 700 approximately.⁹⁵

However, one may not disagree with a statement by Ginaite saying that "in the Soviet period, the Jews were granted civic equality not only in the social and political life, but in the Soviet terror as well, i.e. the Jews, alongside with the other inhabitants of Lithuania, were being arrested and deported, and their culture was ruthlessly destroyed."⁹⁶ It might even be said that during the Soviet rule, the Jews suffered heavier losses than the Lithuanians did. 560, i.e. 57 percent, out of 986 nationalized industrial enterprises belonged to the Jews, and as many as 1320 (83 percent) out of 1.6 thousand nationalized trade enterprises were a Jewish property.⁹⁷ It should be noted that two thirds of the nationalized trade enterprises were handed over to a consumer cooperative society, based on the *Lietukis*, which remained in the hands of Lithuanians during the Soviet rule.⁹⁸ The majority of the houses nationalized in the cities (a total of 14 thousand houses) were also mainly owned by the Jews.

The Jewish culture incurred great losses. In early July 1940, the publishing of all the "bourgeoisie" newspapers and magazines, both in Lithuanian and Yiddish, was stopped, while "bourgeoisie" organizations and societies were closed. Instead of the 8 Jewish dailies (6 in Kaunas and 2 in Vilnius), 5 weeklies and 4 other periodicals, printed in a total circulation of 63 thousand copies at the start of 1940,⁹⁹ only 2 Yiddish periodicals were published: *Folksblat*, that was transformed into a LCP CC organ, *Emes*, as of 1 December 1940, published in a circulation of 15.1 thousand in Vilnius in January 1941 ("*Vilner emes*" in Vilnius, circulation of 8.1 thousand), and a youth magazine "*Štraln*", printed in a circulation of 8 thousand.¹⁰⁰ Since Hebrew was considered in the Soviet Union a language of "bourgeoisie" and "reactionary Zionism", all educational institutions using this language were closed in Lithuania. Out of 23 Jewish schools that existed in Lithuania in spring 1940, only 12 remained,¹⁰¹ i.e. those which were using

Yiddish. Part of the students of the closed schools moved to the Lithuanian ones. The LCP CC Bureau instructed the Education People's Commissariat on 3 October 1940 to "explain" to the parents of Jewish students that on Saturdays, i.e. the Sabbath, lectures must be attended.¹⁰² Saturdays lost the status of a holiday and the Jews had to study and work during these days. From spring 1941, the liquidation of the YIVO Institute, in which the Litvaks had taken pride, started.¹⁰³ The elimination of the Jewish books from the libraries (firstly of those in Hebrew, as Zionist and "not valuable" in content) and their destruction began before that of Lithuanian books. The Museum of Jewish History and Ethnography, as well as the Library of Strašunas in Vilnius were handed over to the Institute of Lithuanian Philology.¹⁰⁴ The closing down of synagogues started. For example, on 1 February 1941 the Committee of Šiauliai City resolved "to satisfy the demand of Jewish workers from the Tanning Factory No. 5" and open a kindergarten at the Jewish house of prayer nearby the factory. On 26 March the Administration of Telšiai County decided to transfer the synagogue located on Žalioji street to the military NKVD unit, and to convert the Grand Synagogue on Turgaus street, where 200 future Rabbis were studying at the time, into a club. The Executive Committee of Kedainiai County had intended to transfer 2 synagogues to the Carpenters' Artel.¹⁰⁵ Amidst the surge of synagogue closure, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the LSSR on 30 May informed the local authorities that premises designed for the needs of cult may only be closed down pursuant to the decision of the Supreme Council's Presidium, and at the same time instructed them what has to be done: "a massive educational campaigns must be conducted among the population, so that the inhabitants themselves address the Supreme Council presidium on the above mentioned issue, and inform them that the premises shall be used for cultural purposes."¹⁰⁶ This way the premises of Yeshiva of Slabada (Vilijampole) in Kaunas and in Telšiai had been expropriated. The world-known activity of this institution for rabbi training was disrupted.

Arrests and deportations did not leave Jews intact. Among the 500 political parties activists arrested in July 1940, were 56 Jews: Editor Reuven Rubinštein of *Jidiše Štime* daily, Chairman of the Board of the Jewish Military Union Jakov Goldberg, former representative of the Seimas, one of the leaders of Lithuanian Zionists Leiba Garfunkel, leader of the Zionist Revisionist Party Hirsh (Cvi) Levin, leader of the Agudat Israel party,

Secretary General of the Lithuanian Rabbi Union Dovydas Icikovicius etc.¹⁰⁷ Leadership and activists of the paramilitary Beitar organisation suffered most of all. In September 1940 in Vilnius, leader of the paramilitary Polish Beitar organisation Menachem Begin, the future Prime Minister of Israel, was arrested and sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment. Late 1940, the leading and most active 89 members of Bund, Zionist and other Jewish organisations were arrested.¹⁰⁸ By 5 January 1941 in Vilnius alone as many as 548 Poles, 66 Jews and 63 Lithuanians were put under arrest.¹⁰⁹ The arrests were also made in 1941, and, according to the data on the first Soviet occupation available at the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, 491 Jews were arrested, whereas the total number of those who suffered repression amounted to 2.6 thousand, i.e. 8.9 percent of all the repressed people in Lithuania;¹¹⁰ there were even 13.5 percent of Jews among the deportees of June 1941 and 9.8 percent among the men who were segregated from the deported families and deported to camps.¹¹¹ Dov Levin refers to 7 thousand arrested and deported Jews of Lithuania, however, he does not quote the source on which he based his calculations.¹¹² However, whichever figure we quote, in relative terms the number of Jews deported was higher than that of Lithuanians.

The reports of political police indicate that prior to the nationalisation of property, a portion of Jews, in the first place the rich, also Zionists, were displeased with the new government. Their dissatisfaction was aggravated by mass arrests which started in mid-July. Newsletter of the State Security Department of 23 July reads, that “in relation to searches and arrests conducted recently, Poles of Vilnius and wealthier Jewish tradesmen are notably concerned and disappointed. Some of them are not staying at home for the night, and hiding at their friends instead”¹¹³. “With the regime becoming established and its confrontation with traditional Jewish values and structures aggravating, the enthusiasm of Jewish society finally faded away,” concludes D. Levin, “their expectations associated with the new regime have not been fulfilled. Jews recovered their sense and began to retreat.”¹¹⁴ Even the anti-Semite, Vaclovas Senuta, recognised that the Vilnius Jews who had had a chance to experience Stalin’s regime in the autumn of 1939 “did not flock round the Communist Party.”¹¹⁵ Jews Zionists and religious Jews, especially the youth, gradually became involved in the unlawful activities: they hid Hebrew books to protect them from destruction, fostered national values, searched for the ways to emigrate to Palestine and

printed political leaflets. Some established Jewish organisations continued their activities and new ones were being set up.¹¹⁶ On 24 July the Security Police reported about the meeting of the heads of Brit Hechail organisation of the Jews of Vilnius, in which they said that they will remain Zionist Revisionists who distrust communists and who do not consider terminating their activities.¹¹⁷ On 29 March 1941 the People's Commissar for State Security of the LSSR P. Gladkov signed the document On the Counterrevolutionary Activities of the Jewish Nationalist Organisations, which maintained that a "fascist" Beitar youth organisation, which faked a termination of its activities, was in fact functioning in the underground¹¹⁸. A Zionist unlawful youth organisation Ha-šomer ha-cair was active, whose centre and 8 cells in the spring of 1941 were located in Kaunas, and branches – in Ukmerge, Kybartai, Vilakviškis, Kedainiai, Plunge, Skuodas and Rokiškis. The organisation had its own duplicating machine and apparatus for copying [functioning on the basis of chapirograph principle], a library of Zionist publications and was collecting membership fee.¹¹⁹ In December 1940 its underground newspaper "Nicoc" ("Spark") came out, and prior to the outbreak of the war its 7 issues were released.¹²⁰ However, the unlawful and religious activities of Jewish were centred in Vilnius, where in the fall of 1939 their refuge found a significant number of activists from religious, Zionist, Bund Jewish organisations who fled Western Belarus, Western Ukraine and Poland. Late March 1941 the NKGB concluded that "the nationalistic Jewish elements in Vilnius are perpetrating anti-Soviet activities by maintaining contacts with the counter-revolutionary Western Belarussian, Western Ukrainian and foreign organisations and with financial assistance from the US Jewish Joint Organisation."¹²¹ In Vilnius the underground newspaper "Dror" ("Freedom") was printed, intended for Jews of Galicia and Volyne.¹²² According to the NKGB, the "clerical" Jewish activists in their anti-Soviet activities employed synagogues and Rabbi schools. The Rabbi of Vilnius Žuchovic was in particular active in promoting a hostile agitation campaign, who in a sermon in the synagogue offered on the occasion of Simchas teri holiday spoke: "do not listen to what the newspapers say (...) Be strong and keep to your faith, which is eternal, and has survived many a thing; it will survive in these difficult times too." While with reference to the elections of the Supreme Council of the USSR held in January 1941, the preacher said: "they are only telling you that the deputies are elected; in fact, they are appointed by the

party. They will be elected in any case, irrespective of whether we vote or not. Thus, participation in the election is not necessary.”¹²³ In March of 1941, the NKGB had files, not including its files on its agents, on 78 members of Bund, 854 Zionists, 193 Zionist Revisionists, 174 members of other “counter-revolutionary” organisations, 124 “clericals,” in total over 1,4 thousand persons of Jewish nationality.¹²⁴

However, even the Jews who were opposed to the new regime, realised that the Soviet Union was the only alternative to the Hitlerite Germany. Although the family of S. Ginaite lost their property, even though Lithuanian Jews suffered painful losses, “this occupation had not been tragic for our nation and our family. We understood that a lesser of the two evils was chosen to us by our destiny: better the occupation by Soviets than by the Nazi Germany.”¹²⁵ While M. Begin wrote in his autobiographical book after the war: “my problems did not matter at all against the background of the universal grandiose catastrophe. In this catastrophe the Soviet Union rendered inestimable assistance to Jews; I will always remember this, and not a single Jew is entitled to forget this. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were salvaged, although many of them had their lot of suffering, and many perished in prisons and camps.”¹²⁶

Tension between Lithuanians and Jews was mounting since the very first days of occupation. On 19 June a domestic conflict between a Lithuanian soldier and a local Jew in Marijampole escalated into a 2-day beating of Jews and smashing of windows in their houses.¹²⁷ The incident in Marijampole was widely commented upon in Užnemume and other parts of Lithuania. On 24 June farmers at Kretinga market place refused to sell anything to Jews, who, in turn, were threatening to retaliate.¹²⁸ In the first half of July fights between Lithuanians and Jews erupted here and there, in small towns. The Elder of Nemaškiai called Red Army troops to the venue of the fight, who fired into the air as a sign of warning.¹²⁹ On 6 July at the Institute of Veterinary in Kaunas hooligans assaulted a column of Jewish sportsmen and began beating them.¹³⁰ On 21 July the Governor of Taurage County informed the Ministry of the Interior that “the anti-Semitism is escalating at an unparalleled speed, and its manifestations are observed not only among farmers, but also among workers”, even in the LCP groups Lithuanians and Jews competed for leadership.¹³¹ (Annex No. 1). On 7 July, during the elections of a workers’ committee in Rietavas, Jews were not allowed to participate.¹³² In August in Merkinė you could hear the

following: “Lithuanians, be patient, - [when Germans come] we will sleep on Jews and cover ourselves with Soviets.”¹³³ Jews became much more daring under the new government and would not let to nag them as it had been once. Lithuanians interpreted such behaviour as boldness on the part of Jews.

With the new regime gaining strength and Soviet terror unleashed, anti-Semitic incidents have been brought to an end. Since around the end of July distribution of anti-Semitic leaflets became the principal form of anti-Semitic manifestations. In leaflets Jews were identified with Communists, called exploiters, abusers, and blamed for the disaster that befell Lithuania. As early as late June in Šiauliai leaflets titled “Sons and Daughters of Lithuania!” appeared calling for the to resistance against the influence of Jews and Communists, fight for the rights of Catholics, “and let us endeavour to eliminate those Jewish parasites from the Lithuanian land completely, so that on one never stands on our path again.”¹³⁴ (Annex No. 2). However, on the first weeks of the “People’s” government, there also appeared leaflets, supporting the new regime, yet slandering Jews. A typical leaflet issued on behalf of “Lithuanian anti-Semitic Committee” titled “Fellow Citizen, Lithuanian, pause for a moment to think where your are going?” read: “think back about how many times [the Jews] have done injustice to you. Would you be willing to stand among the honourable ranks of Communists together with the Jewish exploiter? (...) We call for the nationalisation of Jewish assets (...), we call for the nationalisation of all Jewish houses in cities (...) We want to see those stinking rich Jews toiling hard next to us, doing the physical work they shun and feared all their life”¹³⁵ (Annex No. 3). To a greater or lesser extent Jews featured in almost all anti-Soviet leaflets signed and distributed at the end of 1940 – 1941 by underground groups and organisations New Volunteers, Fighters, Iron Wolf, Sons of the People and bearing other names.¹³⁶ Leaflets released late May – early June 1941 by The Union for the Liberation of Lithuania¹³⁷ wrote: “under Smetona’s rule Jews could enjoy themselves, dwell in city centres and exploit Lithuanians. Today they have an even better chance for exploiting and cheating,” however, “soon will come the hour when the Lithuanian nation will wipe away from its face not only Jews,” but will punish severely its own traitors too¹³⁸ (Annexes No 4 and 5). The heaviest load of anti-Semitism on religious grounds was to be found in the documents of “The Guards for the Protection of Lithuania”: “Jews are calling for the blood of

Christians for their religious rituals (...) Jews in Lithuania are presently killing young prisoners in the cellar of Chief Rabbi in Vilijampole and other Jew-inhabited places of Vilijampole, in Vilnius – in the cellars of Chief Rabbis. Elsewhere the situation is similar.”¹³⁹ May-June 1941 witnessed distribution of leaflets of The Headquarters of the Agitation Campaign for Liberation, urging [people] to liberate themselves from “Jewish slavery,” “Jewish rule,” and ended with a slogan “Long live our liberator Adolf Hitler”¹⁴⁰ (Annexes No. 6 – 8).

On 17 November 1940 anti-Semitism in Lithuania was upgraded to a new, ideological level by the Lithuanian Activists Front (LAF), established in that day Berlin, whose leadership embraced representatives of all political forces of Lithuania, however, was dominated by radicals: Voldemarininkai, Young Nationalists (*tautininkai*) and Catholic Youth.¹⁴¹ The latter as early as the end of 1938 became close to Voldemarininkai – the most consistent anti-Semitic Lithuanian political power.¹⁴² The LAF Leader Col. Kazys Škirpa – the first Lithuanian Army volunteer of 1918, participant of the Independence Fights, who till the coup d’etat of 1926 was close to Peasant Populists, withdrew from the politics later, and from the late 30’s took a clear turn towards the Nationalsocialism, and advocated Lithuania’s submission to German “custody.” Under the LAF headquarters various commissions were functioning each appointed for a specific area. The Commission on Ideology was led by philosopher Antanas Maceina, one of the authors of the “Catholic Youth” manifesto “Towards the Organic Society” publicised in 1936 in *Naujoji Romuva* magazine, author of research on “The Education in the National Spirit” (1934), “Social Justice” (1938), “Downfall of the Bourgeoisie” (1940) and an article “Nation and the State” promoting purity of the nation (*Naujoji Romuva* magazine, 1939, Issue No. 11). He was the principal drafter of the LAF manifesto.¹⁴³ The Agitation Campaign Commission, whose chief task it was to draft leaflets distributed by the LAF in the occupied Lithuania, was led by a former “third front” activist, later a very enthusiastic Nationalist Party member, representative of the LNP’s radical wing Bronys Raila.¹⁴⁴

The LAF was undoubtedly a patriotic Lithuanian organisation, whose main task was to restore the country’s independence. However, its activity was significantly overshadowed by aspiration for a political alliance with the Hitlerite Germany (ensuring the satellite status for Lithuania), ample manifestations of Nazism in its ideology¹⁴⁵, and

harsh anti-Semitism. Since German National Socialism had a considerable ideological impact on the LAF, in its activities it focused a great deal of its attention on the “Jewish issue.” The very first document of the Front – a lecture on Framework of the Lithuanian Activists Platform delivered on 17 November by K. Škirpa to the LAF founders – put forward the task of Lithuanianizing the businesses. With this objective in mind, conditions were to be created for the excess population from rural areas to move to the cities. Lithuanians were to replace Jews in trade and other businesses. “This is necessary not just for the welfare of a nation state; simple justice calls for this as well. Jews who have been reaping the benefits of the hard work of our nation for centuries, at a difficult moment facing the nation often sided with its enemies and helped it to brought the nation to its knees. The recent occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Communism is a typical example of this.” To take hold of business in the cities, “Lithuanians must be aided by the state and all the means at its disposal.”¹⁴⁶ It should be assumed that “the state measures” were supposed to include credits, taxation policy etc., but not some more drastic measures. The brochure *From the Bolshevik Slavery Towards the New Lithuania*, issued by the LAF late 1940, among the Seven Deadly Sins blamed on A. Smetona’s regime, listed the fact “that in the independent Lithuania Jews and similar elements have not been taken under control, and exploited the Lithuanians ruthlessly to achieve benefits for themselves.”¹⁴⁷

In the long run, the LAF’s views grew more and more radical and stronger. Its “Instructions on Lithuania’s Liberation” of 24 March 1941 (Annex No. 9) read: when driving the Red Army away from Lithuania, “it is very important to take this occasion to get rid of Jews. Therefore, the climate in the country must become intolerable for them to the extent that not a single Jew would even dare imagine that they will have any minimal rights or any chance for subsistence in the new Lithuania. Our aim is to make Jews flee Lithuania together with Red Army troops and Russians. The more of them abandon Lithuania, the easier it will later be to achieve a complete liberation from Jews.”¹⁴⁸ The LAF leaflet of 19 March 1941 “Dearest Slaving Brothers” (Annexes 10 and 11) issued a call: “start informing the Jews, that their fate has been decided and those who can should be fleeing Lithuania already today to avoid unnecessary victims.”¹⁴⁹ Zoological hatred to Jews was incited in the LAF leaflet released in the spring of 1940 “Let Us For Eternity Free Lithuania from the Yoke of Jewry” (Annex No. 12): “The Russian Communism and

its eternal servant Jew represent one common enemy. Elimination of the occupation by the Russian Communism and slavery imposed by Jews is our shared and most sacred task (...) The Lithuanian Communist Party, a gang of genuine agents of Russian Bolshevism and gravediggers of Lithuania's independence, was by up to 80-90% Jewish all the time. All the active Comintern agents, who sought to undermine the foundations of the independent state, and all the future Commissars (...) were Jews and only Jews... (...) It were Jews and practically almost only Jews who welcomed the occupational army in towns and cities ... The Jews-led Communist party (...) carried out the allegedly "volunteer" and "legal" Lithuania's incorporation into the Soviet Russia. Jews were the most diligent organisers of all sorts of repulsive rigged "election" comedies, riggers of votes, who terrorised the population (...) Jews have been and are the most heinous Chekists, informers and torturers of Lithuanians."¹⁵⁰ This leaflet also lists specific measures to address the "Jewish problem": 1) the right of asylum granted to Jews by Vytautas the Great is cancelled altogether completely; 2) all Jews without exception are warned and ordered to abandon the territory of Lithuania immediately; 3) Jews who have committed special crimes against Lithuanians shall be held responsible; 4) all movable and immovable property of Jews becomes the property of the Lithuanian nation. The leaflet ends with the following slogans: "For the Sake of Purging the Lithuanian nation!," "For the Independent State of Lithuania!," "For a Transparent and Happy Future!"¹⁵¹

A manifesto-type essay "What Are the Activists Fighting For?"¹⁵² prepared by Br. Raila, also breathing racial anti-Semitism, devoted a substantial portion of its text to "the purging of the Lithuanian nation and its land of Jewish parasites and monsters," because "the new independent Lithuania may only and will be entirely national (...) The Lithuanian Activists Front, by restoring the new Lithuania, is determined to carry out an immediate and fundamental purging of the Lithuanian nation and its land of Jews, parasites and monsters (...) The Lithuanian Activists Front, acting in accordance with the spirit of a reviving Europe, is determined to completely segregate Jews from the body of the Lithuanian state and nation, and implement a gradual expulsion of Jews from the Lithuanian land in general (...) Purging the body of the Lithuanian state and nation¹⁵³ of Jews, parasites and monsters shall be one of the most essential preconditions for starting a

new life, setting all creative forces in motion and experiencing a moment of beauty unknown in the history of Aistians”.¹⁵⁴

Dated spring 1941 and issued by the leadership of LAF in Berlin, one of the proclamations was addressed to the Lithuanian Jewry (Annex No. 13a): “Lithuanian Jews! [...] While building your own wellbeing, you often did wrong to and exploited the real host of the country [...]. You acted against during the most decisive and hardest times for the Lithuanian people.” This seems to have been since the time immemorial and, “starting with the restoration of the independence of the State of Lithuania, you prepared for its funerals: your compatriots in Lithuania set up illegal communist party where 90 percent of the members were of your nationality. Namely through the Communist Party did you plot plans for the breakdown of the State of Lithuania and secretly send requests to the red executioners in Moscow to incorporate Lithuania into the Soviet Union.” The Jewish disloyalty allegedly reached its climax after the Soviets had occupied Lithuania. The standard accusation and reminder of the revocation of the right of hospitality as well as demand “to leave the Lithuanian lands immediately” followed by the detailed description of what awaits a person of Jewish nationality who would “fail to get away” together with the Soviet Army, i.e.:

1. He would be arrested and subject to marshal law if he has been notorious for particularly malicious actions, directed against Lithuania, the Lithuanian people or any Lithuanian;
2. He will be forced out of Lithuania and his property will be confiscated for the common needs of the Lithuanian people and the State;
3. If any of the Jews attempted to destroy or harm their own property, he will be punished most severely on the site.¹⁵⁵

The conclusion of the proclamation is very pompous and simultaneously very threatening: “Jews, your history on the Lithuanian land, which extends to five hundred years, is now over. Cherish no hopes, have no illusions! There is no place for you in Lithuania anymore! Rising for a new life, the Lithuanian people consider you as traitors and will treat you accordingly, as you have deserved to be treated.”

The final draft of the LAF manifesto (Annex No. 14), prepared on the eve of the war, contained, according to V. Brandišauskas, “only” one anti-Semitic Article 16,

proclaiming that “the Lithuanian Activists Front cancels the treatment of welcome towards the Jewish ethnic minority in Lithuania,” i.e. outlaws it.

The anti-Semitic agitation campaign of the LAF was based on various motives – social, economic, racial and political; the latter was a fundamental one: Jews were identified with Communists, incriminated of anti-Lithuanian activities, zealous collaboration with the Soviet occupants. However, the LAF leaders had not been original: the association between Jews and Communists was the motive underpinning Hitler’s ideology.¹⁵⁶

The LAF documents only episodically referred to “their own” communists. The fire was directed against “the others,” first and foremost, the Jews. There was hardly any document by the LAF where anti-Jewish zeal was absent and where references to the “Jewish yoke,” “Jewish exploitation,” “Jewish disobedience,” “Jewish slavery,” etc. were excluded. Noted should also be the fact that the LAF was ready to amnesty the Lithuanian communists who “made a mistake” or “were misled by others” if they “came to reason” and supported anti-Soviet rebels; the said “will not be forgotten [...] and [they] should not fear for the fate of their own or their families.”¹⁵⁷ Another proclamation drafted by the LAF was devoted to the Red Army soldiers and officers (“Bojcy i komandyry Krasnoj Armii”) inviting them to be “real patriots of Russia” and use their arms to liberate their people “from the unprecedented slavery of the communists and Jews.”¹⁵⁸ Thus, everyone was given hope, including the foreign occupants and local (own) collaborators. Only the Jews were denied this hope.

The LAF leaders and ministers of the Provisional Government who lived in the Western world after World War II, were very keen to disguise the anti-Semitic ideology and aspects of their activity.¹⁵⁹ S. Sužiedelis was the first to bring into attention the fact that the anti-Semitic instructions were omitted in “Instructions for the Liberation of Lithuania” publicised in K. Škirpa’s “Uprising”.¹⁶⁰ The LAF manifesto published in the same work by K. Škirpa lacks the unfortunate 16th article.¹⁶¹ Doctoring up of the LAF and Provisional Government’s documents is becoming a tradition with the Lithuanian sources.¹⁶² Publication in 1994 by Kestutis Kasparas of the LAF manifesto’s copy, preserved by the LAF member from Kaunas Antanas Cepulis and containing the said Article 16, caused a turmoil in the émigré community.¹⁶³ Mykolas Naujokaitis: “I propose

that the material which we want to leave for the future generations – the history – should be subjected to a more demanding scrutiny”¹⁶⁴; Br. Raila: “The Jewish issue has never been discussed in such terms (...) in all probability, this is a campaign by Soviet or [anti]-Semitic provocateurs (...) Somebody should aid the people working on the “Archive of the Freedom Fights” and advise them to be cautious and understand the true nature of things, because they may be in for more a bigger trouble than the documentation about “the fights and suffering.”¹⁶⁵ Pilypas Narutis: “The LAF leadership did not touch the Jewish issue, instead, it fought to restore Lithuania’s independence to make all citizens of Lithuania [thus, Jews as well – L.T.] free”¹⁶⁶. Moreover, the copy of the LAF manifesto preserved by J. Cepulis is not the only piece of evidence that the LAF outlawed Jews. Article 16 is found in the copy of this document kept in the Lithuanian Central State Archive.¹⁶⁷ The letter of welcome presented on 6 August 1941 by the LAF leaders to the Commissar Adrian Renteln of the District Commissar General of Lithuania (Annex No. 15), signed by Leonas Prapuolenis, Gen. Stasys Pundzevicius, Cop. Izidorius Kraunaitis, Col. Mykolas Maciokas, Dr. Adolfas Damušis, Col. J. Jankauskas, Juozas Vebra, Kazys Bauba, Pilypas Žukauskas (Narutis) and Jurgis Valiulis (Karolis Drunga), reads: “The LAF abolishes the right of hospitality with respect to the Jewish ethnic minority in Lithuania.”¹⁶⁸ An identical sentence is found in the Framework of Document on the Activities of the Lithuanian Activists Front, publicised on 9 August 1941 in *Žemaičiu žeme* newspaper of the Samogitian Activists Front (Annex No. 16). While the 6 September issue of the same newspaper contained an article titled “Why did we cancel our hospitable treatment of Jews?”

Did the proclamations by the central office of the LAF reach Lithuania and did they have effect on the consciousness of the Lithuanians? There is sufficient material on this issue in the collected documents on the rebellion of June 1941 compiled by V. Brandišauskas and published by the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania. Rebel Kestutis Miklaševicius from Kaunas: “different proclamations against oppressors, against the Jews, and those urging to fight for one’s homeland [...] can always be found at neighbour’s Antanas Bardauskas. I happened to read all those proclamations.”¹⁶⁸ On the initiative of Fabijonas Valinskas, steward of Kretinga “sovchoz,” an office typewriter was used to multiply “proclamations by Škirpa.” The

multiplied proclamation of the LAF titled “Dear slaving brothers” was passed to the students of Franciscan gymnasium and Sidabras, agronomist from Gargždai. “Having printed more copies, Kazys Sidabras sent them out to other rural districts. Sevune Slušnyte brought them to Budriu area.” Former policeman Ignas Slušnys disseminated this proclamation among the militia. “Petras Simonaitis sent the literature [LAF proclamations – L.T.] to his rural district.”¹⁷⁰ Having established contacts with Germany just before Christmas, the patriots from Plunge took the typewriter from the gymnasium and printed proclamations to their compatriots to prevent them “from the submission to the Jewish Russia, denationalisation, exploitation.”¹⁷¹ The participant of the anti-Soviet underground of Pavandenes rural district Adomas Jurgelis: “in January 1941, we ‘widely disseminated’ the LAF publication “From the Bolshevik slavery to the new Lithuania.” Having made copies with a typewriter that we received from the parson “we distributed them widely, for instance, we brought them to Varniai, people in Varniai passed them to Tverai, Žarenai, Linkuva and elsewhere. Šiauliai, Biržai Tytuvėnai, Šiluva, Lioliai, even Taurage and Kaunas receive them through Kelme residents, whereas Kaunatava, Tryškiai, Kaunas, and Vilnius through Luoke. I brought three copies to Telšiai for Rev. Velavicius, curia and gymnasium.” Following its announced on 19 March, the proclamation of the central office of the LAF “From the Bolshevik slavery to the new Lithuania” had already been available in copies by A. Jurgelis on 24 March, i.e. 5 days after its announcement, and sent to Telšiai, Varniai and ‘other aforementioned places.’¹⁷² K. Škirpa writes: “when sufficient relations with the country through the ‘green border’ had been established, [...] the dissemination of the LAF-prepared essay “From the Bolshevik slavery to the new Lithuania” was launched. It was first sent in typewritten copies, but since 5 December it was multiplied already with a rotary press and, as far as I remember, there were 8,000 copies all in all.” Later in Switzerland, it was improved and supplemented, the text was printed as a booklet of a small size. 2,000 copies had been disseminated in Lithuania before the outbreak of the war. “However, the war itself did not particularly disrupt the dissemination, as the underground organisations made copies of the story by their own means.”¹⁷³ The minister in the Provisional Government, Jonas Matulionis¹⁷⁴, mentioned in his diary that the “activists disseminated a proclamation threatening to annihilate Jews” on the eve of the war in Lithuania. The remaining copies which fell into the hands of the

soviet security and thus survived in the archives prove that the proclamations by the LAF leadership and other documents did reach Lithuania.

Having reached Lithuania, the LAF proclamations fell into a well-prepared soil. According to K. Škirpa, the brochure “From the Bolshevik slavery to the new Lithuania” was perceived by “different sectors within the society as a directive and it affected them all, including the patriotic youth, and it was as a sparkle to set the fire.”¹⁷⁵ It is fairly understandable that the same was common for other publications by the LAF. Generally speaking, the effect of the LAF documents on the consciousness of the population had been and was much greater than it seemed at the first sight. Their anti-Jewish moods in the summer of 1941 were translated into the decrees of the Provisional Government. Articles in Lithuanian periodicals of 1942-1944 Nazi occupation, *Lietuvos archyvai*, and the post-war exodus press,¹⁷⁶ as well as those published under the pseudonym *Žuvintas* in dissident *Aušra* in 1977 would repeat not only the “arguments,” but also the style of the proclamations “Recall of the right of hospitality for the Jews,” “Let’s liberate Lithuania from the yoke of the Jews for good,” etc. issued by the high authority of the LAF in the spring 1941.

Jewish authors claim that on the eve of German-USSR war, the LAF was instigating the massacre of Jews by Lithuanians.¹⁷⁷ They all rely on the leaflet of 19 March 1941 publicised in the collection of documents on The Massacres in Lithuania of 1965, titled “Dearest Slaving Brothers,” whose Article 2 ends with the following sentence: “Traitors will only be forgiven if they prove that they have eliminated at least one Jew each.”¹⁷⁸ The quoted copy of the leaflet is stored in the Archive of Lithuanian Organisations (Annex No. 10). The quotation provided above is the only of such nature and is absolutely incompatible with all the other LAF documents, which speak about cancelling of the right of asylum to Jews, their expulsion from Lithuania, but not about killings. “I found no data, evidencing that the LAF leadership had plans to undertake the organisation of the liquidation of Jews”, asserts S. Sužiedelis.¹⁷⁹ It must be noted, that the copy of the leaflet kept in the Lithuanian Central State Archive, does not contain the phrase inciting the massacre of Jews (Annex No. 11). In the copy, kept by the Archive of Lithuanian Organisations, it is written in brackets. All of this allows to conclude, that the said phrase was not inserted by the LAF centre in Berlin, but added on a personal behalf

(that is why in brackets) by an individual multiplying the LAF leaflets in Lithuania. The LAF leaflets were not just transported through the border from Germany to Lithuania, but, once delivered, multiplied in Lithuania. I believe we must agree with S. Sužiedelis that statements by individual persons, or individual leaflets of underground activists, discovered in Lithuania, and inciting the massacre of Jews, represent just exceptions proving the rule.¹⁸⁰ Even the Voldemarininkai – the most radical LAF activists – had planned to resolve the “Jewish issue” in other way than physical extermination. They continued to keep to the said approach even when Lithuania was occupied by the Nazis and the Holocaust started¹⁸¹

How to explain the fact, that in Lithuania, a country which had never fostered deep traditions of anti-Semitism, where real pogroms had never been organised, hostility towards Jews surged to the high of 1940-1941? Philosopher Leonidas Donskis, who researched the anti-Semitism in Lithuania, believes that “the year 1941 was some strange exception, a phenomenon, which does not fit into Lithuanian tradition.”¹⁸² Researchers point out to a number reasons: traditional anti-Semitism, Fascist views that had been manifesting already before the war and growing nationalistic trends among Lithuanians, retaliation for certain crime committed by persons of Jewish nationality in 1940-1941, opposite geopolitical interests of the two communities - Lithuanian and Jewish.¹⁸³ I believe that the latter reason was essential. Against the background of the true nature of Bolshevism revealing itself and unleashed repression, Lithuanians were looking forward to a salvation from Germans, whereas Jews – on the contrary. Each knew the other’s state of mind perfectly. “Given the best intentions (which, unfortunately, was not the case), the geopolitical reality was pushing the two societies into two diametrically opposite camps,” maintains S. Sužiedelis. “I may be wrong, but I believe that even without the instructions of the LAF leadership, Lithuanian-Jewish relations would have inevitably evolved towards a conflict and antagonism.”¹⁸⁴ “When two nations, living on the same land, preach opposite ethnic values, do not understand each other’s culture, are indifferent [hostile – L. T.] to each other’s interests and are surrounded by atmosphere in which anti-Semitism is instigated by Nazi agitation campaign and local prejudices, conditions conducive to a catastrophe emerge”, says Anatoli Lieven.¹⁸⁵

Differently from Poland, Hungary and Romania, in the independent Lithuania not a single anti-Semitic act has been adopted, and the Government was cracking down fiercely any anti-Semitic manifestations. However, according to an unwritten law, Jews, especially in 1930's, were not accepted to jobs in the state institutions. When in 1940-1941 people of Jewish nationality came to work at the institutions of central and local government, that Lithuanians were used to seeing as their monopoly, to many this seemed an end to anything Lithuanian, and that the government is Jewish. Moreover, that Jews, who knew Lithuanian and Russian languages, were often appointed to the best noticeable positions: heads of personnel departments and special divisions, secretaries and interpreters.¹⁸⁶ Kaunas was sensitised to this to a highest degree. When the war breaks out, Jews, who, according to the Archbishop J. Skvireckis, "have made their way to Lithuanian institutions, previously closed to them"¹⁸⁷ will be the first to be arrested and even killed. Aleksandras Štromas concludes that "The fact that a bunch of Jews could be seen in the Soviet occupational administration of Lithuania, was a sufficient (although unfounded) argument to assume, that Soviet authority was Jewish authority, and that Jews of Lithuania betrayed their country through becoming Moscow's "Fifth Column."¹⁸⁸ "The Jewish Community, whose leaders in the inter-war period were die-hard enthusiasts of the Lithuanian state, had been identified with the much-hated communism that annihilated the Lithuanian state," writes Ezra Mendelson,¹⁸⁹ the researcher of the inter-war situation of Jews in the Eastern Europe, including Lithuania. Lithuanians were quick to forget own collaborators, however, throughout several generations preserve the memory of forget Jews who served the Soviets.

Aside from the above listed preconditions, which predetermined an outbreak of anti-Semitism in 1941, was a yet another, the most significant to my mind: late 30's - early 40's the Lithuanian nation was going through a deep moral crisis which was crying out for "scapegoat." According to L. Donskis, understanding the essence of contemporary anti-Semitism is becoming increasingly more and more difficult to, as its genuine causes lie hidden deep in the underwater part of the iceberg.¹⁹⁰ "People never are unconditionally virtuous nor unconditionally evil, instead, they are good or bad depending on the way in which certain circumstances encourage or provoke them," maintains Sergi Roman. "When the evil spreads to an unusual degree, we should first of all question what sort of a

historical climate and which specific historical conditions have nurtured preconditions for this.”¹⁹¹ At the end of the thirties, Jonas Šliupas arrived to a similar conclusion: “all the time, whenever anti-Semitism would increasingly manifest itself, we can always be sure that there was something wrong in the community, that the anti-Semitism is given to people only as a means to hide real causes of disorder.”¹⁹² Humiliating capitulation in four or five cases that Lithuania experienced in a very brief period of time (accepting the ultimatum issued by Poland on 17 March 1938, ceding Klaipeda to Germany in the spring of 1939, refusal of a march onto Vilnius in September of 1939 followed by a permission to Soviets to deploy their garrisons in the country and, finally, accepting the ultimatum of Moscow of 15 June 1940) crushed the nation’s spirit. Mykolas Romeris noted that “defeat in a battle does not have a demoralising effect whereas capitulation is the start of disintegration. It is related to shame, while defeat in a battle renders the aura of heroism.”¹⁹³ The Smetona-Merkys Government, which has not shown the slightest effort to defend the independence, accepted the ultimatum of the USSR unconditionally, without even naming the aggression nor expressing its protest. After Smetona escaped abroad, the Acting President A. Merkys reiterated that the army of a friendly united state entered Lithuania in the interests of the USSR and Lithuania itself with the purpose of preserving peace and security in this region of Europe.¹⁹⁴ Minister of Foreign Affairs Juozas Urbšys, who was in Moscow at the time, ordered officials on his ministry to give the world an impression, that requests of the Soviets did not amount to an ultimatum but, instead, were just an expression of its wishes.¹⁹⁵ On the 15 June, Commander-in-Chief Gen. Vitkauskas and Chief of Staff Gen. Punzevicius ordered the troops, Chief of the Riflemen Union, Col. Saladžius, and riflemen to meet the Soviet Army in a friendly way.¹⁹⁶

Noted here should be the fact that in the summer 1940 the Kremlin directed its “course” of action towards establishing the illusion of legitimacy of the occupation and annexation rather than carrying out a “socialist revolution.” In this situation and particularly during the initial period, the occupants could be better served by a legitimate government, public figures, and intellectuals who had their authority and trust among the population rather than the local communist party (that is why it was kept “out of track” for some time). Unfortunately, it was not difficult for the Moscow envoys, such as the special representative of All-Union CP (b) Central Committee and the USSR People’s

Commissioners' Council, Vladimir Dekanozov, and the Soviet envoy in Kaunas, Nikolaj Pozniakov, to find the right people in Lithuania. On 15 June Acting President Merkys approved the so-called People's Government and resigned, whereas then the Prime Minister of the new Government Justas Paleckis became acting President according to the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania. It should be noted that the occupation and annexation took place following the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania and other legal acts throughout the whole process.¹⁹⁷ If there had been derogation, they would have been very minor and hardly noted by anybody. The People's Government was formed of well-known public figures, including journalist Paleckis who had close links with the Peasant Populists; most popular writer in the country and the author of deeply patriotic works, professor of the Vytautas Magnus University Vincas Kreve-Mickevicius; and even the minister and prime minister of several times, Ernestas Galvanauskas; participant of independence fights and the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Vincas Vitkauskas, which ensured people's trust in this cabinet. Within a few days, the puppet government of Paleckis-Kreve (Paleckis took the post of the President and Foreign Minister Kreve acted as Prime Minister) was recognised by almost all political and public forces: the Presidium of the Seimas, the representatives of the key army, riflemen, volunteers and economic organisations, leaders of the Christian Democratic and Peasant Populist parties.¹⁹⁸

Following the instructions by V. Kreve, Lithuanian envoys would keep persuading the governments of the accredited countries that the new Government in Kaunas was a legitimate one, formed on the constitutional grounds and that Lithuania was not occupied.¹⁹⁹ Consequently, the foreign diplomats not only remained in Kaunas without being recalled, but also paid a visit to V. Kreve on 21 June, thus, recognising the legitimacy of the People's Government.²⁰⁰

Since the end of June a series of rallies had been launched in Lithuania by the communists. They were held in cities and towns, larger and smaller villages. Their participants represented different nationalities, but the speakers were mainly Lithuanian (the Jews would often be hissed off the stage). The "Internationale" was played by the orchestras of the Lithuanian Army, Riflemen, and organisation "Young Lithuania" (still following the Lithuanian anthem during the first meetings).²⁰¹ President Valdas Adamkus, the then student of Kaunas "Aušra" gymnasium, recalls: "During those first days [and

months – L.T.] of the occupation, nobody forced people to the rallies. Quite a big crowd would come voluntarily, mainly out of curiosity, and so did I.²⁰² However, that was not only curiosity. Socialist illusions had their weight. All the groups within the society had their special wishes, and the communists promised to fulfil all their expectations: to have tax exemptions for “labouring peasants” (a Bolshevik term as an antonym of the “kulaks”) and write off their debts (no threat of auctions!), give out land to those who have little or no land, improve the situation of workers, decrease accommodation rents in towns, develop culture, health care, ensure democratic rights, equality of peoples, and introduce civil metrication. The people’s ministers would travel round the country and try to persuade people that any talking about the end of the independence of Lithuania, introduction of a rouble, collective farms, persecution of religion were the rumours spread by the “enemies of people.”²⁰³

All was done at a swinging speed, so that people failed to come to reason and realise of what was happening. The old Seimas was dissolved on 27 June and the announcement followed on 5 July about the election of the new one on 14-15 July. The popular literature is full of statements that the turnout of the election to the People’s Seimas was only 30 or even 15 percent of the total number of voters, which are based on the single source, i.e. JPP (Polish “Jedna pani powiedziala” (“One lady said”)). The remaining, though not affluent, sources reveal that the data by the official government stated the turnout of 95.51 percent of all people of the voting age, and if it had been raised, this rise was not significant.²⁰⁴ The results of the election were forged in another way. In 1940, voting took place for individual candidates. The voter would receive as many ballot-papers as there were candidates in that electoral district (from 8 to 14). However, instead of announcing the number of ballots each individual candidate received, information came only of the fact that 99.2 percent of the turnout voted for the Lithuanian Labour Alliance (the infamous “communist and non-party” block of 1940). However, archival records show that many of the candidates received less than 50 percent of the possible votes and, according to the Law on Election of the People’s Seimas, would not have been elected. It was due to the fact that the voters would throw away the ballot-papers with the names of well-known communists or those with Jewish names on the floor rather than cast them into the ballot box or simply spoil them.²⁰⁵

The question remains why so many people would gather for the meetings organised by communists in the summer of 1940, and why so many of them came to the ballot boxes on 14-15 July, and why 200 thousand families from rural areas (those Lithuanian, since the Jews received no land neither during the first land reform of 1922, nor during the second soviet reform) asked the new government to slice them a piece of their neighbours' land ("kulaks").²⁰⁶ There were different reasons for this to happen, including socialist illusions and fear to become the same "enemy of people" (the passports of the voters who came to vote were stamped), however, the most important of those reasons must have been that people were at a loss and failed to realise what was happening. Common people were misled by the behaviour of politicians and intellectuals. Nobody invited people to boycott the election to the People's Seimas. On the contrary, popular dailies, including the Christian Democrat *XX amžius* and Peasant Populists *Lietuvos žinios* which had not been closed by the beginning of July jointly with other non-communist press urged the readers in every issue to take part in the election and vote for the candidates of the Lithuanian Labour and People's Alliance (in fact, there were no other candidates).

The summer of 1940 found the intelligentsia at a great loss. There were very few poets and prosaists, artists and scientists who at that time did not glorify Stalin and his Red Army or paid no tribute to "Lithuania that turned a new road." Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas who was caught by the occupation in a most remote part of Lithuania Likėnai, soon published his poem "Darbo Lietuvai" ("To the Labouring Lithuania").²⁰⁷ The bright vision of the "new Lithuania" was drafted in the last issue of *Naujoji Romuva* by Juozas Keliuotis. The election manifesto of the Lithuanian Communist Party was backed by Vaclovas Biržiška, Augustinas Janulaitis, Kazys Binkis (who paraphrased a well-known religious hymn into "Save us, oh Red Army, from war, famine, fire and plague"), artists Juozas Mikenas, Liudvikas Strolis, Stasys Ušinskas, Petras Kalpokas, Mėcislovas Bulaka, and other famous intellectuals.²⁰⁸ On 21 July, Kazys Boruta greeted the Lithuanian Seimas which convened to finally destroy the statehood of Lithuania in verse; he also coined the infamous phrase of "to bring Stalin's sun to Lithuania." Kazys Jakubėnas (with the poem "Negrišta diena, kuri praejo" ("The Day which Passed Would not Return)) won the second place in the soviet song contest announced in autumn, where actually nobody was forced

to take part; Antanas Miškinis came third (with his poem “Išsilaisvinimas” (“Self-liberation”)); but Antanas Rukas left the others behind (with the poem “Mes su Stalinu i Saule” (“We are Heading to the Sun with Stalin”)). According to Solomon Vaintraub, Liudas Dovydenas²⁰⁹ danced “Kozochiok” out of joy (he was shortly “elected Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the LSSR, but when the Germans came he blamed the Jews for all the said with his face straight). Diplomat Vaclovas Sidzikauskas “was seized by melancholy seeing how our dear Kipras tosses about with the red flag on the scene” (opera “The Quiet Danube”).²¹⁰ The sculpture of Lenin was being modelled by Vytautas Kašuba²¹¹, etc. No Chekist with a Nagant revolver stood behind either Dovydenas or other eulogisers of “new life.” In summer 1940, there was still no compulsion, particularly against the intellectuals.

Literature would repulsively repeat the phrase about the Jews who met the Red Army with flowers, however, hardly a few Lithuanians know that the occupant army was first met by the officers who were fulfilling the order of their own army commandment. Cap. Antanas Verksnys, who at that time served in Šiauliai-based staff of the 3rd division, writes in his memoirs that the Red Army was met not only by “a Jew or two,” but also by the delegation of the Commander of 8th Infantry Regiment, Col. Butkevicius, and other officers [with due salute, short exchange speeches, shaking hands and flowers – L.T.], and the supply department of the division even filled up the soviet tanks that headed for Šiauliai but ran out of fuel.²¹² The soldiers would participate in the meetings of communists and, on 23 February 1941, they took oath of loyalty to the new Homeland. Almost all the officers were transferred to the 29th Territorial Riflemen Corps, and long-serving Commander-in-Chief Gen. S. Raštikis worked in the liquidation commission of the Ministry of Defence (was its actual chairman).

Unfortunately, Moscow journalist I. Sedych was right by saying in 1990 that the delegation of the Lithuanian Seimas was not brought to Moscow in cuffs as Czech Dubcek and was not kept in prison as Polish Gomulka and was not shot dead as Hungarian Nagy. Br. Raila’s words speak even bitter truth: “Hacha [the President of Czechoslovakia, 1939 – L.T.] gave in to violence but neither he nor any other Czech poet had ever asked to incorporate Czech Republic into the Reich. Even the Norwegian Kvisling whose name became a symbol of collaboration and treason did not ask Hitler to incorporate Norway

into Germany [...], President Petain of the occupation period of France and its Prime Minister Levalis [...] did not ask to make France a Western province of the Reich.’²¹³ “Lithuania fell into the arms of the Soviet Union, i.e. without active or passive resistance, it surrendered much easier than the Bolsheviks had expected,” drew his well-based conclusions J. Brazaitis.²¹⁴ Stalin and Molotov reached their goal in Lithuania, as well as in Latvia and Estonia: occupation and annexation had been preceded by the show of legitimacy and voluntary accession to the USSR.

One of the reasons of political opportunism of the Lithuanians was the belief that submission could rescue people from repression. However, that was only an illusion, since the destruction of a potential enemy or at least isolation had been programmed in the Bolshevik ideology. Back in autumn 1940, the soviet reality dispelled the illusions: the standard of living fell down, violence, mass arrests started and were followed by deportations, degrading human self-respect and national dignity. The Lithuanians felt themselves awfully and their spirit was broken. Moral crisis of the nation which started in spring 1938 reached its climax in 1940-1941. Having gone through a lot of humiliation and degrading, the Lithuanians made efforts to rehabilitate themselves in their own eyes. For the nation, as well as for an individual, it is easier to recover from the downfall when responsibility is passed over to somebody else. According to Nikolaj Berdiajev, “when people feel unhappy and they relate their misfortunate to historical misfortunate, they start looking for a scapegoat who could be made responsible for all their failures. This does not stand in honour of the nature of a man, but the person calms down and feels satisfied that the guilty one was found and can be hated and even taken revenge upon. There is nothing easier than to persuade people of low intellect that the Jews are to blame for everything. The emotional soil is always ready to give rise to a myth about the global conspiracy of the Jews, and secret forces of the Jews-masons, etc.’²¹⁵ The Lithuanians created the myth about the Jews who destroyed the independence of the state, diligently assisted the occupant, tortured them and deported from the Homeland. It only takes a mature personality/nation to assume one’s own responsibility. Lithuanian rage was targeted at the Jewish communism or directly at the Jews. With the outbreak of the war, the communist leaders, top ranking officials, and NKVD and NKGB officers ran away and ordinary

communists, Young Communist League activists, the newcomers and what was the most important – the helpless and hated Jews who were attributed to communists – remained.

In 1941 Lithuania went through the developments which took place at the time of epidemics in Europe in the Middle Ages, and what later happened in Germany, and now happens in Russia – the Jews are the ones to blame. In spring 1941, the LAF leadership stated that “the position of the Lithuanian population is strictly anti-Communist and anti-Jewish.”²¹⁶ The local capitulators (Gen. S. Raškis returned to Lithuania at the end of June 1941 on the “white horse” as Minister of Defence of the Provisional Government) and collaborators who served the occupant more than anybody else in the summer of 1940 (Prof. V. Kreve did not suffer harm) were soon forgotten; L. Dovydenas got away only with a slight fright). Having served as an aide of the Metropolitan of Kaunas or Archbishop J. Skvireckis during the days of the war and being the most influential person in the Church hierarchy, Bishop Vincentas Brizgys was ready to rescue even those “misapprehended” and, according to the LAF proclamation, “our own lost souls” – the Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the LSSR, Mėcislovas Gedvilas; Chairman of the Planning Commission of the LSSR who had spent 15 years in Lithuanian prisons, Pijus Glovackas; Deputy People’s Commissar for Education of the LSSR, Juozapas Žiugžda; but they requested no word in support as they succeeded in running away to Russia.²¹⁷ Zenonas Blynas, Secretary General of the Lithuanian Nationalists Party which joined Voldemarininkai, the most radical pro-Nazi elements, in summer of 1941, advised the governor of Rokiškis county “that special care must be taken to prevent inessential annihilation of the Lithuanians. Careful with repression against the activists of the Young Communist League.” Having reminded about the Jews, Poles, Russians, he also advised “to remember that there are just two million of us and [...] we should not slaughter each other.”²¹⁸

The Lithuanians do not like to speak about the unpleasant things of the past. After a 50 year-long occupation, which blighted any manifestations of efforts to achieve independence and sought to impose the complex of inferiority, Lithuania is in the period of worship of deeds and suffering, and the heroic-masochist concept of history is thriving. The nation wants to see its history as “nice” – just the fights and suffering, and blame all the misfortunes of the recent past on the “others”, Jews in the first place. A self-critical

approach to the past is not very popular among Lithuanians. Digging up of the unpleasant past problems is by many seen as blackmailing and slandering of Lithuania.

Conclusions

The first years of the Soviet occupation (1940-1941) witnessed a very fierce aggravation of Lithuanian-Jewish relations; anti-Semitism in the country evolved to a new level, which was threatening Jews.

The conscience of a large part of Lithuanian nation adopted the image of a Jew-communist - traitor of Lithuania and a diligent collaborator with the occupants along to the earlier images of the enemy of Christians, exploiter of the Lithuanians, and layabout.

The leadership of the Lithuanian Activists Front (LAF), which among its members had representatives of all political forces of Lithuania, outlawed the Jews and was urging them to abandon the country. The anti-Jewish proclamations and other documents from the central office of the LAF in Berlin reached Lithuania and made a great influence on the consciousness of the Lithuanians. However, there is no evidence testifying that the LAF called on Lithuanians to slaughter Jews, as is often asserted in the historiography.

Accusations fired by Lithuanians at Jews have not been/are not grounded. Factual evidence indicates that in 1940-1941 Jews played no special role in the structures of the Soviet Government, nor its repressive institutions. (In spring 1941, there were approximately 10.6 percent of Jews among all the staff of NKGB of the LSSR, and 5.3 percent among the top ranking officials; 8.4 percent among the top officials of NKVD). The lot of suffering that befell Jews under the Soviet rule was larger than that of Lithuanians: the number of the Jewish secondary schools was reduced by half, the Hebrew language was not tolerated, Saturday lost its status of a holiday; the Jews were most painfully affected by the nationalisation. Within one year only, arrests were made of 500 Jews and the total number of the repressed amounts to 2.6 thousand. There were 13.5 percent of the Jews among the deportees of June 1941, i.e. approximately 8 percent of the country's population.

Aggravated hostility of Lithuanians towards Jews was preconditioned by a range of reasons, of which most important are two: 1) different geopolitical orientation of both nations, 2) a deep moral crisis of the Lithuanian nation in late 30's – early 40's, which was demanding a "scapegoat," and Jews were made it.

¹ See Truska, L. „Ir atleisk mums musu tevų bei senelių nuodemes. Apie holokausta Lietuvoje 1941 m.“ (“And forgive us the sins of our parents and grandparents. On the Holocaust in Lithuania in 1941”), *Kultūros barai* magazine, 1999, No. 5, p. 64.

² Titles in Vol. 2 of the „Lietuvos archyvas“ (‘Lithuanian Archive’): „Žydai lietuviškoje spaudoje“ (“The Jews in the Lithuanian press”), „Kaip žydai užvaldė lietuviškas imones ir jose šeimininkavo“ (“How the Jews seized the Lithuanian enterprises and owned them”), „Žydai skundžia lietuvius bolševikams“ (“The Jews informing on the Lithuanians to the Bolsheviks”), „Darbininkų moterų grumtynes su bolševiku milicija ir žydais“ (“The fight of the women workers with the Bolshevik Militia and the Jews”).

³ Kreve, V. „Bolševikų invazija ir liaudies vyriausybė. Atsiminimai“ (*The Bolshevik Invasion and the People’s Government. Memoirs*), Vilnius, 1992, p. 36.

⁴ Šilas, P. „Mano kryžiaus keliu odiseja“ (*The Odyssey of My Trouble*), Vilnius, 1994, p. 84

⁵ Biržiška, M. „Lietuvių tautos kelias“ (*The Road of the Lithuanian Nation*), Vol. 1, Los Angeles, 1952, p. 44.

⁶ Damušis, A. „Profesorius Zenonas Ivinskis“ (*Professor Zenonas Ivinskis*). – *Laisvė* 1972, No. 54, p. 19.

⁷ Ivinskis, Z. „Lietuva ir žydai istorijos šviesoje“ (“Lithuania and the Jews in the light of history”). – *Aidai*, 1972, No. 1, p. 28. In the conclusions of the article, the author softens the statement: the responsibility that the young generation of the Jews drew upon itself may not be imputed to all the Jews (p. 30).

⁸ Letter of Balutis to Antanas Smetona, file of 5 July 1941. – „Antano Smetonos susirašinėjimas“ (“Correspondence of Antanas Smetona”). 1940 – 1944, Kaunas, 1999, p. 50.

⁹ The diary by Archbishop Skvireckas is publicised in: „1941 m. birželio sukilimas“ (*The revolt of June 1941*). Document Collection. Ed. Valentinas Brandišauskas, Vilnius, 2000, p. 269 – 273.

¹⁰ I am quoting the article by Žuvintas reprinted in the book by Tomas Venclova, „Vilties formos. Eseistika ir publicistika“ (*Forms of Hope. Essays and Journalistic Articles*), Vilnius, 1991, p. 140 – 142.

¹¹ Damušis, A. „Kuriu keliu i XXI amžiu?“ (“Which way to take to 21st century?”) – *Lietuvos aidas* daily, 25 September 1997.

¹² Bobelis, K. „Nereikia ieškoti mesijų“ (“Let us not look for Messiahs”). – *Respublikos varpai*, July-August 1997.

¹³ Mikelinskas, J. „Teise likti nesuprastam, arba Mes ir jie, jie ir mes“ (“The right to remaining not understood, or us and them, they and us”), - *Metai* magazine, 1996, No. 8 – 9, pp. 127 – 129; Mikelinskas, J. „Ar yra atsakymas i klausima „kodel“?“ (“Is there an answer to the question ‘why?’”), - *Valstiecių laikraštis* daily, 1999, No. 46.

¹⁴ „Protestuoja ir du Seimo nariai“ (“Two MPs among the protestors”). – *Lietuvos rytas* daily, 11 December 1998.

¹⁵ Morkus, J. „Pas juos ir pas mus“ (“At their place and at ours”). – *Šiaurės Atėnai* publication, 21 March 1998 (No. 11).

¹⁶ Article by Venclova, T., „Žydai ir lietuviai“ (“Jews and Lithuanians”), was published in a “samizdat” newspaper *Tarbut*. (supplement of the magazine *Levryji. v. SSSR*) in 1975. In 1976, it was reprinted in *Naša strana*, an Israel newspaper published in Russian, and as late as in 1978 in Lithuanian in *Akiraciai*. The article is also included into Venclova’s book, „Vilties formos“ (*Forms of Hope*) (p. 130 – 138).

¹⁷ Terleckas, A. „Dar karta apie žydus ir lietuvius“ (“Once again on the Jews and the Lithuanians”). – *Akiraciai*, 1979, No. 8.

¹⁸ Sužiedelis, S. „Penkiasdešimčiai metų praejus: lietuvių tautos sukilimo ir laikinosios vyriausybės istorijos interpretacijų disonansai“ (“After fifty years have passed: echo of interpretations related to the history of the rebellion of the Lithuanian people and the Provisional Government”), *Metmenys*, No. 61 (1991); „1941 metų sukilimo baltosios demės“ (“Grey areas of 1941 rebellion”), *Akiraciai*, 1991, No. 9, 10, 1992, No 1.

¹⁹ Brandišauskas, V. „Nacionalizmas rezistencinių organizacijų valstybės modelyje“ (“Nationalism in the state model of the resistance organisations”), *Akiraciai*, 1995, No. 5; Brandišauskas, V. „Lietuvių ir žydų santykiai 1940-1941 metais“ (“Lithuanian-Jewish relations in 1940 – 1941”), *Darbai ir dienos*, 1996, No. 2.

²⁰ Anušauskas, A., Vosyliute, V. „Represijų mechanizmas 1940-1941 metais“ (“The Mechanism of Repressions in 1940 – 1941”), *Lietuvos gyventojų genocidas (The Genocide of Lithuanian Inhabitants)*, Vol. 1, Vilnius, 1992; Anušauskas, A. „Lietuvių tautos sunaikinimas 1940-1958 metais“ (“The Soviet

Annihilation of the Lithuanian Nation in 1940 – 1958”), Vilnius, 1996; Anušauskas, A. „KGB Lietuvoje 1940-1991 metais“ (“The KGB in Lithuania in 1940 – 1991”), *Lietuvos archyvai*, Vol. 8 (1997); Anušauskas, A. „Teroras ir karo nusikaltimai“ (“Terror and War Crimes”), *Sovietinis saugumas Lietuvoje 1940-1953 metais* (*The Soviet Security in Lithuania in 1940 – 1953*), Vilnius, 2000.

²¹ Truska, L. „Lietuvos valdžios istaigu rusifikavimas 1940-1941 metais“ (“Russification of Lithuanian State institutions in 1940 – 1941”), works by the Institute for the Investigation of Genocide and Resistance of the Lithuanian Inhabitants, 1996, No. 1; Truska, L. „Ar 1940 metais žydai nusikalto Lietuvai?“ (“Did the Jews commit a crime against Lithuania in 1940?”), *Akiraciai*, 1997, No. 7; Truska, L. „Lietuvos SSR MVD – MGB personalo tautine sudetis 1940-1953 m.“ (“The national composition of the Lithuanian SSR MVD – MGB staff in 1940 – 1953”), *Lituanistica*, 1998, No. 4; Truska, L. „MVD – MGB darbuotoju personaline sudetis“ (“The personnel composition of the MVD – MGB”), „Sovietinis saugumas Lietuvoje 1940-1953 metais“ (“The Soviet Security in Lithuania in 1940 – 1953”), V., 2000.

²² Maslauskienė, N. „Lietuvos komunistu tautine ir socialine sudetis 1939 m. pabaigoje – 1940 m. rugsejo mėn.“ (“National and Social Composition of Lithuanian Communists at the end of 1939 – September 1940”), *Genocidas ir rezistencija* (*The Genocide and the Resistance*), 1999, No. 1; Maslauskienė, N. „Lietuvos komunistu sudetis 1940 m. spalio – 1941 m. birželio mėn.“ (“Composition of Lithuanian Communists in October 1940 – June 1941”), *Ibid.*, 1999, No. 2.

²³ Levin, D. *The Jews and the Socio – economic Sovietization of Lithuania 1940 – 1941*, - Soviet Jewish Affairs, Vol. 17, No 2, 3 (1987); D. Levin, *Baltic Jews Under The Soviets 1940 – 1946*, Jerusalem, 1994.

²⁴ Atamukas, S. „Lietuvos žydu kelias nuo XV amžiaus iki XX a. pabaigos“ (*The Road of Lithuanian Jews from 15th century till the end of 20th century*), Vilnius, 1998, p. 206 – 229.

²⁵ Levin, D. *The Lesser of Two Evils: Eastern European Jewry under Soviet Rule 1939 – 1941*, Philadelphia – Jerusalem, 1995.

²⁶ The Lithuanian Central State Archive (hereinafter LCVA), document collection (hereinafter doc. col.) 378, Inventory schedule (hereinafter Inv. sch.). 10, file. 688, page (hereinafter p.). 118.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 119 – 120.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³¹ SSD bulletin of 21 September 1939, - LCVA, doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, file 187, p. 148.

³² Marijampole District State Security Police bulletin of 15 June 1940, - *Ibid.*, file 611, p. 187.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ SSD bulletin of 12 June 1940, - LCVA, doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, file 225, p. 695.

³⁵ Vilnius District State Security Police bulletin of 2 June 1940, *Ibid.*, file 699, p. 556.

³⁶ Vilnius District State Security Police bulletin of 31 May 1940, *Ibid.*, p. 555.

³⁷ Levin, D. *Short History of Jews in Lithuania*, Vilnius, 2000, p. 146.

³⁸ The acting President Paleckis, J. said on 18 June 1940: “serious attention will be drawn to the implementation of the national equality principle and the elimination of chauvinism (...) Starting its work, the Government is inviting all citizens of the Republic of Lithuania, irrespective of their social stand, nationality or religion, to unite in harmony and work by common efforts for the welfare of our dear motherland” (The President of the Republic outlines main goals of new government), - *Lietuvos aidas* daily, 19 June 1940 (No. 286), p. 1.

³⁹ LCVA. doc. col. – R 1019. Inv. sch. 1. file. 1. p. 39.

⁴⁰ Ginaite – Rubinsonienė, S. „Atminimo knyga. Kauno žydu bendruomenė 1941-1944 metais“ (*The Book of Remembrance. The Kaunas Jewish Community in 1941 – 1944*), Vilnius, 1999, p. 21.

⁴¹ LCVA, doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, file 225, p. 712 – 713.

⁴² 1940. 06. 26 Marijampole District State Security Police bulletin, - LCVA, doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, file 611, p. 199.

⁴³ See Truska, L. „„Liaudies“ seimo rinkimai. 1. Politinė padėtis Lietuvos rinkimu išvakarėse“ (“People’s ‘Seimas’ elections of 1940. 1. Political situation in Lithuania on the eve of elections”), *Lituanistica* 1995, No. 1, p. 23 – 25.

⁴⁴ „70000 darbo žmonių vakar demonstravo Kauno gatvėse“ (“70,000 workers marched in a demonstration in streets of Kaunas yesterday”), *Lietuvos aidas* daily, 25 June 1940, p. 1; „Liaudies džiaugsmo gražieji

momentai“ (“The beautiful moments of the people’s joy”), Ibid., 26 June 1940 (No. 299), p. 1; „Neužmirštamų valandos“ (“Unforgettable hours”), Ibid., 26 June 1940 (No. 300), p. 7.

⁴⁵ Vilnius District State Security Police bulletin of 27 June 1940, - LCVA, doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, file 699, p. 587 – 588.

⁴⁶ Vilnius District State Security Police bulletin of 11 July 1940, -Ibid., p. 621.

⁴⁷ Resume of reports by county governors of 22 July 1940, LCVA, R – 754, Inv. sch. 3, doc. col. 309, p. 154 – 156.

⁴⁸ Resume of reports by county governors of 29 July 1940, - Ibid. p. 115

⁴⁹ On the mechanism of meetings called in summer 1940, see source indicated in endnote 43, p. 20 – 25. The present Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus recalls that „during the first days of occupation, the people were not yet forced to attend the meetings. Big crowds gathered only of their own free will, although mainly out of curiosity apparently, as I myself,” „Likimo vardas – Lietuva. Apie laiką, įvykius, žmones“ (*The Name of Destiny – Lithuania. On the time, events, and people*), Kaunas, 1998, p. 10.

⁵⁰ Panevėžys District State Security Police bulletin of 5 August 1940, - LCVA, doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, file 688, p. 171 – 172.

⁵¹ Report by County Governor of Seinai to the Information Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of 17 August 1940, LCVA, R – 754, Inv. sch. 3, file 309, p. 18 – 24.

⁵² See Marijampole District State Security Police bulletins of 2 July and 15 July 1940 and Vilnius District State Security Police bulletins of 11 July and 22 July 1940, LCVA, doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, file 611, p. 215, 246; file 699, p. 622 – 623, 653.

⁵³ See Truska, L. „„Liaudies“ seimo rinkimai. 2. Rinkimu rezultatai“ (“People’s Seimas Elections of 1940. 2. Election results”), *Lituanistica*, 1995, No. 1, p. 29 – 37.

⁵⁴ „Lietuvos Liaudies Seimas“ (*The People’s Seimas of Lithuania*). Verbatim reports and material, Vilnius, 1985, p. 31 – 34, 110, 129.

⁵⁵ „Žydai“ (“Jews”), Lietuvių enciklopedija (*Lithuanian Encyclopaedia*) Vol. 35, Boston, 1966, p. 292.

⁵⁶ Truska, L. „Antanas Smetona ir jo laikai“ (*Antanas Smetona and his Rule*), Vilnius, 1996, p. 302. According to the calculations made by Maslauskienė, N., the Jews comprised 31 percent of the LCP members (see article by Maslauskienė included in endnote 23, p. 87).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 217; Maslauskienė, N. (see endnote 23).

⁵⁹ Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 216.

⁶⁰ Truska, L. „Lietuvos valdžios istaigų rusifikavimas 1940-1941 m.“, p. 16. Maslauskienė, N. (see endnote 23), p. 37 – 38.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Data presented by LLCYU CC Secretary Bieliauskas, doc. col. to LCP CC on 10 May 1941, Archive of Lithuanian Organisations (hereinafter LVOA), doc. col. 1771, Inv. sch. 2, file 226, p. 44 – 45.

⁶³ „Lietuvos komunistų partijos istorijos apybraiža“ (*Monograph of the Lithuanian Communist Party History*), Vol. 3, Vilnius, 1985, p. 36.

⁶⁴ „Naujasis LKP(b) Centro Komitetas“ (“The new LCP(b) Central Committee”), - *Tiesa* daily, 1941. 02. 11.

⁶⁵ Truska, L. „Lietuvos valdžios istaigų rusifikavimas“, p. 8.

⁶⁶ Josadė, M. „Laiškai dukrai i Izraeli“ (“Letters to daughter in Israel”), *Lietuvos rytas* daily, 1993. 11. 03.

⁶⁷ Truska, L. „Lietuvos valdžios istaigų rusifikavimas“, p. 8 – 9.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Conference protocol, LVOA, doc. col. 3110, Inv. sch. 3110, file 1, p. 8 – 9, 80 – 81.

⁷⁰ Document „Kretingos apkomo ir valkomu sastatas“ (“Composition of the Kretinga district and regional administration party committees”), Ibid.doc. col. 494, Inv. sch. 4, file 44, p. 1.

⁷¹ Truska, L. „Lietuvos valdžios istaigų rusifikavimas“ (“Russification of State Institutions”), p. 9.

- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ All the data presented above is taken from: Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 219.
- ⁷⁴ Truska, L. „Lietuvos valdžios istaigu rusifikavimas“, p. 21 – 22.
- ⁷⁵ List of appointed members of the Šiauliai City LCP Committee of 7 January 1941, - LVOA, doc. col. 3113, Inv. sch. 3113, file 1, p. 42 – 44.
- ⁷⁶ 1940. 11. 18 list of appointed members of the Alytus District LCP Committee of 18 November 1940, - Ibid. doc. col. 1308, Inv. sch. 19, file 5, p. 143 – 154.
- ⁷⁷ Truska, L. „Lietuvos valdžios istaigu rusifikavimas“, p. 19 – 21; Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 213.
- ⁷⁸ Truska, L. „Glavlito veikla Lietuvoje 1940-1947 metais“ (“Activities of Glavlite in Lithuania in 1940 – 1947”), Lietuvos istorijos metraštis (*Chronicle of Lithuanian History*). 1996, Vilnius, 1997, p. 219.
- ⁷⁹ Radzevicius, Vl. „Pirmieji bolševiku žingsniai“ (“First steps of the Bolsheviks”), *Lietuviu archyvas*, Vol. 1, Kaunas, 1942, p. 13 – 16. cf.: Anušauskas, A. „Lietuviu tautos sovietinis naikinimas 1940-1958“ (“The Soviet Annihilation of the Lithuanian Nation in 1940 – 1958”), p. 30.
- ⁸⁰ Anušauskas A., „Salygu ruošimas represijoms. – Lietuvos gyventojų genocidas 1939-1944“ (“Preparation of Prerequisites for the Repression – Genocide of the Lithuanian People, 1939-1944”). T.I.V., 1992, p. XVII.
- ⁸¹ ???
- ⁸² „Sovietinis saugumas Lietuvoje 1940-1953 metais“ (“Soviet Security in Lithuania in 1940 – 1953”), p. 93.
- ⁸³ Ibid. p. 94.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid. p.98-99.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 100.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 101.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 93-95, 99-102.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 75.
- ⁸⁹ „Lietuviu i SSRS išvežimo vykdytojai“ (“Executors of the deportations of Lithuanians to the USSR”), *Ateitis*, 16 January 1943; Anušauskas, A. Mentioned source., p. 81.
- ⁹⁰ Truska, L. „Lietuvos valdžios istaigu rusifikavimas“ (“Russification of State Institutions”), p. 12, 24 – 25. Cf Dov Levin, *Baltic Jews under the Soviets*, p. 27.
- ⁹¹ Ibid. p. 11 – 12.
- ⁹² According to my own calculations, 3 thousand staff members had been sent to Lithuania by 22 June 1941 („Lietuvos valdžios istaigu rusifikavimas“, p. 7). Atamukas, S. indicates a similar number (mentioned source, p. 217).
- ⁹³ For more exhaustive coverage, see Truska, L. „Lietuvos valdžios istaigu rusifikavimas 1940 – 1941 metais“.
- ⁹⁴ Unpublished article sent by a Jewish Young Communist to the editors of “Der Emes”, LVOA, doc. col. 1771, Inv. sch. 2, file 179, p. 39.
- ⁹⁵ Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 221. However, D. Levin makes a mistake by stating that the Soviet authorities removed the entry quota (*numerus clausus*) for young Jews in the establishments of higher education. There had never been such a quota in the independent Lithuania.
- ⁹⁶ Ginaite – Rubinsoniene, S. Mentioned source, p. 27.
- ⁹⁷ Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 214.
- ⁹⁸ „Lietuvos TSR istorija“ (“History of the Lithuanian SSR”), Vol. 4, Vilnius, 1975, p. 30.
- ⁹⁹ Truska, L. „Periodine spauda Lietuvoje 1918-1940 m“ (“Periodical press in Lithuania in 1918 – 1940”), *Kulturos barai* magazine, 1996, No. 5, p. 71.
- ¹⁰⁰ Agitation campaign document of beginning of 1941 „Respublikiniu ir sritiniu laikraščiu ir žurnalų tiražų suvestinė“ (“Circulation summary of republican and regional newspapers and magazines”), LVOA, doc. col. 1771, Inv. sch. 2, file 384, p. 36.
- ¹⁰¹ Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 215.

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- ¹⁰² Protocol of the bureau sitting, LVOA, doc. col. 1771, Inv. sch. 1, file 7, p. 5.
- ¹⁰³ Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 215.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁵ Decisions of Executive Committees of Šiauliai City and Telšiai and Kedainiai Counties, LCVA, R – 754, Inv. sch. 3, File 46, P. 2 – 3, 6, 14.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., Inv. sch. 3, File 535, P. 32.
- ¹⁰⁷ Overall number of the arrested in the following sources: Anušauskas, A. Mentioned publication, p. 31. The figure of the Jews arrested is quoted by A. Atamukas (aforementioned publication, p. 224).
- ¹⁰⁸ 29 March 1941 the LSSR NKGB document „On the counterrevolutionary activities of the nationalistic Jewish Organisations”, - The Lithuanian Special Archive, K – 1, Inv. sch. 10, File 4, P. 179 – 198.
- ¹⁰⁹ Brandišauskas, V. „Siekiant atkurti Lietuvos valstybingumą (1940. 06 – 1941. 09)“ (“Efforts to Restore the Statehood of Lithuania (1940. 06 – 1941. 09)”), p. 47.
- ¹¹⁰ „Lietuvos gyventojų genocidas“ (*Genocide against the Population of Lithuania*), Vol. 1, 1939 – 1941, Second revised edition. Vilnius, 1996, p. 62.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹¹² D. Levin, „Lietuvos žydu areštai ir tremimai 1940 – 1941 metais“ (“Arrests and Deportation of Lithuanian Jews in 1940 – 1941”), *Pergalė* magazine, 1990, Issue No. 1, p. 111.
- ¹¹³ LCVA, Doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, File 225, P. 769.
- ¹¹⁴ D. Levin, „Trumpa žydu istorija Lietuvoje“ (“A Brief History of Jews in Lithuania”), Vilnius, 2000, p. 150.
- ¹¹⁵ V. Seniuta, ‘Paskutinis žydas Vilniaus žydu kvartale – gete’ (“The Last Jew in the Vilnius Jewish Quarter – Ghetto”). *Naujoji viltis*, 1990, No. 23, p. 101.
- ¹¹⁶ D. Levin, „Trumpa žydu istorija Lietuvoje“ (“A Brief History Of Jews in Lithuania”), p. 151; Atamukas, S. Mentioned publication, p. 227.
- ¹¹⁷ 24 July 1940, Newsletter of Vilnius County Security Police, LCVA, Doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, File 699, P. 664.
- ¹¹⁸ See endnote 108, p. 191 – 192.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 194 – 195.
- ¹²⁰ Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 227.
- ¹²¹ See endnote 108, p. 180.
- ¹²² Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 227.
- ¹²³ See endnote 108, p. 183 – 184.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 196.
- ¹²⁵ Ginaite – Rubinsonienė, S. Mentioned source, p. 21.
- ¹²⁶ Quote according to: Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 228.
- ¹²⁷ 25 June 1940 The newsletter of State Security Police of Marijampole county reads that 3 Jews suffered injuries, 3 suffered beatings and windows in 17 houses and shops were smashed. „It seems that the number of victims is higher, but they are not complaining to the police”, - LCVA, Doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, File 611, P. 190 – 193.
- ¹²⁸ 27 June 1940 State Security Department newsletter, Ibid., File 225, P. 706.
- ¹²⁹ 10 July 1940 Summary of reports on the events by County Governors, LCVA, R – 754, Inv. sch. 3, File 309, P. 184.
- ¹³⁰ 6 July 1940 Summary of reports on the events by County Governors, Ibid., p. 195.
- ¹³¹ Ibid., p. 158.
- ¹³² 7 July 1940 Summary of reports on the events by County Governors, Ibid., p. 193.
- ¹³³ 17 August 1940 Summary of reports on the events by County Governors, Ibid., p. 30.
- ¹³⁴ 1 July 1940 State Security Department newsletter, LCVA, Doc. col. 378, Inv. sch. 10, File 225, P. 714.
- ¹³⁵ 10 July 1940. State Security Department newsletter, Ibid., p. 743 - 745.
- ¹³⁶ Brandišauskas, V. „Lietuvių ir žydu santykiai 1940-1941 metais“ (*Lithuanian-Jewish Relations in 1940 – 1941*), p. 51 – 52.
- ¹³⁷ More about the Union for the Liberation of Lithuania see: Brandišauskas, V. „Siekiai atkurti Lietuvos valstybingumą“ (*Efforts to Restore the Statehood of Lithuania*), p. 48 – 49.

¹³⁸ „Lietuva – lietuviams! Broliai ir sesės!“ (“Lithuania for Lithuanians! Brothers and Sisters!”), LVOA, Doc. col. 3377, Inv. sch. 55, File 50, P. 227 – 228; „Lietuvi, pabusk!“ (“Hey, Lithuanian, wake up!”), *Ibid.*, P. 229 – 230.

¹³⁹ Document on the immediate tasks of The Guards for the Protection of Lithuania, *Laisves kovu archyvas (Archive of the Freedom Fights)*, Vol. 11, Kaunas, 1994, p. 183.

¹⁴⁰ LCVA, R – 756, Inv. sch. 6, File 555, P. 1 – 3.

¹⁴¹ The LAF history has not yet been researched in essence. Brief references to it are found in the articles by S. Sužiedelis („Siekiai atkurti Lietuvos valstybingumą“ (“Efforts to Restore the Statehood of Lithuania”), p. 37 – 65) and a monograph V. Brandišauskas.

¹⁴² A manifestation of this rapprochement, albeit still temporary at the time, was the existence of anti-Smetona Lithuanian Activists Union, which from late 1938 to early 1939 was active in Klaipėda, and issues *Bendras žygis* newspaper.

¹⁴³ See Škirpa, K. „Sukilimas Lietuvos valstybingumiu atstatyti“ (“Uprising to Restore the Sovereignty of Lithuania”), Washington, 1973, p. 573; Brandišauskas, V. Mentioned source, p. 39. Officially, this document was a draft manifesto, however, his attitude to Jews was advocated in the LAF’s ideological activities and its agitation campaign, the LAF leaflets distributed in Lithuania were saturated with it, while the Provisional Government launched its realisation in practice.

¹⁴⁴ According to Br. Raila, the drafts of some leaflets were also written by A. Maceina, A. Valiukenas and K. Škirpa himself (Raila, Br. „Iš paskendusio pasaulio“ (*From the Sunken World*), Chicago, 1962, p. 297 – 298).

¹⁴⁵ For more information on the impact of the Nazism ideology on LAF manifesto, see Donskis, L. „Antanas Maceina: doktrininis intelektualas XX amžiaus lietuvių kulturoje. Tarp Karaliaus ir Klaipėdos“ (*Antanas Maceina: doctrine-guided intellectual in Lithuanian culture of the 20th century. Between Carlyle and Klaipėda*), Klaipėda, 1997.

¹⁴⁶ Framework Document of the Lithuanian Activists Front, Manuscripts Divisions, Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (hereinafter MAB), Doc. col. 29 – 1287/I, P. 107 – 121.

¹⁴⁷ Škirpa, K. „Sukilimas Lietuvos valstybingumiu atstatyti“ (“Uprising to Restore the Sovereignty of Lithuania”), Washington, 1973, p. 123.

¹⁴⁸ Instructions on Lithuania’s Liberation (copy, translation into Russian), LVOA, Doc. col. 3377, Inv. sch. 58, File 805, P. 3 – 21. Authenticity of the anti-Semitic nature of provisions in this document is corroborated in the quotation offered by S. Sužiedelis and taken from the Lithuanian text of the same document, possessed by the former archive of Edvardas Turauskas, now stored at the Hoover Institute in Stanford (S. Sužiedelis, „Penkiasdešimčiai metų praejus [...]“, p. 160).

¹⁴⁹ LVOA, Doc. col. 3377, Inv. sch. 55, File 50, P. 212; LCVA, R – 756, Inv. sch. 6, File 555, P. 4. This document with some essential parts missing was included in the collection of documents on “The Massacres in Lithuania,” Vol. 1, p. 49 – 50.

¹⁵⁰ LCVA, Doc. col. 1398, Inv. sch. 1, File 1, P. 102 – 103.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹⁵² According to Br. Raila, “its [the brochure’s – P. T.] ideas were in detail discussed and agreed upon with the Min. [inister] K. Škirpa and his other colleagues. It was meant to express not my own personal views, but, rather, the views of many of us at the time. There were no arrangements on the brochure being released with my name on the cover [...], because I just formulated and edited the style of those views [of the LAF leaders – L. T.]” (Raila, Br. „Iš paskendusio pasaulio“ (*From the Sunken World*), p. 299). The brochure was not printed for various reasons. Copies of its text survived in the archives and manuscript collections of Lithuania (LCVA, Doc. col. 1398, Inv. sch. 1, File 1; MAB, Doc. col. 9 – 3105, P. 10 – 48; LVOA, Doc. col. 3377, Inv. sch. 48, File 712, P. 35 – 125).

¹⁵³ The idea by Br. Raila on the “purging” of the Lithuanian nation strikes accord with the leading article “To purge the Lithuanian nation of the bacteria” of Jews, “Russian barge haulers” and “the relics of feudal nobility with their Warsaw associates and refugees” found in the issue of 5 July 1941 *Laisve* daily, printed by the LAF and the Provisional Government.

¹⁵⁴ Commenting more than 20 years later on the circumstances in which his brochure was prepared, Br. Raila identified only one “completely negative” feature in it – keeping silent about “ideas and views of myself and many others of us [the LAF leaders – L. T.] about the imperialistic intentions of the Third Reich policy in the Eastern Region” („Iš paskendusio pasaulio“, p. 299).

- ¹⁵⁵ From E. Turauskas' funds kept in the Hoover Institute (Stanford University, USA). The copy of this document was supplied by Prof. Saulius Sužiedelis, to whom I am very grateful.
- ¹⁵⁶ P. Johnson, „Žydu istorija“ (“The History of Jews”), Vilnius, 1999, p. 687.
- ¹⁵⁷ See 154 endnote.
- ¹⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁹ See.: Brazaitis, J. „Vieni vieni“ (*Completely Alone*), V., 1990; Škirpa, K. „Sukilimas suverenumui atstatyti“ (*Uprising to Restore the Sovereignty of Lithuania*), Washington, 1973; Narutis, P. „Tautos sukilimas 1941 m. Lietuvos nepriklausomybei atstatyti“ (*National Uprising in 1941 to Restore the Independence of Lithuania*), 1994; A. Damušis, *Lithuania against Soviet and Nazi Aggression*, 1998. In only one place, apparently, through negligence while reprinting his work „Lietuvai išlaisvinti nurodymus“ (“The Instructions for the Liberation of Lithuania”), K. Škirpa retained the phrase that one of the LAF's fundamental tasks was to uproot “the Jewish exploitation” (p. 175).
- ¹⁶⁰ Sužiedelis, S. „Penkiasdešimčiai metų praėjus [...]“, p. 172.
- ¹⁶¹ Škirpa, K. Mentioned source, p. 567 – 572.
- ¹⁶² “Instructions for the Liberation of Lithuania” quoted in Albinas Gražiusas's book „Lietuva dviejų okupacijų replėse“ (*Lithuania in the Coil of Two Occupations*) (Vilnius, 1996) (p. 37 – 45) lacks the Article “to make the Jews flee Lithuania [...]”; the book prepared by Antanas Martinionis „Sukilimas. 1941 m. birželio 22-25 d.“ (*Uprising of 22 – 25 June 1941*)' (Part I, Vilnius, 1994; Part II, V., 1995) contains a “doctored up” appeal by the LAF leader's authorised representative, Leonas Prapuolenis, “Everything for the Sake of Lithuania” and “Address of the Provisional Government of Lithuania to the Nation” (*cf. I laisve*, 24 June 1941, p. 1 and 25 June 1941, p. 1).
- ¹⁶³ Manifesto of the Lithuanian Activists Front, Archive of the Freedom Fights (AOFF), Vol. 11, Kaunas, 1994, p. 152 – 160.
- ¹⁶⁴ Address by Mykolas Naujokaitis, AOFF, Vol. 15 (1995), p. 233.
- ¹⁶⁵ Address by Bronys Raila, Ibid., p. 234 – 235. Br. Raila means Volume I of the documents of The Series of Lithuania's Fights and Sufferings on the deportations of the Lithuanian population in 1941 – 1953 (Deportations of the Lithuanian Population in 1940 – 1941, 1944 – 1953 in the documents of the Soviet authorities) prepared by Eugenijus Grunskis, Vanda Kašauskiene and Henrikas Šadžius, and published by the World Lithuanian Community in 1994. The ultra-patriotic American Lithuanians decided that the collection of documents contained too little depiction of suffering, and quoted a too low figure of deportees. Therefore, the book was burned in a symbolic gesture.
- ¹⁶⁶ Statement by Pilypas Narutis, Ibid., p. 236 – 237.
- ¹⁶⁷ „Lietuvių Aktyvistų Fronto programa“ (“Manifesto of the Lithuanian Activists Front”) (typewritten copy), LCVA, R – 1267, Inv. sch. 1, File 1, P. 15 – 19. V. Brandišauskas was the first to refer to this document in his article („Nacionalizmas rezistencinių organizacijų valstybės modelyje“ (“Nationalism in the State Model of Resistance Organisations”), *Akiraciai* publication, 1995, Issue No. 5, p. 4.)
- ¹⁶⁸ Address by the Authorised Representative L. Prapuolenis delivered to Commissar General Dr. von Renteln - *Išlaisvintas panevėžietis* publication, 1941. 08. 16 (Issue No. 8).
- ¹⁶⁸ „1941 m. birželio sukilimas“ (*The Revolt of June 1941*). Collected documents. V., 2000, p. 47.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 96-97.
- ¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 139.
- ¹⁷² Ibid., p. 148-149.
- ¹⁷³ Škirpa, K. „Sukilimas Lietuvos suverenumui atstatyti“, p. 117.
- ¹⁷⁴ Matulionis, J. „Neramios dienos“ (*Disturbing Days*), Toronto, 1975, p. 97.
- ¹⁷⁵ Škirpa, K. Mentioned source, p. 119.
- ¹⁷⁶ V. Seniuta, „Paskutinis žydas Vilniaus žydu kvartale – gete“, *Naujoji viltis*, 1990, No 23, p. 93-106.
- ¹⁷⁷ Levin, D. „Trumpa žydu istorija Lietuvoje“ (*A Brief History of Jews in Lithuania*), p. 152; Atamukas, S. „Lietuvos žydu kelias“ (*The Path of Lithuanian Jews*), p. 237 – 239.
- ¹⁷⁸ „Masinės žudynės Lietuvoje“ (*The Massacres in Lithuania*), Vol. I, p. 49.
- ¹⁷⁹ Conversation with Saulius Sužiedelis. „1941 metų sukilimo batosios demės“ (“Blank Spaces in the 1941 Uprising”), *Akiraciai* publication, 1991, Issue No. 9, p. 6.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁸¹ The guidelines for the LNP-drafted *Pro memoria* to the Reich leadership (end of 1941), LVOA, doc. col. 3377, Inv. sch. 58, file. 271, p.40-41 (this document contains the following text: ‘the Lithuanian people have no liking for the Jews, however, the liquidation of the Jews on the Lithuanian territory provoked the feeling

of astonishment and aversion among the Lithuanian people [...]. The Lithuanians thought that the Jews who had not emigrated from Lithuania could be used as labour force for reconstruction works in the destroyed Belarus and Russia. The Lithuanians also thought that the property of the Jews who had left Lithuania should be transferred to the disposition of the Lithuanian people’.

¹⁸² Interview with Leonidas Donskis. „Apie šiandienini antisemitizma Lietuvoje“ (“On the present-day anti-Semitism in Lithuania”), *Akiraciai* magazine, 1995, Issue No. 6, p. 8.

¹⁸³ Sužiedelis, S. „Penkiasdešimčiai metu praejus [...]“, p. 164; Brandišauskas, V. „Lietuviu ir žydu santykiai [...]“, p. 61.

¹⁸⁴ Conversation with Saulius Sužiedelis. „1941 metų sukilimo batosios demes“, *Akiraciai* publication, 1991, Issue No 10, p. 9.

¹⁸⁵ Lieven, A. „Pabaltijo revoliucija“ (*Revolution of the Baltics*), Vilnius, 1995, p. 155 – 156.

¹⁸⁶ Matusевичius, J. „Taigi pamastykime“ (“So let us reflect”), *Voruta*, 1996, No. 42. Cf: Atamukas, S. Mentioned source, p. 221.

¹⁸⁷ 24 June 1941 The Archbishop wrote in his diary : “A lot of Jews allegedly are being arrested in Kaunas (...) A rather precise criteria to sort them out has been found. In the first place, all Jews who under the Bolsheviks had made their way to Lithuanian institutions, previously closed to them, are put under arrest”, „1941 m. birželio sukilimas“. Collection of documents. Compiled by V. Brandišauskas, V., 2000, p. 269.

¹⁸⁸ Štromas, A. „Holokaustas. Žydu ir neżydu patirtis“ (“The Holocaust. The Experience of Jews and Non-Jews”), *Krantai* magazine, 1990, November-December, p. 21.

¹⁸⁹ E. Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe between the world wars*, Indiana University Press, p. 239.

¹⁹⁰ Donskis, L. Mentioned article.

¹⁹¹ I quote according to: Stankevičius, R. „Nykstancios atminties tuštuma užpildant“ (“Filling in the blank space of memory dying away”), *Kultūros barai* magazine, 2000, Issue No. 3, p. 78.

¹⁹² Šliupas, J. „Antisemitinė reikšmė“ (“The Meaning of anti-Semitism”), *Laisvoji mintis*, 15 July 1939.

¹⁹³ Römeris, M. „Dienoraštis“ (*The Diary*), *Kultūros barai* magazine, 1991, Issue No. 4, p. 74.

¹⁹⁴ „Vyriausybės pareiškimas“ (“Statement of the Government”), *Lietuvos aidas* daily, 16 June 1940; „A. Merkio kalba per radiją“ (“Speech of A. Merkys on radio”), *Lietuvos aidas* daily, 17 June 1940. (Issue No. 282).

¹⁹⁵ Truska, L. „Lietuva 1938-1953 metais“ (*Lithuania in 1938 – 1953*), Kaunas, 1995, p. 57 and 70.

¹⁹⁶ Order by the commander-in-chief, Gen. Vitkauskas, *Lietuvos aidas*, 16 June 1940 (No 281).

¹⁹⁷ See Dambrauskas, S. „Konstitucines Respublikos doktrina“ (“Doctrine of the Constitutional Republic”), *Atgimimas*, 1991, No. 53-54, p. 11.

¹⁹⁸ „Seimo Prezidiumas prisistate Respublikos Prezidentui J. Paleckiui“ (“The Presidium of the Seimas Was Introduced to the President of the Republic, J. Paleckis”), *Lietuvos aidas*, 19 June 1940; „Savonoriu delegacija pas Respublikos Prezidenta“ (“Delegation of the Volunteers at the President of the Republic’s”), *Ibid.*, 20 June 1940; „Kariuomenės ir Šaulių vadovybė pas Respublikos Prezidenta“ (“The Heads of Army and Riflemen at the President of the Republic’s”), *Ibid.* 21 June 1940.

¹⁹⁹ Truska, L. „Lietuva 1938-1953 metais“ (*Lithuania in 1938-1953*), p. 61-62.

²⁰⁰ „Diplomatinių misijų šefai padarė vizitus Užsienio reiklų ministrui Prof. Krevei Mickevičiui“ (“Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions Visited Foreign Minister Prof. Kreve Mickevicius”), *Lietuvos aidas*, 22 June 1940.

²⁰¹ For more information see: Truska, L. „1940 metų ‘Liaudies’ Seimo rinkimai“, *Lituanistica*, 1995, No. 1(21), p. 23-25.

²⁰² Adamkus, V. „Likimo vardas – Lietuva“, V., 1999, p. 10.

²⁰³ For more information see: Truska, L. „1940 metų ‘Liaudies’ Seimo rinkimai“, p. 17-18.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 31-37.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ Efremenko, A. *Agrarnyje preobrazavaniya i nacalo socialisticeskogo stroitelstva v litovskoj derevne v 1940-1941 godach*, Vilnius, 1972, p. 94.

²⁰⁷ V. Mykolaitis-Putinas, collected works, Vol.2, V., 1990, p. 9.

²⁰⁸ See a facsimile of signatures enclosed in *Lietuvos aidas* of 10 July 1940 (p. 6). In his “Raudonasis tvanas” (*Red Flood*) (V., 1990, p.109-110), Ignas Šeinius offered an interpretation that this was a forgery by the Soviets: there was a list of participants to be signed in at the entrance to the meeting, and the *Lietuvos aidas* presented those signatures as support by Lithuanian intelligentsia to the manifesto of the Lithuanian Labour People’s Alliance. However, this interpretation is very doubted as the intelligentsia who took part in

the meeting had never (neither during the years of German occupation, nor in emigration after the war) talked about this as a forgery. What cannot be denied is that nobody forced them to go to that meeting.

²⁰⁹ See „Lietuvos Liaudies Seimas“, V., 1985.

²¹⁰ Sidzikauskas, V. „Lietuvos diplomatijos parašteje“ (*At the Margins of Lithuanian Diplomacy*), V., 1994, p. 185-186.

²¹¹ „Nauji skulptoriaus Vyt. Kašubos darbai“ (“New Works by Vyt. Kašuba”), *Tarybu Lietuva*, 6 October 1940.

²¹² Verksnys, A. „Mano gyvenimas – liudininkas“ (*My Life. A Witness*), V., 1992, p. 112-113.

²¹³ Raila, R. „Kodel antraip?“ (*Why otherwise?*), V., 1991, p. 214.

²¹⁴ Brazaitis, J. „Rezistencija 14 metu fone“ (*Resistance Against the Background of 14-year*), *I laisve*, 1956, No. 11, p. 21.

²¹⁵ Berdiajev, N. „Krikščionybė ir antisemitizmas“ (*Christianity and anti-Semitism*), *Šiaurės Atenai*, 1990, No. 27, p.1.

²¹⁶ See “Lietuvai išlaisvinti nurodymus” (Annex No. 9).

²¹⁷ Brizgys, V. „Gyvenimo keliai“ (*Paths of Life*), V., 1993, p.103.

²¹⁸ „Geležinis vilkas“ (*Iron Wolf*), V., 1965, p. 85. Nevertheless the partisans killed several thousand Lithuanians, including soviet officials of lower ranks, communists, members of the Young Communist League.