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as

COVER PHOTOS:

Front cover: Lithuania's new President Valdas Adamkus and his wife Alma. President Adamkus was sworn in on February 26, 1998. (Photo: A. Šuika/Lietuvos Aidas).

Back cover: Some of the 26,000 singers and dancers who took part in the World Lithuanian Song and Folk-Dance Festival, held in Vilnius on July 1 - 6 this year. More than 1,000 expatriate performers also took part. This picture was taken as the participants were moving to Vingio Park, one of the main Festival venues. (Photo: Stasys Laukys/Lietuvos Aidas).

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Lithuanian Papers

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Lithuania - Main Facts

Location: on the Eastern shores of the Baltic Sea.

Capital: Vilnius (population 573,200).

National language: Lithuanian, an ancient Indo-European language of the Baltic group. Lithuanians use a Latin-based alphabet of 32 letters.

Form of Government: Republic.

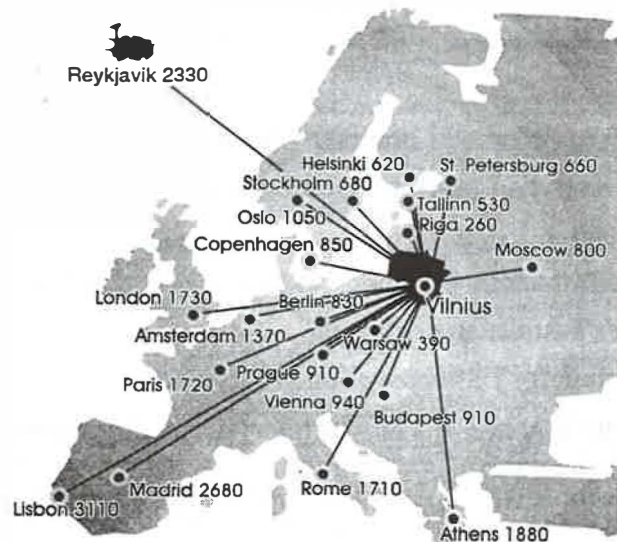
Head of State: President (Valdas Adamkus).

National assembly: Seimas (parliament), 141 members, elected every 4 years.

Chairman of Seimas: Professor Vytautas Landsbergis.

Area: 65,300 square kilometres (25,212 square miles), about the size of Tasmania or West Virginia.

Population (1996): 3,711,900. - Distributed between urban 2,518,400 (67.85%), and rural 1,193,500 (32.15%).



• The distances from Vilnius, Lithuania's capital, to various European cities, in kilometres.



• Vytis - Lithuanian coat of arms.

Religion: Predominantly Roman Catholic (estimated 80%). A number of other religions are also practised.

Population density: 56.8 per 1 square km.

Chief Products: Agriculture, forestry, fishing, light industry.

Greatest distances: East-West 336 km, North-South 192 km.

Highest points: Juozapinė (293.6 metres), Kruopinė (293.4m), Nevaišiai (288.9m).

Major rivers: Nemunas (937.4km), Neris (509.5km).

Largest lakes: Drūkšiai (4479ha), Dysnai (2439.4ha), Dusia (2334.2ha). Altogether, there are 2,830 lakes larger than 0.5 ha in Lithuania, covering a total area of 880 sq.km.

Climate: Temperate, between maritime and continental. Mean annual temperature 5 degrees Celsius (41 deg.F). Average January temp. in Vilnius -4.3 deg.C; July average 18.1 deg. C. Annual precipitation 577 mm in Vilnius, 739mm in Klaipėda.

National currency: Litas, equals 100 centas. Exchange rate (approx.): 4 Litas equals US\$1; or 2.40 Litas equals AU\$1.

Sources: LR Gvt.'s Statistics Department, Lithuanian Heritage, TUULSS.



* The tragic history of Lithuania is imprinted on her face...

Photo: Marius Baranauskas (T.L.)

The Need to De-communize the Ex-Communist States

Richard PIPES

Harvard University

After the Allied powers defeated and occupied Germany in 1945, they promptly instituted a process of de-Nazification meant to exclude persons who had been actively engaged in the Nazi regime from responsible posts in government and education. At the same time, through the international Nuremberg Tribunal they tried leading Nazi civilians and military for crimes against humanity: Several of the Nazis were condemned to death. Subsequently, democratic German authorities tried personnel who had served in the concentration and extermination camps.

No doubt, the great majority of Germans and Austrians responsible for Nazi crimes escaped punishment and quietly integrated into post-war life. But a point was made and enforced: The Nazi regime was a criminal organization and persons actively involved in it were disqualified from either serving the democratic republic or educating its youth. The Nazi party and the display of its symbols were outlawed; denying the Holocaust became a criminal offence.

No post-Soviet purge

Nothing like this has occurred in the post-communist states of Eastern Europe. *The Black Box of Communism*, a recently published French study edited by St.Ephane Courtois, found that communist regimes worldwide have claimed the lives of between 85 and 100 million human beings - approximately four times the number of deaths visited by Hitler. Yet the countries that have managed to shake off communist dictatorships have not punished those guilty of such monstrous crimes.

True, Stalin's murderous henchman, Lavrentii Beria, along with some of his associates, was executed immediately after Stalin's death. Some time later, several other of Stalin's comrades were retired. But these actions were taken by Stalin's successors for their own political interests, not to purge the Soviet Union of politicians with criminal records.

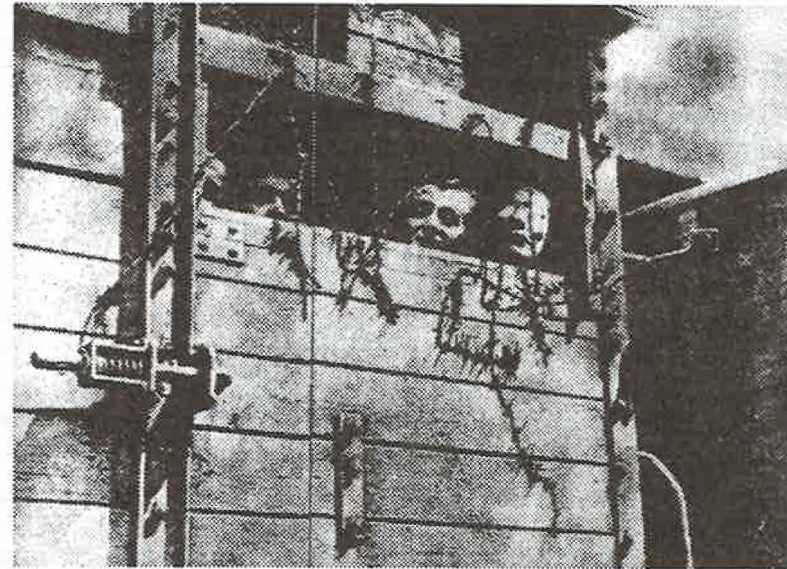
Since the dissolution of the U.S.S.R and its empire in 1989-1991, only one action was taken to punish those responsible for the crimes of the communists. In October 1991, Czechoslovakia adopted a law of "lustration" that effectively barred citizens who had been active in the communist regime from holding office. ("To lustrate" is an archaic verb meaning "to purify ceremonially as a means of removing bloodguiltiness and cleansing a house").

Neither Russia, nor Poland, nor any other ex-Soviet dependencies has followed this example. Thus, individuals, responsible for mass murder, torture and repression on an unprecedented scale are allowed to lead peaceful lives and even to participate in the political and intellectual life. Not one of the tens of thousands of Gulag administrators and guards has been brought to justice. The communist parties are active in all these countries (albeit sometimes under different labels) and are permitted to display the hammer and sickle emblem.

Criminal heritage hampers democracy

Why should this be the case? An obvious answer is that unlike Germany and Japan, the communist empire was not defeated in war and occupied by the victorious powers. Thus, it would not be foreigners who would judge political criminals but natives, a fact creating considerable difficulty because under totalitarian regimes that lasted anywhere from 45 to 70 years (in contrast to Nazi Germany's 12 years) nearly every adult was in some way politically compromised. A leading Polish journalist with an impeccable record as a dissident explained to me his opposition to laws calling for lustration because they would open so many wounds and to make the transition to democracy still more difficult.

But even making allowance for this complicating factor, it seems a terrible mistake for the new Eastern European democracies not to purge themselves of those responsible for their suffering. As a result, ex-communist officials of high rank occupy preeminent positions in government and education. The security organs of democratic Russia are staffed by old functionaries of the KGB who bring to their task the old habits. The same applies to the diplomatic service. Thus, no real break with the past has occurred: The old has been integrated, as it were, into the new. Old attitudes survive and fester: contempt for human rights and the law, anti-western attitudes and dreams of restoring the old empire.



• Hundreds of thousands of innocent Lithuanians were deported in cattle wagons (above) to Siberia and to other inhospitable places. Many other Lithuanian civilians were tortured and killed. There has never been any doubt that the victims were innocent. Yet most of the persons responsible for these heinous crimes have not been tried to date.

To purge itself of its terrible legacy, Russia and her ex-satellites should face their recent past and, emulating the Czech Republic, ban those guilty of political crimes from the country's political life. Failure to do so burdens the fledgling democracies with a criminal heritage.

Dr. Richard Pipes is a Professor of History, Emeritus, at Harvard University and contributing editor of IntellectualCapital.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: Estonia's President Lennart Meri told journalists on May 13 that Estonia was going to establish a commission to investigate crimes against humanity committed in the country between 1939 and 1991. Meri's announcement followed the summit in Riga at which the three Baltic presidents agreed to set up such

commissions in each country. Meri said at the time, "Certain forces that are not interested in the Baltic States' stability are manipulating some tragic incidents in our past and are using [them] against us."

In Lithuania, the Parliament (*Seimas*) resolved on May 27 that mass deportations to the USSR are to be treated as war crimes. Suitable amendments have been made to Lithuania's Penal Code. Torture, murder, deportation and similar actions are acts of genocide and are not subject to the statutes of limitations. The people of Lithuania have been asked to submit evidence to the Procurator-General.

On June 25, *Seimas* passed a lustration law, banning former KGB agents from holding positions in government and state bodies for 10 years. The law, which was initiated by parliamentary speaker Vytautas Landsbergis, also recommended that such persons not be allowed to work as lawyers or in key industries, private security companies, or the communications sector. The law was not to apply to those who left the KGB before March 12, 1990. At the request of President Adamkus, however, *Seimas* agreed on July 16 not to enact this law until January 1, 1999. In the meantime, the Constitutional Court will be asked to rule whether this bill is constitutional. The only earlier attempt to pass a lustration law in Lithuania failed in 1991.

In September, 1998, Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus set up an international commission to examine war crimes committed during the Nazi and Soviet occupations of Lithuania. The commission's main function is "to investigate the World War Two period and the immediate aftermath, in order to come up with answers to various questions concerning Jewish and Lithuanian genocide." The commission will be headed by parliamentary deputy Emanuelis Zingeris.

- *JC,RFE-RI, ELTA., Lietuvos Aidas, Mūsų Pastogė.*

FURTHER READING: British historian and writer Timothy Garton Ash spent years covering issues in former East Germany and in Poland. Garton Ash later obtained a copy of his own STASI file under the German Lustration procedures and found out who had been informing on him over the years during his visits to the former DDR. The story is told in his book *The File*. The final section on integrity and the moral resources needed to face up to official evil is essential reading on the poisoned inheritance of Europe.

Timothy Garton ASH (1997), *The File: a personal history*. London: Harper Collins. ISBN 0 00 255823

(*Edis Bevan*)

Fixed Exchange Rate under Pressure

Michael WYZAN

Laxenburg (Austria)

Lithuania's economy generally receives less attention from foreign observers than its two Baltic neighbors. It is often seen as less reformed than Estonia and Latvia, although since last year its macroeconomic performance has been at least as strong as theirs.

A continuing distinction between Lithuania and the other two Baltic States is that it remains more dependent on trade with Russia: 22 percent of its exports went to that country during January-April, while the corresponding figure for imports was 24.4 per cent. The corresponding figures for Latvian trade with Russia during the same period were 17.4 per cent for exports and 13.6 per cent for imports. Some 8.3 per cent of Estonia's exports went to Russia, while 8.5 per cent of its imports came from Russia.

Most Lithuanian macroeconomic indicators are highly favourable. GDP in the first quarter of 1998 was 6.9 per cent higher than in the same period last year, reflecting an acceleration of economic growth from 1997's figure of 5.7 per cent. Sales of industrial production were up by 9.4 per cent during the first six months, almost double last year's 5.0 per cent.

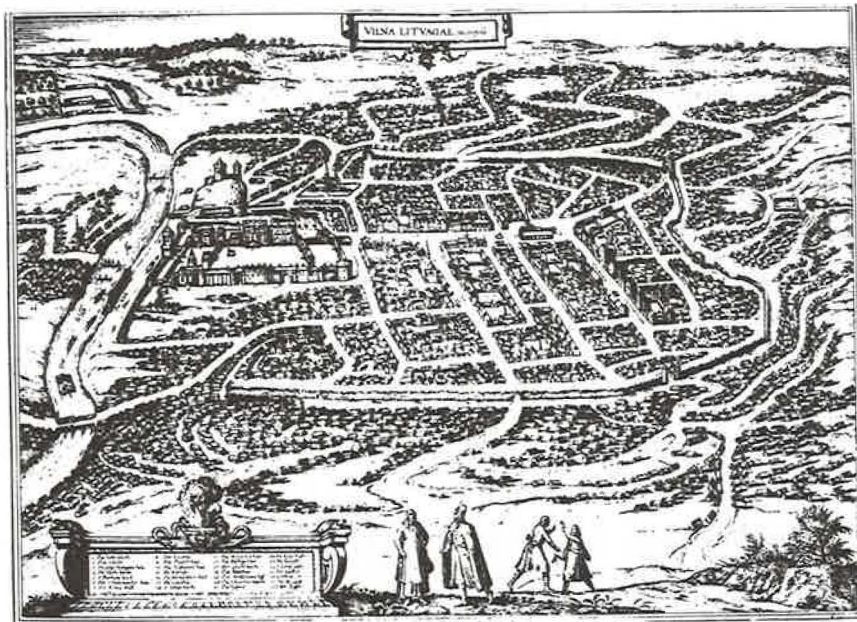
While production has boomed, consumer price inflation has subsided, reaching 6.1 per cent in the 12 months to June, compared with 8.4 per cent in the year to December 1997. Another favourable macroeconomic indicator is the budget deficit which as of May was on target to meet the goal of 1 percent of GDP, as agreed with the IMF. That deficit fell from 4.5 per cent in 1996 to 1.8 per cent last year.

Wages have been booming, along with the economy: the average gross monthly wage reached \$249 in May, compared with \$199 a year earlier. This may explain why the unemployment rate has been higher during every month this year than in the corresponding month in 1997. However, by June the difference was negligible, with the rate that month of 5.5 per cent only slightly above June 1997's 5.3 per cent.

Large current account deficits have been a hallmark of the Lithuanian economy. As economic growth turned positive in 1995, the current account imbalance rose from \$94 million (2.2 percent of GDP) in 1994 to \$981 million in 1997 (a high 10.3 per cent). This trend continued into the first quarter of 1998 when the deficit was \$514 million, up \$118 million on the same period last year.

Such deficits have been commonplace in rapidly growing transition economies, especially ones with fixed exchange rates; the *Litas* has been pegged at four to the dollar under the currency board introduced in April, 1994.

The Bank of Lithuania is currently undergoing a transition to a normal central bank, a three-stage process scheduled to be completed next year. For example, under the currency board, the Bank is not allowed to provide overnight loans to commercial



* Vilnius is Lithuania's capital city and financial centre. When G. Braun drew this map in 1572, Vilnius had been a thriving city for several centuries at least. It had survived repeated major fires and enemy attacks (Henry IV, the future king of England, took part in the 5 weeks' siege of Vilnius in 1390). The University of Vilnius was founded in 1579.

banks. In April, as part of the transition to central banking, it set the interest rate it will charge on such loans.

To retain confidence in monetary policy, the fixed rate for the Litas against the dollar is to remain valid at least until 1999, when the currency will be tied partly to EU currencies. By the end of 2000, the Litas will be pegged to the Euro.

Although the current account deficit is high, the Bank of Lithuania's foreign reserves have risen steadily, reaching \$1.2 billion in June (further augmented by privatization proceeds in July), compared with \$939.6 million in June, 1997. Another encouraging sign is the rapid rise in foreign direct investment which was a cumulative \$1.1 billion at the end of June, compared with \$727.6 million in June, 1997.

The IMF's Executive Board in July praised the Lithuanian government for increasing excise taxes, improving tax collection and the budget process, privatization successes in banking and telecommunications; and creating an Energy Pricing Commission. The board called for further fiscal tightening to limit the growth of expenditures and to put the Social Security Agency on a firmer footing, especially by raising the retirement age.

These are the standard recommendations that the fund would make to any successful economy in transition. A more interesting question is how vulnerable Lithuania will prove to the contagion from the financial turbulence in East Asia and especially Russia. Large current account deficits under fixed exchange regimes are often an indication of such vulnerability.

The key issue is whether Lithuania will be able to manage the transition to central banking under a fixed exchange rate or whether it will be forced to allow its currency to weaken, as the Czech Republic did in spring 1997 and Russia on August 17, 1998. In this context, Lithuania's high trade dependence on Russia is worrisome, since the weaker rouble will probably further increase the Baltic State's already large trade deficit with that country.

The author is a research scholar at the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis.

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The Nordic-Baltic Connection in a European Context

Clive ARCHER

Manchester Metropolitan University

Two related aspects of the re-emergence of the three Baltic states as independent entities have been their involvement in international organizations and their relations with their Nordic neighbours - Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden - in establishing themselves securely in world politics.

After becoming members of the United Nations, the priority of all three Baltic states in international relations has been to become full members of the European Union (EU) and of NATO, thereby being accepted as part of a wider Euro-Atlantic community. While the quest for EU membership contains an element of 'a return to Europe' after the bleak days within the Soviet embrace, joining NATO seems to reflect the uneasy relationship each of the three countries has with the present-day Russia.

All three states are involved in the EU's pre-accession strategy (Avery & Cameron, 1998, Ch. 2), though it could be some five years before the one state thought to be off the starting-blocks first - Estonia - gains membership. Entry into NATO is fraught with even more problems, with maybe the US Congress being more of a roadblock than the Russian Duma.

Meanwhile, the Baltic states have engaged themselves in Europe Agreements with the EU (which involve economic, trade, political and cultural cooperation), Partnership for Peace co-operation with NATO (which lead to joint operations with NATO countries as well as practical assistance), membership of the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) and of the Baltic Council. They have developed a network of economic, cultural and political links which have recently been described in a new yearbook devoted to the Baltic region (Hedegaard & Lindström, 1998).

The three states' security situation has been analysed by a number of scholars - including those from the Baltic states and from Russia - in another recent publication (Mouritzen, 1998). Whilst it is clear

that the security future of the Baltic states is in the hands of not just those countries but also, primarily, Russia, Germany and the United States, it is important to note that the Nordic countries have had an immediate and strong input into Baltic security.

The Nordic-Baltic security link has been examined in recent chapters and monographs (Archer, 1998; Archer & Jæger, 1998; Knudsen, 1998; Möttölä, 1998). Since 1991, the Nordic countries have consciously contributed to the strengthening of the sovereignty of the Baltic states and to their engagement with other Baltic Sea states in a cooperative spirit. They have also supported the Baltic cause within the EU and NATO.

In particular the Nordic countries have helped to establish and train the Baltic Battalion (BALTBAT), a three-country peacekeeping operation, and have included contributions from the Baltic states in their own peacekeeping contributions. More recently - after relations between Russia and the Baltic states have been regularised at the diplomatic level - the Nordic countries have been willing to sell arms to the Baltic states.

The Nordic countries have also sought to encourage the Baltic states to think beyond their desire for collective security through NATO. The belief that NATO would any longer be prepared to offer a joint, pre-organised defence of a country such as Lithuania against Russia may anyhow be open to question. The Nordic states have pointed out that much can be done to prevent events coming to such a pass. They have extolled the benefits of cooperative security whereby common action can help to overcome points of disagreement and recommended a comprehensive approach to ideas of security that includes environmental, human rights and economic concerns.

In this context membership of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) - the pan-European security institution - as well as the regional CBSS becomes important, and joining the EU also takes on a greater security angle.

Nevertheless, the Nordic countries recognise that all three of the Baltic states have the right to choose their own security future and, currently, that means NATO membership. The Nordic governments have tried to fill the gap between re-gaining Baltic independence and full NATO membership and have attempted to alleviate some of the

security concerns of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Partly because of this action, the security situation in the Baltic region is much better than might have been expected in 1991.

Clive ARCHER, PhD, is Research Professor in the Department of Politics & Philosophy, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, M15 6LL, England.

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Julius KELERAS

[Untitled]

Nowhere else is it like that: a float inside the snoring
river's jaws
to register summer current at its weakest,
black moths land on your knees and hands.

Looking northeast will show one autumn merging
with another and a gloomy fragrance of dying
coves encroaching.

Dragonflies are scraping the harbours. Cornflowers
grow weak to the point of giving in to the big downpour
that also embellishes some peculiar scratchsheets.

The river grabs up water as a heartfelt
offering for one who's returned from his travels
and is washing his clothes in the shade.

It's then that the map of dreams,
soaked through and through, caves in
like a child's balloon filled with water.

Translated from the Lithuanian by Vyt Bakaitis.



* Kazys Šimonis (1887 - 1978), *In the apple orchard*. - Ack. Lithuanian Heritage.

Julius KELERAS

evening in strange surroundings

unfamiliar dunes, a body that can't settle down,
a parish village hangs in the early atmosphere; an accurate
drawing takes on movement and drops from the wall,
and taste of death ruffles the palate

I hear a butterfly collapse
on being deprived of the frozen sea, and forests
cast off the sun upon darkening, and maybe the skeleton
sits up in his grave on suddenly dreaming his guilt

too bad though, it's too late, so late, and lately
everything is strange, the dunes

a parish village

the sea

Translated from
the Lithuanian by Vyt Bakaitis.

Born in Vilnius in 1961, Julius KELERAS graduated from the University of Vilnius (1987), studied singing, worked as an editor and lectured on literature before moving to the United States. He is now editor of the Lithuanian-language weekly Darbininkas in New York. Julius Keleras has published three books of poems: Žiemos valtys (Winter Rowboats; Vilnius, 1988), Baltas kalėdaitis (White Christmas-Wafer; Chicago, 1990) and Sauja medaus (A Handful of Honey; Vilnius, 1995).

Vyt BAKAITIS is the author of poems, City Country (Black Thistle Press, 1991). His translations of Jonas Mekas's poems, There is No Ithaca, were published last year. His versions of several poems by Hölderlin and Mickiewicz are included in a Norton anthology of world poetry.

Lithuania in 1992 - 95

John BURGESS

Canberra

The early years of Lithuania's re-emergence as an independent nation was a story of a difficult transition towards democracy and a market-based economy. The period between independence and the elections in October/November 1992 saw the progressive break-up of Sajūdis. The original broad front, united in the struggle for independence, was finally transformed into a rump around Landsbergis and his conservatives. In May, what was left of Sajūdis lost its majority in the Supreme Council to the centre-left. I was struck by the fierce, uncompromising tone of Lithuania's political rhetoric, with strong personal antipathies very evident.

After the 1992 elections, the Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (DLP), led by the former First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Brazauskas, commanded an absolute majority in the *Seimas* or Parliament. Presidential elections held the following



* The author (*right*) at one of his meetings with President Brazauskas, in 1993.

February saw Brazauskas defeat the leading emigre figure, Lozoraitis. Both elections confirmed a stunning resurgence by the left which shocked many, inside and outside the country. A large part of the explanation seemed to be popular reaction to a sharp fall in living standards, but Brazauskas's political skills and reputation (his break with the Party in Moscow in 1989 had been an important assertion of Lithuanian independence) played their part.

I first met Brazauskas early in November 1992, between the first and second round of the parliamentary elections. A burly, florid, white-haired figure, he proved to be a confident and engaging interlocutor, even though we had to converse through an interpreter. The main message he wished to get across to a visiting Western diplomat on that occasion was that the DLP had reformed itself into a genuine social democratic party. He put his party's success in the elections down to strong organisation and the deep unpopularity of Sajūdis in the countryside. On two later occasions I took senior Australian visitors to meet Brazauskas as President. Each time they came away impressed by his frank and incisive observations on Lithuania's situation and problems.

Many who wished Lithuania well were depressed by the results of these Lithuanian elections, seeing them as a throwback to the Communist past. There was an encouraging perspective: in the space of only 18 months Lithuania had adopted a new constitution (in a referendum in October 1992) and had held fair parliamentary and presidential elections, each involving a smooth transfer of power.

The Economy

While there were many twists and turns along the way, and much hardship for many Lithuanians, we saw the economy moving in the right direction over these years. The special coupons which had been circulated as rouble substitutes gave way to the Litas in June 1993 with a currency board along the same line as Estonia's coming into operation in April 1994. I was one of those who had doubted

whether governments appointed after 1992 would have the will to push ahead with the necessary economic reforms, but I was proved wrong. While in effect elected on a leftist platform, successive governments under Prime Minister Šleževičius were actually implementing a rightist reform program under the watchful tutelage of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

By mid-1995, the economy was doing much better than just about anyone had predicted three years before. Inflation was down significantly and Lithuania was running a more or less balanced budget. Just about all residential apartments, most agricultural land and assets, and a good number of state enterprises had been privatised. Foreign investment had been a disappointing story, with the World Bank estimating in mid-1995 that only US\$ 16 million of direct foreign investment had actually been spent in the country, but the change in the pattern of Lithuania's foreign trade provided dramatic evidence of its reorientation towards the west. About half of its imports and half of its exports were now accounted for by western countries.

The increasing incidence of crime was a major worry in Lithuania during these years. I saw it as the inevitable, presumably temporary, result of the transfer of ownership of considerable assets which was going on through the privatisation process, combined with the still weak state of both the legal framework and the law enforcement agencies.

Russia

The new relationship with Russia was a major preoccupation for Lithuania from August, 1991. Prime Minister Vagnorius told me on my first visit in September, 1991 that the withdrawal of former Soviet troops was his highest priority. The supply of energy from Russia was also a problem in those early days, with oil for Lithuania's large refinery at Mažeikiai sometimes being cut off for days.



* How the mighty have fallen: The author (*left*) and Hamish McCormick, First Secretary at the Australian Embassy in Copenhagen, on an informal visit to the graveyard of Soviet statues, near the airport in Vilnius.

The last Russian troops left Lithuania at the end of August 1993. This was even earlier than the Soviet withdrawals from Poland and Germany, let alone from Latvia and Estonia whose large ethnic Russian populations added particular difficulty to their relationships with Russia. The issue of Russian compensation to Lithuania for damage done during the Soviet period figured prominently for some time, but was put aside quietly in the end.

There had long been nervousness in Lithuania over the concentration of Russian forces in the Russian exclave of Kaliningrad. Russian military transit across Lithuania, between Russia proper and Kaliningrad, soon became a hot issue between Vilnius and Moscow. On the Lithuanian side the negotiations became heavily politicised, with the Government put on the defensive by Opposition claims that it was giving too much away to the Russians.

When they could not get their way, the Russians, with their usual immoderate toughness towards the Baltic States, suspended Lithuania's previously agreed Most Favoured Nation status. The issue was put to rest for the time being early in 1995 by an agreement to extend the main elements of the transit arrangements which had been used for the withdrawal of Russian troops from East Germany through Lithuania. These conditions were much lighter than Lithuania had been seeking.

In April 1995 all three Baltic states initialled Europe Agreements with the European Union, giving them associated status. This, together with NATO membership, had long been an important goal for Lithuania, as much for security as economic reasons. It is hard to exaggerate the political and economic importance of this step for all three Baltic States, preliminary though it was. A new border between West and East Europe was gaining definition, following the Eastern borders of the three Baltic States.

Poland

Lithuania's relationship with Poland was also a key issue in these early years. It was a problematic relationship born of a long and difficult history which was still very much alive in the minds of Lithuanians. In the wake of the August 1991 coup in Russia, the Lithuanian Government had taken direct control of the local government districts of Vilnius and Šalčininkai, the districts with high ethnic Polish populations, in reaction to perceived local Polish sympathies for the coup's objectives. Both local ethnic Poles and the Government in Warsaw actively pushed for the new local elections in these districts which were held in November 1992.

There were extended difficulties in the negotiation of a bilateral treaty to govern relations between the two countries. During his visit in September 1993, the Pope appeared to play a conciliating role. Lithuanians noted appreciatively that in addressing the Polish community in Vilnius the Pope described them as "Lithuanians of Polish origin". Some had been inclined to see themselves as Poles

still living in a Polish city. A stumbling block in the last stages of the negotiation was a Lithuanian demand that Poland should acknowledge in the treaty the injustice of its occupation of Vilnius between the wars, an acknowledgment that was not insisted upon in the end.

It is easy for an outsider to underestimate the depth of feeling which still exists in Lithuania over this historical episode. It seemed to me that in some ways Lithuanian feeling towards Poland ran even deeper than the feeling towards Russia. I was in the *Seimas* in Vilnius when Brazauskas and Wałęsa finally signed their Treaty on Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation on 26 April 1994.

Building the Bilateral Relationship with Australia

In November 1992, a year or so after the Lithuanians had first proposed that we negotiate a bilateral trade agreement, and after a negotiating session in Vilnius, the two sides initialled a draft trade agreement *ad referendum* to governments. It was a pretty basic agreement exchanging Most Favoured Nation status and providing for consultations on trade matters as required. In November 1993, another year on, I obtained Lithuanian agreement to our amendments of the text and finally signed the agreement with Foreign Minister Gylys in Vilnius the following month.

The potential for developing exports of Australian wool to Lithuania was a focus of Australian trade interest from the beginning, with particular attention paid to the 'Drobė' woollen mill in Kaunas. 'Drobė' had been processing Australian wool during the Soviet period and continued to buy small amounts for cash after independence. Early on, the Australian Wool Corporation identified

Australia's Trade with Lithuania, (in A\$000's)					
Calendar Year	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Exports	580	2,253	3,784	5,784	6,107
Imports	177	434	357	639	869

the mill as the best wool-processing prospect in the former Soviet Union and took steps to help it to fulfil its potential and thus to become a long-term consumer of Australian wool. The Corporation showed admirable initiative in making early visits to the mill and in bringing out Lithuanian managers to Australia for familiarisation.

Two high-level Australian visits to Lithuania were made in 1994. The then Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, visited in July and an Australian parliamentary delegation led by the then Speaker of the House of Representatives, Stephen Martin, followed in September.

Gradually, various Australian government agencies together with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) developed a business plan for the mill and the Export Finance and Insurance Corporation (EFIC) gave its support to wool sales to Lithuania. From a base near zero, Australian wool exports to Lithuania grew to over A\$2 million in calendar year 1994, and I see they have increased to just under \$4 million in calendar year 1997. The other significant items in Australian exports to Lithuania are now raw hides and skins (A\$2 million in 1997), a trade that largely developed after my time.

John Burgess became the first Australian Ambassador to Lithuania when Australia recognised the restoration of Lithuania's independence in August 1991. Based in Copenhagen, he was a regular visitor to Lithuania from late 1991 until mid-1995 when he was reassigned. He has since retired from the Foreign Service.



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The Myth of the Western Market

A discussion of Lithuanian transition in practice

Pernille HOHNEN

Copenhagen

'Is the bazaar a market?' This question was raised in a discussion concerning the (mis)understanding of and political/ethical problems involved in the Western economic 'assistance' to the Baltic states and Russia (Gerner & Hedlund 1994). Not surprisingly, the answer to the question was negative, and Gerner and Hedlund - along with a growing number of other social scientists (see Verdery 1996, Humphrey 1995) - are highly critical of what they conceived as an unrealistic project of transforming the former Soviet Union into an ideal model of late American capitalist society within a few years time.

If we turn to local political discussions in the Baltic states, the same kind of criticism could be applied, though for different reasons.



* The vehicle entrance to Gariūnai Market, about 15 km west of Vilnius. An oil-fired power station is in the background.

Here it was (and still is!) assumed that, as soon as Communism was suspended, the 'return to Europe' would be an automatic and much desired outcome. In addition, there is a general assumption (which is empirically unaccounted for) that 'the market' shall automatically lead to increased prosperity. In the following I shall give an example of a rather different kind of development, which might blur the image of the emerging Western style market in post-Communist Lithuania. As a case to illustrate the point, I shall use the open-air market, Gariūnai near Vilnius.

A symbolically 'marked' market

RASA'S STORY: I started my business long ago, about 1984. I was knitting at home and then selling. The government called it speculation. People didn't call it that. Later I started to sew. Later, I started to sell my things in Gariūnai. The first time it was terrible. I remember finding a very small chair to sit on, so that it would be difficult to see me behind the table. I found it so embarrassing. At the time a woman in the market was called turgaus boba. It wasn't very respectable, but we needed the money... When I found out that there were also doctors and teachers in the market, it became easier for me.

(Rasa, former market trader).

Gariūnai market in Lithuania is one of the huge consumer markets that have grown out of 'the transition' in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe providing the 'new poor' with various cheap consumer products. Here you can buy shoes and clothes, kitchen equipment, toys and much else, usually imported from Turkey, China, the United Arab Emirates or Poland by market traders themselves.

Gariūnai is the largest wholesale market in the Baltic region.¹ An estimated 15,000 traders make a living from the market, and at present buyers come from Latvia, Byelorussia and Ukraine as well as from other towns in Lithuania. The market was established in 1990 and, until a few years ago, customers would come from as far as Siberia and the Asian republics. Lately, visa restrictions between the former Soviet republics have put an end to much of this 'inter-republican' travel. However, the market still thrives, although profits are decreasing².



* Visitors from the U.K. and Australia driving a hard bargain at Gariūnai.
- Photo: A Banks.

But to trade at Gariūnai is, as Rasa's story indicates, a morally questionable activity and the market itself is regarded by Lithuanian society in general as being marginal, criminal and uncivilized. Criticism is levelled at various aspects: the market is uncivilized and dominated by racketeers and thieves; traders just stand there, they don't do real work; incomes are not declared, thus trade is black; the market is considered non-Lithuanian, and especially dominated by Poles and Russians. It is outdoors and often dirty (one's shoes get dirty), and finally goods are of poor quality and traders often cheat.

Furthermore, a continuous impoverishment of the market has recently taken place. Profits are diminishing, while at the same time new groups of people are entering the market, often forced by increasing unemployment in Lithuania. Many teachers, technicians and even a few artists (many of them women) have lately begun trading. This development has further influenced the status of the market. But why is the market trade such a terrible form of activity? Can this marginalization be viewed as purely a remnant of socialist

ideas of trade, or is it a product of an emerging new moral economy?

As the market only came into being in 1990, it can be viewed as a very visible sign of political and economic change as well as a result of the opening of the former firmly closed Soviet borders. Presenting Gariūnai entirely as a novelty, however, would be misleading, since many traders have experiences from past illegal forms of underground production and trading, and the association between trade and 'speculation' (black market) is still significant. Thus when asked about the history of the market, traders usually explained that the market began as *talkučkė*, an 'illegal place for speculation'.

Apart from illustrating the marginal position that such forms of trading occupies in Lithuanian society, the very establishment of Gariūnai as a place seem to have further stigmatized market activity. The forced publicity of traders in the market (for one has to be visible in order to sell anything at all), demands new tactics, and most traders struggle to remain socially invisible as such. Quite a large number have a formal public job from which they earn practically nothing, but which provides them with a front to cover the role of market trader.

Others, for example, traders from provincial towns, drive hundreds of kilometres each day to Gariūnai in order not to be seen trading in their home town. By establishing Gariūnai as a place, speculation, traditionally carried out secretly, suddenly became legalized. It now operated in a market that was publicly owned, in part; it was also visible by occupying a public social space. This involves revealing activities which, although widespread in Soviet society, had largely remained hidden until the market was established as a physical place.³

Unruly coalitions⁴ inside and outside the market

Gariūnai market clashes in several ways with the idea of transition as a more or less autonomous development of a Western-style market. One example of this is the development of groups of

racketeers or, in other words, emerging semi-legal power structures in the market.

At Gariūnai there are different groups of racketeers, and they want a lot of money. I know 'the Boas', 'the Sportsmen', 'the Blacks', 'the Grey-haired', 'the Greens' and 'the Elephants'. I myself pay 'the Blacks'... (Vytenis, market trader).

As everybody knows about racketeers, their authority is seldom questioned. The racketeers have established themselves as the real rulers of the market, and have further institutionalized their power by buying up parts of the market such as several areas for private parking, and monopolizing certain (illegal) forms of trade. Their activities and influence can be viewed as an example of 'the transition' being more violent and less automatic than hitherto assumed.

But not only the market is characterized by power struggles and alternative forms of privatization. In general, Lithuanian economy can be regarded as a highly contested field. The very marginalization of Gariūnai can be regarded as a sign of this contestation, for other more influential 'mafias' struggle to monopolize important economic niches within the national economy.⁵ As Algis, a rather successful market trader explains it:

We can't do business outside Gariūnai. If I wanted to buy a shop in Vilnius..., it is easy to find premises - no problem. But it's difficult to open a shop because of corruption... big corruption. Other shops, your competitors, that is, have friends in the Economic Police or in the Fire Brigade... They would find a reason to close my shop. Of course, I would like to open a shop, because city prices are much better, but I can't handle this kind of business. (Algis, market trader).

As Lithuanian legislation is complicated and often contradictory, it is always possible to detect some violation of the law. Newcomers without connections will be unable to bribe or negotiate their way out again. Seen in this light, the economic practices in Gariūnai do not seem to be fundamentally different and more criminal than those of the more 'established' businesses outside the market. The Gariūnai market would appear to be not blacker, but rather a

different shade of black compared with the more prestigious businesses in the city.

The social marginalization of the market seems to cover an economic struggle presently taking place and forming part of the 'real economic transition' in Lithuania.

Conceptualizing 'the transition'

The Gariūnai market and its traders are regarded by the general public as being marginal. By focusing on trading practices, however, it becomes clear that many of these practices are not confined to the market, but are widespread in the rest of Lithuanian society as well. Customers come from all over the Baltic region, traders go abroad to Poland and Asia to buy their wares, and as they furthermore often sell them through privately owned shops or indoor markets in Vilnius, the Gariūnai market is certainly not the 'island' it might seem to be. Thus the market, in terms of a specific set of practices and a certain economic style, appears more marginal than it really is. In fact, I suggest that one reason for the continuous



marginalization of the market is precisely because it reveals practices that are also prevalent, though hidden, elsewhere.

The marginalization of the market highlights the establishment of new social and economic spaces and the power struggle that this implies. Furthermore, the market can be viewed as a sign of the opening of borders, but also of the impoverishment which seems to be inherent in 'the transition' as well. Places like Gariūnai might be difficult to come to terms with for Lithuanians and Westerners alike, because they are visible signs of a very different kind of 'transition' from what was expected and accepted. They challenge academic and political discourse on the transition by questioning the political project of the creation of a Western-style market and the prospects of achieving a Western living standard. On the contrary, the market reveals a widespread use of Russian and traders' Asian orientation, giving it a distinct flavour of a sort of globalized Sovietism. Furthermore, it reveals the prevalence of Soviet economic practices such as widespread use of personal networks, bribery and corruption as well as what has been called the privatization of morality (Bartusevičius 1993).

In Lithuania, as well as in the other Baltic states, the national political project has been to establish a feeling of cultural continuity by disregarding the last 50 years of Sovietism. In the political rhetoric 'remnants of socialism' are generally regarded as 'bad habits' that can be removed rather easily. This is, I suggest, what Gariūnai market contradicts by revealing existing economic practices and thereby shedding light on rather different economic structures than those presented politically.

By focusing on economic practice then, rather than following economic theory, we may develop a more adequate framework for conceptualizing the economic reality, including growing social problems of poverty, a large black economy, remnants of Soviet nepotism and generally the emergence of a rather 'unfree market'.

Such features of the post-Communist condition are not spoken about too loudly, but nevertheless form the reality of large parts of the population.

Pernille Hohnen (nee Larsen) graduated as an anthropologist from the University of Copenhagen, Denmark in 1992. She received her Ph.D. also from Copenhagen in spring 1998. In the dissertation titled: 'A Market out of place? Remaking, economic, social and symbolic boundaries in post-Communist Lithuania', she focuses on the relationship between economy, morality and identity in contemporary Lithuania.

Footnotes

1. The present article is based on data from an 8-month period of fieldwork in Vilnius, Lithuania 1994-1995. My data from the market consists of participant observation, ethnographic interviewing with market traders, a survey of 200 traders and interviews with a number of other Vilnius traders and entrepreneurs. Lithuanian newspaper articles about Gariūnai in *Lietuvos Rytas* and *Respublika* in the period 1989-95 have also been drawn upon.

2. Traders at Gariūnai talk about how a wall has been 'built' and not how the wall 'came down', which is our image in the West. Most of them regard their actual possibilities of travelling to the West as being highly restricted.

3. In late Soviet society everyone just knew where to find the black marketeers - they needed no publicity (see for example Fisher 1993).

4. The term *unruly coalitions* is developed by Verdery, who defines it as: 'loose clusterings of elites, neither insititualized nor otherwise formally recognized, who cooperate to pursue or control wealth and other resources' (Verdery 1996: 193)

5. Most shops in Vilnius also pay 'protection money' to racketeers, although I have no way of knowing whether these are the same groups as those operating in Gariūnai. The term 'mafia' was often used in this way by traders themselves when describing the Lithuanian economic environment.

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"Titanic" Victim Remembered

Rokas M. TRAČEVSKIS

Vilnius

The queues are long, the theatres are full and the tickets are usually sold out days, or even weeks in advance. Yes, *Titanic* fever is running high in the Baltics, much as it is everywhere else in the world. But for a select few in Lithuania, the 1912 disaster hits a little closer to home.

The multi-Oscar-award-winning movie *Titanic* is certainly selling its share of tickets in Lithuania, but some local intellectuals have been quick to label the film "too commercial and too sentimental". Well, sentimental it may be, but there's at least one group of people in Lithuania who cherish a bond with the film and the tragedy it dramatizes. They are the relatives of Lithuanian priest Juozas Montvila, a passenger on the ill-fated maiden voyage of the ship "that God couldn't sink." When faced with the big decision, Montvila chose death by giving his place on a life boat to another man.

The famous priest's namesake, Juozas Montvila, a 75 year-old playwright, lives in Vilnius. When asked about his uncle, he sends people to another Lithuanian priest, Father Kazimieras Montvila, "He knew everything about my uncle," said the playwright. This Father Montvila, 77, lives in Marijampolė, in the southwestern corner of Lithuania. "Juozas Montvila was a cousin of my father, but I call him uncle. In 1984, I wrote a book about him. I typed several copies of this book.



* Fr Montvila: a priest to the end.

I glued some photos into it and bound it myself. If you wish I can type one more copy for you. It will take one month," he said in a weak voice. While writing the book, he spoke to Juozas Montvila's relatives and studied the literature about him published by Lithuanians in the West. At that point, he had collected two suitcases worth of material.

The first Juozas Montvila

Juozas Montvila was born into a rich family of farmers near Marijampolė in 1885. He had four brothers and three sisters. Montvila studied in a Catholic seminary in Seinai that was dominated by Lithuanian professors and students. Although Seinai is now located in Poland, both Lithuania and Poland were part of the Russian Empire at the time. After finishing his studies in seminary, Montvila started to work as a priest, but soon got into a conflict with Russian officials. He baptized a Uniat child, which was forbidden by Russian authorities. Uniats are Orthodox Christians united with the Catholic Church and who recognize the Pope as their head. Uniats were not recognized by Russian law and officially were forced to join the Russian Orthodox Church.

Montvila, after being banned from practising his ecclesiastical duties by the Russians, began working for Lithuanian newspapers published in Seinai. Montvila's brother, Petras, lived in a section of Brooklyn, New York, which was known as "Little Lithuania" at the time. He knew about the persecutions against his brother and asked him to leave Lithuania behind and head for the New World. At the beginning of this century, tens of thousands of Lithuanians left for the United States because of Russian political oppression and economic troubles. There was a lack of priests in the Lithuanian-American community as well, so Montvila decided to head west and work as a priest there until better times returned to his native Lithuania.

He decided to travel by the *Titanic*. Upon boarding the ship, the priest received a white card. According to Fr Kazimieras Montvila, this card gave a person the right to have a place in one of the life-

boats in case of emergency. Children, women and priests had this privilege. "When the *Titanic* started to sink, one man cried that he had a big family that he must take care of. Montvila gave his white card to the man and said, 'Don't cry. Take my card and go'," Fr Kazimieras Montvila explained. "Survivors had witnessed this event." Montvila then comforted and blessed the remaining people on the sinking ship, as did two other Catholic clergymen on board, German Joseph M. Peruschitz and Englishman Thomas Roussel David Byles. "In addition to Lithuanian, [Montvila] could speak Polish, Russian and German," said Father Kazimieras.

One of the three clergymen probably serves as the basis for the anonymous priest in the movie who stayed on the sinking ship and offered absolution to those about to die.

Kazimieras Montvila, the 77-year-old author of the book, said he wrote letters to the Vatican asking to proclaim his uncle a saint. However, the outlook for this initiative is vague. "The German and British priests behaved in the same heroic way. All three must be proclaimed saints. But Church officials in Germany and Britain haven't shown initiative to collect materials about these priests," he said. Historians say that it is possible that more Lithuanians could have gone down with the *Titanic*. However, Lithuanian names were too difficult to write in the register book for the English executives of the ship, so they were anglicized or not registered at all. Thus, history keeps its silence about them. Montvila was the only known Lithuanian on board. According to the Rev Montvila, memorial plaques in Marijampolė and the Lithuanian church in London serve as reminders of Montvila's heroism during the *Titanic* catastrophe in 1912.

On the wall of the London church, next to the priest's portrait, are inscribed the simple but poignant words: "He did his duty until the end".

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Eva Kubbos



Above: Eva Kubbos, *Two Figures*. 1957, woodcut.

Right: Eva Kubbos, *Untitled*, 1962, linocut, 6455.3 x 79.3 cm. Collection G. Kazokas.

"From Kubbos's association with *avant-garde* Sydney artists comes the abstract linocut, *Untitled*, in which predominantly linear elements, reinforced with solid colour planes, begin to form circular shapes from the apparently amorphous pictorial space." - G. Kazokas, *Lithuanian Artists in Australia, 1950-1990*. University of Tasmania: Ph.D. thesis, 1992, p.110.

Eva Kubbos is a painter and graphic artist, and the winner of some fifty art awards. Her major contribution to art in Australia has been in printmaking and watercolour painting.

As well as representing Australia in international art exhibitions, Eva Kubbos has been active in the Sydney Printmakers Society, Contemporary Art Society and the Australian Watercolour Institute. Eva Kubbos was the only migrant woman involved in the avant-garde abstract expressionist movement in Sydney. Until 1985, she had held eight solo exhibitions of her work.

Eva Kubbos was born on a farm in Didšilinkai, in the district of Šilutė, in 1928. Her father died when she was eight. Eva fled with her family in 1944, to escape the Soviets. From 1945 to 1950, she studied at the Hochschule für

Angewandte Kunst (College of Applied Art) in Berlin.

In Australia, Eva initially worked at a Shepparton fruit cannery, in a Brisbane biscuit factory and as a window dresser in Melbourne. At the same time, she continued her own creative work and furthered her art studies at RMIT and at Swinburne Technical College.

In 1960 Eva Kubbos moved to Sydney and worked as a commercial artist. In Sydney, she met Lithuanian artist Henry Šalkauskas who was to become her friend and mentor until his death in 1979.

Genovaitė KAZOKAS.



Above: Eva Kubbos, *Myth*, 1959, woodcut.

Left: Eva Kubbos, *Rhythm of the Surf*, 1980, mixed media, 105.5 x 75.5 cm. Collection Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery.

Eva Kubbos achieved recognition early in her artistic career. Her paintings won the prestigious Wynne Prize in 1963, 1970, 1971 and 1979.

The Pring Prize, for the 'best landscape executed in watercolour by a woman' was awarded to Kubbos eight times between 1970 and 1984.

In Brief

* Lithuanian Foreign Ministry sources told Interfax on February 25 that Lithuania's foreign debt exceeded \$1.4 billion at the beginning of this year. The sources said that from 1991 to early 1998, Lithuania received foreign credits totaling \$2.05 billion, of which the state received \$1.4 billion and businesses \$650 million guaranteed by the government. By the beginning of 1998, credits totaling \$650.4 million had been repaid. The remaining \$1.4 billion debt is equivalent to 15.3 percent of Lithuania's GDP. (JC-RFE/RL)

* September 28, 1998 marked the 10th anniversary of the "banana ball". On that day ten years ago, the Lithuanian Freedom League held a public meeting in Vilnius, demanding immediate rescission of the secret 1939 Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and calling for a withdrawal of the Soviet armies from Lithuania. The gathering was cruelly dispersed by the police and by the Soviet Interior Ministry troops who beat up people with various instruments, including rubber truncheons. (Hence the nickname for the event, "banana ball": truncheons are called "bananas" in Lithuania). Some victims - such as Algimantas Andreika - were crippled for life.

The Soviet police fury continued until the following morning when another group of civilians in Cathedral Square were bashed and arrested. These people were holding a peaceful hunger strike, asking for the release of Lithuanian prisoners of conscience from Soviet jails. The names of the Soviet officials responsible for the "banana ball" are known. Most of them are living in Lithuania today, unpunished. (Lietuvos Aidas)

* On January 16, 1998 at the White House, President Bill Clinton and Presidents Lennart Meri of Estonia, Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia and Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania signed the U.S.-Baltic Charter. It serves as a framework for U.S. policy in the Baltic region. Although the Charter contains no security guarantees, Clinton stated, "NATO's door is and will remain open to every partner nation, and America is determined to create the conditions under which Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia can one day walk through that door." President Clinton also announced the establishment of a \$15 million Baltic American Partnership Fund, half financed by the U.S. foreign aid program and half by financier George Soros.

Facing our Yaltas

Edis BEVAN

London

With independence restored and problems enough in the present day, Lithuanians want to look to the future. And yet the unresolved business of the recent past keeps coming back to demand our attention.

I have no pat solutions to offer. But I do have some questions and suggestions for ways of discussing these issues - approaches that may help us end bitter name-calling and sterile confrontations. And avoid the growth of very dangerous misconceptions about Lithuania and her people that may endanger her security and prosperity.

Just before the fall of the USSR there was a major effort amongst students of the Nazi Holocaust to deal with the question of 'Uniqueness' for the Jewish experience. A major international conference and subsequent papers opened out previously explosive topics where heated slogans too often obscure understanding (1). Ten years later we have masses of new, previously hidden evidence, and some survivors able at last to tell their tales.

Do we need a new effort to come to grips with the wider dimensions of the Years of Terror - one where we can discuss Soviet and Nazi atrocities without falling into competitive casualty list comparisons or a more-crucified-than-thou stance? Or even worse, bitter exchanges accusing whole peoples of collective guilt?

I think, we do. Apart from anything else, to avoid the growth of very dangerous misconceptions about Lithuania and her people, as I have pointed out before.. Misconceptions that we may impose on ourselves, as well as those held by others.

I think we can start by looking soberly at the Yalta mindset. This comes about when impossible decisions arise, when huge pain and suffering are the only options. It means (whatever the choice) trying to escape the pain by believing the choice is not so acute.

Lithuanians like to believe that they have a relatively good record under Nazi occupation - we say that no Lithuanian SS legion was raised, and that Nazi officials complained about Lithuanian reluctance to join in anti-Semitic atrocities. In doing this we are making a very strong and remarkable claim - that Lithuanian society provided such moral and perhaps spiritual resources that millions of individuals were helped to make decent choices in extreme circumstances. And to make those choices with very little accurate information to guide them.

I think we need to start a search to rediscover these moral resources, for we need them now. To do this we also need to look at the mistakes made at the time, and the mental accommodations made to survive horrors. For example, face the reality of the 'Yalta mindsets' that plagued the various communities in the years of horror. These raise more uncomfortable questions about what happened. We need to face these questions. Openly, actively.

Lithuania needs to face all this because the slow and painful archaeology of buried records and survivor reports is building up a moving and harrowing picture of Jewish life under the Nazis in Lithuania. And because we are not dealing with the question actively, the interpretation being evolved is the most unfavourable possible for Lithuania (2). The current exhibition on the Kovno Ghetto in the Museum of the Holocaust in Washington DC is a case in point. It seems accurate, but incomplete. The incompleteness is deadly. If we allow this to grow, responding only with dismissive comments about Soviet Propaganda or side swipes at Israel, or even worse with accusations that Jews are uniquely responsible for Communism and in some way deserved punishment, we will do the work of our enemies and make ourselves mental slaves of Hitler and Stalin for another generation or more.

We need to face these issues ourselves, not with apparent reluctance when prodded by foreign agencies, but because we need to reclaim our own history, take our own responsibilities, and perhaps rediscover our own heritage of important resources. Facing the issues ourselves, accepting the true horrors of the situation, we can ask others to rethink their accounts of history. To ask why so many outside accounts of the desperate days of June, 1941 always begin on the 22nd, for example. Why this denial?



• Allied leaders (from left) Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Josef Stalin met on February 4-11, 1945, in the Crimean resort of Yalta. The Western leaders knew, they were in league with a monster. To cope with this, they had to invent hopes.

It parallels perhaps another denial. I suspect that for most of the Lithuanian population outside the ghettos the way to cope was to deny a special status of suffering to those in the ghettos. 'We are suffering, they are suffering'. And so the stories about specially terrible actions against the Jews must be Soviet Propaganda. That reduced the choices from the utterly unspeakable, choices that could drive people mad if faced squarely, to choices that were appalling but just about liveable with.

These are examples of the Yaltas in our soul. This coping strategy is like the mental states analysed by Milosz in 'The Captive Mind'. Perhaps we need a new look at what it means to be under occupation. So that new generations can learn.

'Yalta' is a reproach hurled by Balts at the Western wartime powers. They knew they were allied to a monster. To cope with this they had to invent hopes - that for example the behaviour of

the Soviet Union in the territories it acquired would not be as bad as feared. The consequences could be delayed until the future and meanwhile duty called. And so whole peoples were in effect traded.

But for the people in the middle there was no delayed action device. Each and every person in the lands between the empires of the night had to make a decision. What that decision was might determine whether ones family lived the next half hour. It could determine the history of their country for a century to come. And they might have to make that decision not once but innumerable times. At any time, with no preparation, and within the same length of time it takes to read this sentence.

It helped if a straw could be grasped, so the decision looked a little less stark. Like with Yalta on the grand scale. We, too, have our Yaltas.

The whole world needs to face up to the consequence of the Yalta Mindsets. And learn to reject them. Here Lithuania could make an international lead. By insisting on an honest accounting of the dark histories of all Europe, by facing and rejecting the false comfort of our own Yaltas, we can help Europe, the Americas and the Jewish world to move ahead. Without denying that the basic truth that the Jewish experience has an unique core of horror, we can help each other deal with all the other horrors that seem now to be discounted or denied by a continuing Yalta mindset in the world at large.

After all, where would it be more appropriate to start such a process than Lithuania, the historic home of the largest and most vibrant Jewish community of Europe? We have small scraps only of our extraordinary rich heritage. Can we treasure these and share instead of completing the destruction?

Should we get on with this? And if so, how?

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this paper. Edis is editor of the INTERNET listserver news and discussion list BALT-L. E-Mail address Edis-Bevan@mkcn.org.uk

Notes

1) Conference at US State Department 23-25 February 1987 convened by the US Holocaust Memorial Council. Major papers published in: BERENBAUM, M. (ed) 1990, *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*. London and New York: I.B. Taurus & Co Ltd. ISBN 1-85043-251-1.

2) For examples of the deeply moving and at the same time disquietingly incomplete current publications see: ELKES, J. 1997, *Values, Beliefs and Survival; Dr Elkhonan Elkes and the Kovno Ghetto*. London: Vale Publishing. ISBN 0 9531249 0 8.

JACOBSON, D. 1998, *Heshel's Kingdom: a family, a people, a divided fate*. London: Hamish Hamilton. ISBN 0 241 13927-9.

Other Resources

A book giving the pre-Nazi context which I haven't read yet: LEVIN, D. Translated by Greenwood, N., 1995, *The Lesser of Two Evils : Eastern European Jewry Under Soviet Rule, 1939-1941*. Jewish Publication Society; ISBN: 0827605188. And another, a personal account of being on the run in Lithuania under the Nazis: IWENS, S, 1990, *How Dark the Heavens: 1400 Days in the Grip of Nazi Terror*. Shengold Pub; ISBN: 0884001474

A statement that needs dissemination and debate is the testament to his daughter by the Jewish-Lithuanian playwright Jokūbas Josade. It looks at his responsibility (as he sees it) for the Soviet terror and the impact this had on Lithuanian perceptions. Also forgiveness and memory, telling how he found the man who was probably his father's murderer. Part of this is in Josade's book *Slammed Doors* (Vilnius: Rosh Baltica) which has not, I believe, been translated from Lithuanian. I have an informal translation of excerpts, but not permission to publish. Another important work that needs translation from Lithuanian to reach a wider audience is Rimantas Vanagas' book about Anykščiai during the Holocaust periods. Its English title would be *Do Not Turn Away From Yourself*.

For an argument paralleling this theme on the necessity to face up to many Yaltas (and an extensive relevant bibliography), see the chapter on the Holocaust period in: DAVIES, N., 1998, *Europe : A History - A Glorious Chronicle of the Full History of Europe, from Kings to Peasants, from the Urals to the Feroes*. London: Harpercollins. ISBN: 0060974680. (I recommend this paperback edition which includes corrections of typos and of some errors of fact in the 1997 Hardback)

An online discussion and resource pool for discussing Jewish history in Lithuania is part of the Lithuanian Global Resources website: at the time of writing the URL of the main site is:

<http://www.angelfire.com/ut/Lithuanian/index.html> (Mis-spelling as given).

Nazi Collaborator or a Secret Helper?

A man accused of Nazi crimes against Jews may well have been their secret rescuer. This possibility has emerged in the trial of Aleksandras Lileikis, 90, who was the head of the Vilnius region's Lithuanian security police during the German occupation of Lithuania in 1941-44. Lileikis is now facing charges in the Vilnius Regional Court, of having participated in the genocide of Jews.

A witness has come forward, saying that Lileikis had saved her from the Nazis. In a letter to the Lithuanian daily, *Lietuvos rytas*, the witness, Šifra Gorodnikaitė, wrote, "Aleksandras Lileikis saved me, risking his own life. He was not a murderer".

After escaping the holocaust, Šifra migrated to the United States and is now living in a home for the elderly in Denver, Colorado, under her remarried name, Grace Montes.

Šifra was born in Kaltinėnai, north of Tauragė, Lithuania. Her father Salomonas Grodnikas was a well liked and respected lawyer. Šifra was arrested by the Nazis in 1941 and transferred to the jurisdiction of Lileikis. According to Grodnikaitė, Lileikis instructed her what to say during interrogations, while her Lithuanian friends prepared a rescue plan. Alfonsas Kojelis, Juozas Karlikauskas, Rev Stanislovas Aušbikavičius and others collected over 100 signatures falsely claiming that Šifra was the illegitimate daughter of Rev Father Aušbikavičius and had been given to Jews to be raised.

Lileikis knew Šifra's real origin, but went along with the deception. The Nazis released her as a "non-Jew" in 1942. "When bidding farewell, Lileikis gave me money. He really saved me from the jaws of the Germans", Grodnikaitė testified. Over the next 2 years, she continued to live in hiding, helped by Lithuanians Apolinaras Bagdonas, Rev Bogušas and others.



* Šifra Grodnikaitė: "Yes, Lileikis saved me, risking his own life. He was not a murderer." - Photo: *Lietuvos Rytas* Archives.

Lietuvos Rytas/BNS/Baltic Times/Tėv.Aidai.

Sajūdis: Ten Years Ago



In the late 1980s, Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *perestroika* (restructuring) released new forces throughout Soviet society. In Lithuania this process resulted in a psychological-cultural revolution. The independence drive, initially camouflaged as a "restructuring movement" (*Persitvarkymo Sajūdis*), gained momentum and led to Sajūdis's first national congress on October 22-23, 1988. (Pictured above: One of the speakers, Algirdas Patackas, at this Congress). Despite repeated crackdowns by security forces, Sajūdis became a formidable force, culminating in the restoration of Lithuania's independence on March 11, 1990.

Today, Sajūdis no longer exists. The former communists split from the democratic forces. The latter formed "Homeland Party" (*Tėvynės Sąjunga*) and, in coalition with the Christian Democrats (*Lietuvos Krikščionių Demokratų Partija*), won an absolute majority in the last Parliamentary (*Seimas*) elections. Its head is the former head of Sajūdis, Professor Vytautas Landsbergis.

Ack.: A.E. Senn, A.P.Kabaila. - Photo: R.Požerskis.

In Brief

° St. Joseph's Roman Catholic seminary in Vilnius has recently moved from cramped premises at the Trinitorian monastery in Antakalnis to a modern building in the suburb of Jarusalem, near Calvary church. Originally founded in 1582, the seminary has had a colourful past. It was closed by the Soviets in 1945 and re-opened in 1993. The new building cost 17 million Litas (US\$4.25 mil.) and was financed by donations from the Holy See, Germany, USA, the Netherlands, France, South Korea and expatriate Lithuanians. The Government of Lithuania made no cash contribution and collected 1.5 million Litas from the foreign gifts, as value-added tax.

69 candidates are enrolled at St. Joseph's at the moment. There were 40 new applicants this year; 26 were admitted. Foreign students are considered, but they must learn Lithuanian and Polish. The seminary is headed by Rector Rev Dr Hans Friedrich Fischer, a German theologian. The teaching staff of 28 include lecturers from Brazil, USA, Poland, France, Switzerland and Germany. The seminarians also attend some lectures at the University of Vilnius.

(Lietuvos Aidas)

* Qualifying rounds for Euro 2000 (The European Football Championships) have started already. Lithuania is in Group 9, with Estonia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, the Czech Republic, Faeroe Islands and Scotland. Latvia is in Group 2, with Albania; Georgia, Greece, Norway and Slovenia. The last match for Group 9 is scheduled on October 9, 1999 when Lithuania will play Scotland.

° The annual conference Forum Litauen in Sweden is now 5 years old. It regularly attracts some 300 Swedes and a number of Lithuanians. This year, the Forum was held in the port town Karlskrona.. Conference languages were Swedish and Lithuanian. A separate Youth Forum was also held, to help the Lithuanian and Swedish youngsters meet. English was the lingua franca at this forum.

(Paer Lindstroem/BALT-L)

* Some interesting research into the Nazi 104th Battalion of the 'Order Police' was reported in BALT-L recently. Troops recruited by Germans for this Battalion in Ukraine and in parts of Belarus were issued with Lithuanian army uniforms. Why?

The Church in Occupied Lithuania: An Alternative Political Order?

Vince J. TAŠKŪNAS

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"Churches served an important dual role as both spiritual and political centrepieces of the community" (Hartman 1992, 72). This "dual role" of the Church, in combination with other factors, was central to the maintenance of a Lithuanian ethnic identity and contributed to Lithuania's ability to make the Declaration of Independence on March 11, 1990. Catholicism, and its importance in the maintenance of identity led one writer to put it that under Soviet occupation,

the Church still remained 'obstacle number one' to the country's political subjugation (in Matusaitis ed. 1981, 26).

It is this link between the church and the political which I wish to explore. For Smith,

a nation is a political community only in so far as it embodies a common culture and a common social will (1997, 325).

Arguably, the Church in Lithuania was a mediator and disseminator of part of the "common culture"; transmogrifying and reinforcing the "common social will" which was the drive to independence. Thus, the move towards the "national state" of independent Lithuania in 1990 was facilitated in both a cultural *and* a political sense by the Church in its role as a fundamental "ethnic identity marker".

Michael Bourdeaux puts it that

Catholicism in [Lithuania] has for hundreds of years been the religion of the people, rather than of the government, and of an oppressed non-Russian nation, as opposed to the Russian colonial power (1979, 294).

During the interbellum period of independence, the Catholic Church was involved in a lot more than just the dissemination of religion. It had societies, youth organisations, publishing houses, schools, libraries, monasteries and charitable institutions. All

these activities became illegal under the post-1940 Soviet rule (Bourdeaux and Bourdeaux 1987, 152-153), as part of a wider plan of Lithuanian de-ethnicisation (see Taškūnas 1997).

Today, this would be called a form of 'ethnic cleansing'. Yet, Hartman argues that when the Soviet Union annexed Lithuania, the Kremlin's recognition of each Baltic State as "a distinct political subordinate" ('*autonomous* 'republic) was "tacit acknowledgment of the right of each to exist as an individual entity" (Hartman 1992, 78). Such *political* considerations were drawn sharply into focus by the Soviet occupation; as was "the synthesis between church and nationality" (Bourdeaux 1979, 295).

The Church was seen as anti-Soviet, and was thoroughly persecuted as such. Senn puts it that

throughout the years of Soviet rule, many Lithuanians [saw] the Roman Catholic Church's struggle for survival in the land as a part of their own national consciousness (1990, 8).

Not surprisingly, the 19th century tactics of underground publication were revived in the face of the Soviet regime, one of the most successful of these being *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, a record of Soviet attempts to destroy this Lithuanian identity marker. (cf Remeikis ed. 1982, 16).

Bourdeaux puts it that

the *Chronicle* became the lynchpin of the whole movement of human rights and religious liberty in Lithuania from the moment the first number appeared on 19 March 1972 (1979, 253).

The *Chronicle* started in obscurity, but quickly gained influence both within Lithuania, and more importantly, abroad (Dauknys 1984, 58). As much as it was a record of Soviet suppression of a *specifically* Catholic agenda, the *Chronicle* became an important focus of Lithuanian ethnic identity from within the framework of the Church.

Senn argues that, in addition, "the Church provided an institutional alternative to the Soviet order" (1990, 8). The Soviet order monopolised the *political* discourse and prohibited the free

competition of political ideas, as well as brutally suppressing the expression of faith. The Church became *an alternative political space* within a totalitarian regime. It was, for many, a symbol of the political struggle. The group identification of believers became synonymous with that of the nation's aspirations via *such* an ethnic identification, in the same way that environmental concerns were to become charged with "a common enemy - the Soviet Union - and a common goal - independence" (Banks 1997, 36).

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Jūratė and Kastytis - Mark II

From time to time, members of the Lithuanian Studies Society at the University of Tasmania are invited by schools, to give talks on Lithuania and its people.

On one such occasion some years ago, the Society's spokesman visited Goulburn Street Primary School in Hobart and told the children the Lithuanian story of Jūratė and Kastytis (pictured, below).

The children, aged 8 to 10, liked the story and decided to stage a play based on it. They wrote their own script, relying on their collective memories and a fair dose of imagination. A new version of the traditional Lithuanian legend - Mark II - was born.

The principal characters in the original play at Goulburn Primary School were: Jūratė - Jackie Picken; Perkūnas - Monique Meredith; Kastytis - Marrea Burns; Priest - Davina Hirte.



JŪRATĖ AND KASTYTIS

There once lived a fisherman. His name was Kastytis. One day he went out fishing.

He was so surprised at the amount of fish he caught that he did not see the beautiful figure rising from the bottom of the ocean.



This beautiful figure was Jūratė, the goddess of the sea. Jūratė was very angry because someone had been taking her fish. She asked Kastytis, "Why are you taking my fish?"

Kastytis looked up, struck with amazement. He asked Jūratė, in a surprised voice, "Who are you?"

Jūratė replied, "I am the goddess of the sea. These are my fish and you cannot take them without my permission".

Kastytis looked up and did not answer. He just stared at Jūratė. Jūratė stared back.



It was love at first sight.

Time went by. They were just staring. Kastytis started to talk. He said to Jūratė in a sweet lovable voice, "You are the most beautiful person I have ever met". Jūratė answered, "You are the handsomest man in the whole ocean". You see, Jūratė had never been out of the water when people were around; so, she had never seen a mortal before in all her life.

Jūratė asked Kastytis to go down to her Amber Castle. Kastytis answered in a dreamy way, "Yes, I would like that very much". So they floated down to the bottom of the sea and into the amber castle where Jūratė lived. They both sat down on two lovely soft chairs. Jūratė asked Kastytis if he would like a drink of wine or something. Kastytis replied, "Yes, I would like a drink, thank you". They both sat down and sipped their drinks. They spent a long time talking to each other and drinking.

A few hours later Kastytis had to go. Before he went, he said, "Jūratė, you are the most beautiful lady I have ever met. I wish to take you for my wife".

Jūratė looked surprised. She answered, "I will think about it and I shall tell you the answer tomorrow".

The next day came very slowly. Kastytis took a long time to go fishing that day because his mother was worrying about him. Yesterday he had come home late.

Finally he was out at sea. Jūratė had been waiting patiently. She lifted her head out of the water to see if Kastytis was there yet. He was. Jūratė swam over to him. They swam down to the bottom of the sea to the amber castle.

Kastytis asked Jūratė to marry him. This time she gave the answer. It was yes. They married the very next day.

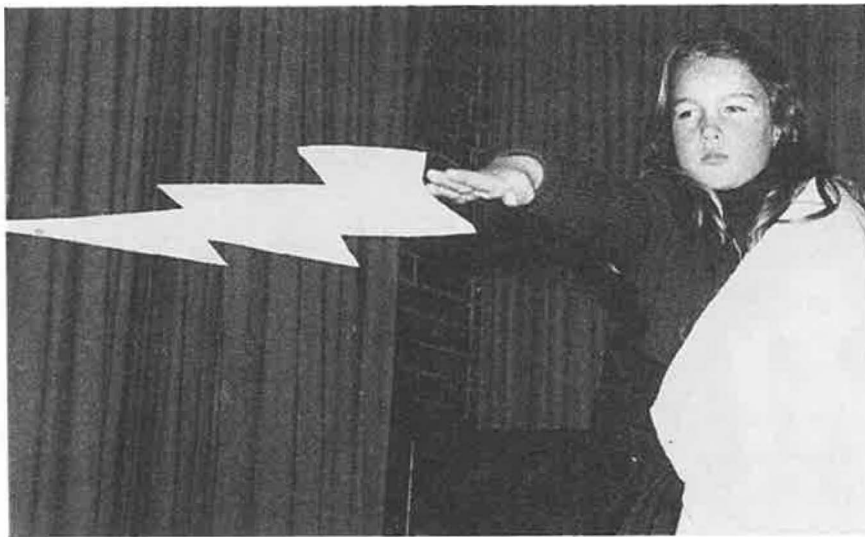


Unfortunately the thunder god Perkūnas was watching. He was very angry that Jūratė was marrying a mortal. Perkūnas had anger in his eyes.

The wedding was over.

"Why did you marry a mortal?" thundered Perkūnas. "You know it is against the rules for a goddess to marry a mortal. I have to kill him!"

The next day Kastytis came to see his wife Jūratė. Jūratė guided Kastytis down to the bottom of the sea. But on the way a big storm started. Perkūnas had spoken the truth. He was trying to kill Kastytis.



Suddenly a great thunderbolt came shooting down from the sky.

It hit Kastytis and killed him. He dropped to the ground. The storm did not hurt Jūratė, but just tossed her around. When the storm was over, Jūratė saw Kastytis floating on top of the water.



She started to cry. "Why did you do it? He meant no harm to you."

"It was for your own good, Jūrate. You know the rules. No god or goddess is allowed to marry a mortal. I shall send a big wave to carry Kastytis to the shore."

In the middle of the storm the Amber Castle was shattered to pieces. It is believed, the amber from the castle is washed up onto the shore after each storm in the Baltic Sea.

Photos: Danny NEAL.

Co-ordinator: Mrs. J. WALKER.



Vyt. Kašuba
(*1915), Jūratė.

Personal Notes

* Gudni Thorlacius Johannesson, who wrote in our journal (10/96) on Iceland and Lithuania, is now lecturer in history at the University of Iceland. He teaches a course on Baltic history in the 20th century.

* Harry Dexter White was an economist whose "White Plan" became the model for the International Monetary Fund. He was born in Boston in 1892, the son of Lithuanian immigrants. He earned a Ph.D from Harvard in 1930 and worked for the US Treasury for most of his career.
(Thomas Grennes - BALT-L)

* Father Pranas Račiūnas, MIC, died at the age of 78 in Kaunas, on August 24, 1997. Rev Račiūnas was for many years the Provincial of Lithuanian *Marijonai* order. He was one of the initiators of the clandestine *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*; and he had founded the underground seminary in Lithuania. Father Račiūnas did not escape persecution: he was imprisoned and exiled by the Soviets for a number of years.
(*Vyskupo Informacija*).

* The Estonian people have lost one of the greatest men who ever fought for the continuity of the Republic of Estonia. On September 4, 1998, Ambassador Ernst Jaakson died in New York, aged 93. Ernst Jaakson has been called a legendary diplomat. His prominent authority and the general respect for his opinions above all sprang from the truth that he always, under any circumstances, valued.
(*President Lennart Meri*)

* Diana Žiliūtė, a 22-year-old Lithuanian, won the World Cycling Championship on October 10, 1998. Žiliūtė, who won the world junior title in 1994, captured the final sprint over Leontien van Moorsel of the Netherlands and German Hanka Kupfernagel. Žiliūtė's time was 2 hours, 35 minutes, 35 seconds. She rides for an Italian team and has lived in Italy for the past three years. (BALT-L)



Cartoon: Lietuvos Aidas.

Environmentally Sustainable Society in Lithuania?

Amanda J. BANKS
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Lithuania has experienced a time of extreme political, economic, and social upheaval and these changes have affected the natural environment and policies aimed at its management. Just in the last six years there have been two national elections, while inflation was reduced from 1160 per cent to around 37 per cent at the end of 1996. The free market economy has resulted in the establishment of electronic supermarkets on many street corners while two MacDonaldis have been opened in Vilnius. New cars, mobile telephones, and brief cases have become part of the city scene. Abundancy replaces the long queues of 1991-2 and shops with near-empty shelves.

All of this seems to have signalled Lithuania's re-enlistment into the family of Europe. The problem with such developments is, primarily, that so much of the population is still unable to afford the imported products on offer, and that much could still be produced in Lithuania. Further, there is little infrastructure in place to cope

with the dramatic increase in solid waste levels caused by the influx of Western products.

Earlier works have pointed to the potential for the creation of an environmentally sustainable society in Lithuania (Banks 1991 and Kritkauskas 1995). These expectations stemmed from a historical connection to the land and the mass support for environmental issues in the 1988-1991 period. In addition, the changes necessary to establish such a society were thought possible due to the fact that the country was already experiencing major upheavals in all spheres of society. There was also the possibility of taking on board the environmental knowledge, technology, and understanding of 30 years' Western experience.

An environmentally sustainable society is not merely one in which the environment is protected. It involves acknowledging the links between various problems in society and integrating economic, environmental, and social policies for their resolution. It encompasses an open, pluralistic society in which the environment is not degraded for the economic gain of a few, and with particular regard for future generations. Such a society did not emerge from the demise of communism and the subsequent restoration of Lithuanian independence.

When consideration is given to the difficulties in the West to achieve such an aim, weighed against Lithuania's additional problems of corruption, maladministration, economic depression, high pollution levels, unsafe nuclear reactors and other problems, it seems unlikely that the aim can be achieved in the future. However, the situation was, and still is, complex. There is no simple answer as to why a sustainable society has failed to emerge.

For example, strong national identity has some positive implications for environmental protection because of the affinity it engenders with the territory and a desire to protect it from outside influence. Yet national sentiment can also have a negative impact, leading to

insular, uncooperative behaviour - as in the case of the oil terminal (see Banks 1993). Thus, it can be an obstacle to regional cooperation which could hold both economic and environmental benefits. However, regional cooperation is not the same as large regional blocs (such as the EU) which, as Lang and Hines (1993) point out, are unable to adequately consider issues of environment and social justice. The distance between people and power tends to be widened under such unions of states, as many decisions are made geographically and linguistically apart from those they affect. Generally, regional cooperation on a smaller scale holds greater possibilities for sustainability.

Economic development can have positive effects by creating an economic base for funding protection programmes but the development of the economy without consideration of the environment can lead to both environmental and economic problems in the long term. Economic reform was crucial in that it broke away from the economic inefficiency of the Soviet model in which no consideration was given to the cost of resources in the



* Lithuanians protesting against increases in electricity charges.

Photo: Lietuvos Aidas.

push to meet production targets. The capitalist system that has replaced it does not have a good record of including environmental impacts in economic equations, yet some moves toward costing (at least as an externality) have begun. The transition itself, has had some positive effects for the environment but this has had more to do with the decline in economic activity than with a redirection of priorities by the new governments. The economic transition process has also led to several environmental impacts.

International assistance has been an important feature of environmental rehabilitation and protection in Lithuania but there are problems with both the motives of donors and the impacts created by projects. Most assistance has been directed at fostering economic development, causing further problems for the local environment (see Banks 1997). Thus, while international cooperation is particularly important in areas affected by transboundary pollution, pressure from the international community can be an obstacle to aspirations for the development of an environmentally sustainable society. In the main, international pressure, economic growth and free trade are a greater hindrance to environmentally progressive measures than they are a prerequisite for their implementation. The power and influence of the EU are especially obstructive to the notion of an environmentally (or indeed economically) sustainable society in Lithuania. As Lieven (1993:332) points out:

Aid and political support from the EC are highly useful, but its trade barriers, and particularly the Common Agricultural Policy, are a curse for the Balts as for the rest of Europe.

In terms of prospects for democracy, there is evidence that the democratic values which had existed in Lithuania at the time independence were restored (Reisinger et al. 1994), providing some hope for the future of democratic processes in which the public could be involved in environmental decision-making. However, it has been shown that there are obstacles to the development of a democratic political culture such as the general population's lack of

understanding of rights and obligations, a low tolerance for opposing political values, a continuing legacy of secrecy and corruption, and limited legal facilitation of avenues for participation.

In general, environmental issues are likely to remain on the periphery of the political agenda. There has not been a commitment to environmental protection on the part of those who have governed since 1990, nor is there such a commitment amongst the public. There are a number of issues which explain, to some extent, why this is the case.

Economic hardship, for example, is definitely an obstacle to the support for post-materialist or "soft" political concerns, such as the environment. However, while the poor state of the economy is influential in de-motivating people, this is not adequate reasoning for environmentally destructive decisions on the part of governments. There are relatively inexpensive ways of reducing emissions and efficiency measures which save money, while simultaneously reducing pollution, that could be promoted in Lithuania. Without the commitment to environmental protection discussed above, an improved economy is of no benefit to the environment and is, in fact, likely to create more degradation.

A decline in activism and participation in elections, together with the relatively low levels of membership (as compared with Western democracies) in political parties or NGOs, must be attributed to the broader political developments which have led to disillusionment and apathy. The lack of formal avenues for participation, the unresponsiveness of government when concerns are expressed, the ongoing corruption which has contributed to the lack of trust in, and respect for, politicians and the democratic process have all contributed to a declining interest in political life.

The Greens, in particular, have struggled to maintain respect and support due to the actions of those in the political arena, not least of which has been bitter feuding and factioning within the Party.



* A group of young environmentalists outside the Ignalina nuclear power plant. The Russian-designed plant is obsolete and potentially dangerous.

There have been successful environment demonstrations recently, but these have not been on the scale of earlier actions, nor have they had the level of public backing. Meanwhile, several projects which were abandoned on environmental grounds after public pressure in the *glasnost* era, were restarted under the "economic independence" banner. This compounded the sense of disillusionment amongst those who had worked to protect the environment.

Another aspect of the decline in Green support is the argument that environmental concerns never held a position of philosophical attachment within the people. Although it appeared that *Sąjūdis* and the Green movement were fighting for change in the same way that environmentalists were in the West, the environment became a seemingly apolitical but useful tool for the realisation of the nationalist agenda to restore independence. Thus, while environmental problems still exist under independent Lithuanian

governments, public opposition to environmental degradation has dwindled. That is not to say that many were not genuinely concerned about, and committed to, resolving environmental degradation under Soviet rule. However, attacking independent Lithuanian governments has proved more difficult than blaming the Soviet Government.

Environmental law reform has also had a relatively low priority and, in the face of a deluge of legislative reform, lawyers are unwilling or unable to take on cases involving environmental crime. Public participation, while stated in broad terms in several new laws relating to the environment, is not provided with the mechanisms for its functioning in practice. Environmental protection in Lithuania is heavily reliant on fiscal measures to fund environmental programmes. This ensures some allocation of funds for the environment sector but it tends to take responsibility away from the government to commit regular financial contributions to the environment sector.

The above mentioned obstacles to the creation of an environmentally sustainable society also explain why many environmental problems remain. For example, while treatment plants were a necessary step, they are end-point, technical solutions to water pollution. If environmental integrity is to be protected, there also needs to be some focus on preventative measures. The continued use of nuclear power is not a technical but a political decision. Claims of economic reasoning make little sense considering the economic cost of continuing nuclear power (cost of uranium, replacing channels, waste storage facilities, safety upgrades, and funds directed toward the Kruonis Hydro-accumulation plant), not to mention the social and environmental costs (see Banks and Todd 1995).

There are many interrelated issues involved in the transition from communism to a free market capitalist state. The paradox is that while political, economic, and social reforms are a necessary facet

of Lithuanian environmental rehabilitation and protection, they do not guarantee the development of an environmentally sustainable society. Further, there are aspects of the changes which have created new environmental problems, particularly in the area of waste management. So there are no simple answers, everything must be qualified. However, it is certain that Lithuania will not develop into an environmentally progressive country outside of what is possible within the specific temporal and spatial characteristics of the region. There remains a possibility that, with the passage of time, environmental issues might regain a position of priority on the political agenda. Yet, considering the limitations discussed above, it seems unlikely.

A philosophical commitment to environmental protection may be too much to hope for in most modern governments but the worldwide development of legal instruments enshrining environmental principles, well-developed infrastructures for public participation in the decision-making process, expanding international pressure to accept scientific warnings of environmental degradation, and a growing understanding of the relationship between ecology and economics are features which help facilitate ecologically sustainable development. In this respect, Lithuania has begun to turn the situation around. Should they be expected to do more than the other nations of the world in this regard?

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Corrections: Tasmanian Graduates

In last year's *Lithuanian Papers* (No.11, p.66), we published an initial list of known Tasmanian graduates who had Lithuanian names. Two corrections are necessary:

* Please add the name of Andrikonis, Karen Margaret Louise, B.Ed. 1989.

* The dagger (indicating that a person is deceased) should be deleted from the name of Olubas, Mariana, B.A. 1981. Mariana is well and resides in the Eastern States of Australia. The University of Tasmania has amended its records.

We apologise to all concerned for these inaccuracies. We would also like to hear from any persons who can offer additional information about Lithuanian graduates of the University of Tasmania. All details should be forwarded to: *Lithuanian Papers*, Post Office Box 777, Sandy Bay, Tasmania, 7006 (Australia).



Illustration: D.J. ASHENDEN & S.K. MILLIGAN, 1994 *Good Universities Guide*. Pt.Melbourne: Mandarin.

Torrens Title System for Lithuania?

Simon R.P. TAŠKŪNAS

Birmingham, U.K.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to outline the system of registering owners of land in the Australian State of Tasmania. This system is known as the Torrens Title system. My experience suggests that the Torrens system is simple and highly effective in regulating and recording the many different owners of land.

I offer this summary, in light of two considerations:

* Firstly, I am uncertain of the specific land title systems which currently exist in Lithuania and other European countries undergoing a transition to free market economies; but

* Secondly, and more importantly, any potential property investor in these countries deserves a system which can provide for the identification of, and change in, the legal ownership of a particular property, in a cheap and relatively straight-forward manner.

I consider that the Torrens title system meets these requirements and could be used (in whole or in part) by countries wishing to establish an efficient system of title registration.

Lithuania's Historical Background

No comprehensive reference work is currently available, in English, from which we could glean full details of the land ownership laws in Lithuania, from the Middle Ages to the present day; and how these laws have changed over time.

We know that the Lithuanian Statute was in force for three centuries. It was promulgated in 1529 and was revised twice, in 1566 and 1588. After the 1795 partition, the Lithuanian Statute continued to apply in the Lithuanian territory annexed by Russia,

until it was replaced by Russian laws in 1840. (*The Lithuanian Statute* is now available in English translation).

When Lithuania's independence was declared in 1918, the country inherited a Russian legal system known as "The Collection of Laws" (*Įstatymų Rinkinys*). The Collection applied to most, but not all, of Lithuania's territory.

The Collection dated back to 1833 when the Speranski Commission gathered the Tsarist Russian laws in force at the time (i.e., as at 1832) and published them in a set.

The Lithuanian civil law during the years of independence (1918-1940) was based on Volume Ten (X), Part I of this Collection [1]. During this period, the Collection was reviewed, amended and updated many times [2].

A new Lithuanian Real Property Law (*Ipotekos Įstatymas*) was announced on December 4, 1936 and came into force on January 1, 1938 [3]. It applied to the whole of Lithuania's territory, including Klaipėda district and Užnemunė. Consisting of 400 clauses, the new real property law was supplemented by regulations which governed Titles Offices [4]. According to Regulations 2188.1 to 288.10, a Titles Office (*ipotekos įstaiga*) was to be established in conjunction with the District Court in each district. The District Judge was to be in charge of the titles office. The Recorder of Titles (*ipotekos knygu vedėjas*) was held responsible for the proper running of his Titles Office. He was appointed by the Minister of Justice, on the recommendation of the Presiding District Judge [5].

The subsequent developments (1940-1998) still remain to be documented in a dependable and readily accessible form and in English. This is a serious knowledge gap that must be rectified without delay.



Photo: S. Laukys

History of the Torrens Title System

The Torrens Title system is named after Sir Robert Torrens who introduced it in South Australia in 1851. It later spread to the other Australian States and Territories, British Commonwealth countries and other nations throughout the world [6]. I believe that Russia has had consultants from Australia visiting in recent years, advising on the Torrens system.

Prior to the Torrens system, the ownership and transfer of land in Tasmania was regulated by what was known as the General Law system of conveyancing. Essentially, "title" (or, ownership) to a property could only be established if the owner could produce a chain of documents, each evidencing a dealing with the particular property in question, going back over a period of 60 years (a "good root of title"). In Tasmania, legislation later reduced the 60-year period to 20 years.

The General Law system is quite complex and generally requires the services of a lawyer to understand and interpret the legal language contained in the various documents of title. It was for these reasons that Sir Robert Torrens established his system for registering owners of land. It has been claimed that Sir Robert disliked lawyers to such an extent that he sought to establish a system in which lawyers would not be needed! [7]

The Torrens Title System in Tasmania

Australia is a federation of six States and two Territories. The Parliament of the State of Tasmania has, under the terms of the Australian Constitution, power to pass legislation in the area of land law. In 1980, the Tasmanian Parliament enacted the Land Titles Act 1980 (Tas). This legislation, which has been amended by Parliament over the years, establishes the current Torrens Title system in Tasmania. It sets up a central public register of title to land which is maintained by a person called the Recorder of Titles whose duty it is to certify the entitlement of owners of land. The Torrens System now supersedes the former General Law system of title registration.

A person who attains the status of a "Registered Proprietor" obtains, by this official certification of his or her title, a guarantee that he or she is the legal owner of a particular property, subject to certain exceptions set out in the legislation, and subject to judicial interpretations of the legislation. How does a person become a registered proprietor of land, under the Torrens system in Tasmania? The object of conveyancing (i.e., the transfer of ownership of land) under the Torrens system is to secure alteration of the Register - because whoever is registered in the Public Register as the proprietor of a property is generally deemed to be the legal owner of that property.

Changes to the Register are generally made by a person lodging documents with the Recorder of Titles; these documents are prepared in accordance with the legislation and are known as

dealings or instruments. The most common examples of these are Transfers (the equivalent of a Conveyance), Leases, Mortgages and Discharges of Mortgages. These instruments are available in a standard form, and must be signed by the registered proprietor, prior to registration.

The Register maintained by the Recorder of Titles is now contained within a computer system. It may be searched by any member of the public, upon payment of the prescribed fee (currently AU\$15). Searches may be done at the Land Titles Office or via remote computer terminals in various law firms and Government departments. An owner of property is issued with a single document called a "Certificate of Title", certifying that he or she is the registered proprietor of that property.

Advantages of the Torrens Title System

Under the Torrens system, ownership is determined by simply searching the public register. Legal ownership of property only passes upon registration of the document by the Recorder of Titles, not by the act of the parties signing the document. Between the time a dealing has been lodged with the Recorder of Titles and its registration, notification of the existence of such an unregistered dealing is made in the Register by the Recorder of Titles. Therefore, any search made of the Register during this period will disclose not only registered dealings, but also dealings which have been lodged recently, but which remain unregistered.

The Torrens system in Tasmania provides for the lodgment of a dealing called a Priority Notice. This allows a person, who expects to be lodging a dealing or dealings some time in the near future, to "freeze" the Register (as far as his or her land relates to it), for a period of up to 60 days. This prevents any other dealings from being registered. Normally, when property is sold, it is done so by way of a written contract. As soon as a purchaser has signed such a contract, he or she is entitled to immediately lodge a Priority Notice.

A person can become the registered proprietor of land, through what is known as *adverse possession*. Where a person has wrongfully occupied another's property for a period fixed by law, sometimes 12 years, and has not acknowledged the true owner's title to the property, the person in wrongful occupation can apply to the Recorder of Titles to become the registered proprietor of that property. This may occur despite the fact that the true owner originally purchased the land and has paid subsequent government rates and land tax upon it.

This is a very skeletal outline of the Torrens Title system in Tasmania. The superior features of the system are that it is simple to administer and provides an easier way to transfer and record ownership of land.

Conclusion

Experience in Tasmania has shown that the Torrens Title system is efficient and simple to operate. It is also widely accepted that, under this system, the Recorder's office can be financially self-supporting: that is, the registration fees and other charges should cover salaries and all running costs.

The Australian law firm, Blake Dawson & Waldron, and others had made an extensive effort in the early 1990s to interest the Lithuanian authorities in the New South Wales Torrens Title system (which is similar to the Tasmanian scheme described here), an effort which did not bear fruit in the end [8]. I understand that the Lithuanian Government did consider implementing the Torrens system, but rejected it in favour of a Swedish model for title registration. It appears that the Swedish model incorporates some important aspects of the Torrens system.

The latest regulations for the real estate registration were approved by the Lithuanian Government on January 22, 1998 [9].

Simon R.P. Taškūnas, B.Com., LL.B. (Tas.) is a lawyer with The (British) Insolvency Service, Birmingham, UK. This abridged article is based on a larger paper he had presented at the International Conference on "Property Valuation and Investment in Central and Eastern Europe during the Transition to Free Market Economy". The conference was held at Vilnius Gediminas Technical University, Vilnius on February 6-7, 1997.

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Sketch: *Mūsų Pastogė*, No.16/93.

Book Review

Lithuanians Down Under

Bronė MOCKŪNIENĖ, *Lietuviai Australijoje: Kelionė į nežinią* (Lithuanians in Australia: Journey into the Unknown). Ed. R. Kašauskas. Vilnius: AB "Spauda", 1996, 264pp., illustrated (in Lithuanian).

In late 1996 and early 1997, B. Mockūnienė's *Lithuanians in Australia* appeared to be the only easy-to-read book on the subject, in Lithuanian. Many relatives in the home country often wondered how and why we found ourselves "on the other side of the world". This book, although not perfect, answers such questions. The many illustrations certainly help.

The first part of the book, a long short story, tells the reader why people left their country, depicts the difficult years in refugee camps in Germany and finally the circumstances and reasons why some Lithuanians chose to emigrate to Australia.

The second part, probably written most successfully, tells of the voyage to Australia and, once there, the first impressions of the Australian people, the landscape, the fauna, the attitudes of immigrants and those of the "Oz officialdom"... First jobs, language difficulties - all in all, reminiscences of this particular period of our diaspora in Australia.

The third and most ambitious part of the book is called *Dokumentika*. The difficulty with this very important part lies in its myriad of chapters, sections and subsections to which there is no index. There is a very broad and brief table of contents which helps but little. To find sections such as Lithuanian Artists in Australia, Organisations, The Press, or information on various community centres - Lithuanians in Tasmania...Geelong, Canberra, Brisbane, Newcastle, etc. - requires a lot of scanning. By the way, *dokumentika* in this book does not mean reprinted documents: it is merely hard facts and other material taken from *Metraščių*, the Australian Lithuanian Yearbook, vols.1 and 2, published in 1961

and 1983, mostly in Lithuanian; and from a few other sources. These are acknowledged either in the text or in a brief bibliography at the end of the work.

The last section entitled "Australia" can be very interesting to a reader in Lithuania, as it describes the discovery of this land, the origins of its name, the aborigines and the life style and customs of the Australian people. Subsection "Ethnic Life in Australia" could be enticing, once found!

In its entirety, this is a rather curious book in its construction and mixture of reminiscences, facts and a presumably fictitious romance in the long short story which serves as a prologue to the rest of the book. There are quite a few printing errors, obvious difficulty with English place names, some inaccuracies and inconsistencies of facts. However, one must bear in mind that to the editor in Lithuania the subject matter would certainly have been the proverbial *terra incognita*. The author, living in Australia since 1948, has been unable to exercise control over the publishers and the editor in Vilnius, because of distance and other technical problems.

On a more positive note, I feel compelled to finish with the following. After reading this book, a young acquaintance in Lithuania wrote to me, and I quote, "We knew nothing about Australia, or about your life over there. All those organisations, communities, cultural activities... You are more patriotic than we are. Amazing."

Victoria A. VITKŪNAS.

Victoria A. Vitkūnas, B.A. (Adel.), Reg. Cert. LAA is a former subject librarian of Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide (1966-1983), Currently she is a frequent contributor to the Lithuanian weekly Mūsų Pastogė, published in Sydney.



Our Thanks

This journal is typeset and prepared for the press by volunteers. Unpaid helpers also address and distribute each issue and carry out dozens of other essential tasks. After all these huge labour cost savings, we still have to find over \$5,000 each year, to pay the printers and Australia Post.



We are therefore indebted to the Societies Council of Tasmania University Union for a grant of \$1,000 to assist us with the production of this issue. Many thanks! (*The Union's logo appears above*).

We also thank our other supporters for their donations:

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Many thanks!

Vince J. TAŠKŪNAS, President, LSS.
(Lithuanian Studies Society at the University of Tasmania).

The Back Page

* Last year, the Lithuanian newspaper *Verslo Žinios* carried out a survey to determine if Lithuanians recognize the persons depicted on their currency. Here are the surprising results:

Litas note	Portrait	Correct Identification
1	Žemaitė	89%
2	Valančius	40%
5	Jablonskis	27%
10	Darius and Girėnas	78%
20	Maironis	49%
50	Basanavičius	39%
100	Daukantas	33%

During the survey, respondents provided an encyclopedic list of Lithuanian literary and political personalities. One person mistook writer Žemaitė for Marija Melnikaitė, a Soviet war heroine. Many respondents thought, historian and prose writer Daukantas was former president Smetona, even though the two have no resemblance.

The low recognition of two other men came as a surprise: doyen linguist Jablonskis who has very unique features, and poet Maironis who has been famous for generations. Žemaitė's high recognition may be a remnant of Soviet manipulation of her works and propaganda about her: she was *the* Lithuanian working-class author.

Would the people of other countries fare better? (Ack.: Audr. Dundzila)



BOOKS

The Lithuanian Studies Society at the University of Tasmania has some books on Lithuania for sale. The books are all in English, but not all have been published by LSS. The book titles include:

LITHUANIA'S ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS by Amanda Banks, (No.3 in *Lithuanian Papers* series), 96pp., \$7.50 plus \$3 postage.

LITHUANIA IN 1991, edited by Algimantas P. Taškūnas (includes a photographic report on the Bloody Sunday in Vilnius), 160pp., \$9.95 plus \$5 postage.

LEAVE YOUR TEARS IN MOSCOW by Barbara Armonas, an eyewitness account of deportees' life in Siberia. 222 pp., Limited offer \$6 plus \$2.50 postage. *Offer expires February 28, 1999.*

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A few copies of LITHUANIAN PAPERS Nos. 2 and 4 are still available at \$7.50 plus \$3 postage by surface mail. Please add \$2 if air mail is required. (For No.3, see above: A. Banks's monograph).

Nos.9,10 and 11 are available at \$6 each, posted. Please add \$2 each for air mail.

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