SITUATION REPORT

Estonia

1. New Appearance of Great Russian Chauvinism in First Secretary's Speech  

Latvia

2. Cardinal Vaivods Honored on his 90th Birthday  
3. Archbishop Matulis Dies

Lithuania

4. The Baltic Tribunal, Cruise, and Seminar  
5. Gorbachev and Lithuanian Catholics Agree on Dangers of Alcoholism  
6. The 42nd Issue of Austra  
7. New Samizdat Journal Appears

This material was prepared for the use of the staff of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.
ESTONIA

1. New Appearance of Great Russian Chauvinism in Secretary's Speech

When the CPSU Central Committee passed a decision last year with the somewhat cumbersome title "On the Participation of Leading Cadres of the Estonian SSR in Political Education Work Among the Working People," it was widely interpreted as a crackdown on lax ideological commitment among Estonian party workers. Aside from the sacking of several Komsomol officials, however, this "stern warning" failed to have much of an effect on Estonia or the Estonian Communist Party. Citing the decision was mandatory in official speeches, but little else seemed to have changed.

A year after the decision, on August 23, the Estonian Central Committee held a plenum to review the progress made since last August. Since there have been no startling changes in Estonia, the speech by First Secretary Karl Vaino was hardly revelatory, except for one minor change in wording from last year's CPSU decision, which had raised some eyebrows in the West when it said, "[The party] must vividly show that the Estonian people's historical destiny is indissolubly linked with the development and strengthening of the Soviet state." This does, after all, seem to violate the Soviet Constitution, which allows in the letter if not in spirit any constituent republic to secede. Vaino's speech this year, however, took this statement further: a year later it is not only the Soviet state and the Estonian people that are indissolubly linked:

It is especially necessary . . . that we achieve among the native population the understanding that the Estonian people's historical destiny is indissolubly linked with the development and strengthening of the Soviet state--of the USSR--and the Great Russian People. . . .

This indissoluble link between the Estonian "native population" and the development and strengthening of the Great Russian People remains generally unspecified, except for Vaino's contention that, in order to understand the link,

It is necessary to direct greater attention toward the learning of Russian as the medium of international relations, to come to terms more actively with the limitations of nationality, and to fight resolutely against manifestations of nationalism [emphasis added].
Whether the Russian-born Vaino, whose poor command of Estonian is considered a sad joke among Estonians, intends anything significant by this latest manifestation of Great Russian chauvinism remains to be seen.

Toomas Ilves

* * *

LATVIA

2. Cardinal Vaivods Honored on his 90th Birthday

Summary: On the occasion of his 90th birthday, Cardinal Julijans Vaivods was honored by the Soviet government in Latvia. Given the recent developments on the human rights front, it appears that this gesture was motivated by self-interest on the part of the Soviet authorities, rather than by a genuine desire to pay respect to the Latvian prelate, who has throughout his long life acted strictly according to his religious convictions.

On 19 August 1985 TASS announced that Cardinal Julijans Vaivods had been awarded an honorary diploma by the Presidium of the Latvian SRR Supreme Soviet in recognition of his 90th birthday and of his "patriotic activities in defense of peace [and the] propaganda [sic] of humane relations between individuals, peoples, and countries." This is an unusual gesture by the Soviet authorities in Latvia, since they generally do not pay such homage to clergymen. It may be that the authorities in Latvia chose to do this in order to improve the public image of Soviet policy toward religion and believers, particularly in the wake of the criticism that was voiced at the meeting in Helsinki to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the CSCE Final Act and at the Baltic Tribunal in Copenhagen that examined the Soviet Union's treatment of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. It may also be that the cardinal's age and stature were simply too great to ignore, unless, of course, the Soviet regime in Latvia wished to make it known that it was snubbing the religious leader. This, evidently, was not the case. It appears, therefore, that the decision was taken to honor Vaivods only in such a way as to make it seem that the prelate had been involved in the Soviet propaganda network.

This view of the cardinal does not, however, bear any resemblance to the truth. The Soviet authorities have, in fact, never found Vaivods a pliable man to deal with, because he has consistently followed the dictates of his conscience rather than the demands of the state. His education and his subsequent experiences as a clergyman, especially under an atheistic regime, molded his character and strengthened his faith.

Born on 18 August 1895 in the village of Bernani in southeastern Latvia, Julijans Vaivods was the oldest of six children born to Izidors and Franciska Vaivods, who were farmers. Because the family was poor, the children helped with the daily chores. The young Julijans attended the local primary and secondary schools in the winter and looked after the livestock in the summer. In 1913 he passed the entrance examinations of the Roman Catholic Theological Seminary in St. Petersburg. On 7 April 1918, after graduation, he was
ordained a priest. His first assignment was as vicar of the Marian sanctuary in Aglona, traditionally a center of Catholicism in Latgale, his native region of Latvia. Starting in 1924, Father Vaivods served as head of rural and urban parishes in central and western Latvia. During the ensuing years, the priest put to good use his organizational, teaching, literary, and oratorical talents and gradually advanced in the Church hierarchy.

In 1937, shortly after the establishment of the Liepaja Diocese, Vaivods was appointed Chancellor of the Liepaja Curia, Dean of St. Joseph's Cathedral in Liepaja, and a member of the panel of ecclesiastical judges. In the meanwhile, Vaivods also studied at the University of Latvia, which awarded him a licentiate's degree in theology in 1940. He started to prepare for a doctorate in Church history, but these efforts were halted by World War II and the occupation of Latvia by Soviet, German, and, again, Soviet armed forces.

In 1944, when Antonijs Urbss, Bishop of Liepaja, had to leave Latvia for Germany, he chose Julijans Vaivods to act as Vicar General and Dean of Liepaja. Although greatly hindered by the Soviet regime, Vaivods managed to fulfill his functions until 1958, when he was arrested and accused of anti-Soviet activities. The accusation probably stemmed from the fact that in the postwar years he had written extensively on religious themes (altogether a manuscript of some 3,000 typed pages) and passed on his articles to others. He was sentenced to two years in a strict-regime camp and served his time in the Mordovian ASSR.

When he was permitted to return to Latvia in January 1960, his health was so badly impaired that he had to be carried off the train on a stretcher. Although the Soviet authorities did not initially allow Vaivods to resume his ecclesiastical duties, they relented within a year. By 1961 he could be transferred to Riga and serve as vicar of St. Jacob's Cathedral. The following year he was appointed Vicar General of the Riga Archdiocese and the Liepaja Diocese. In this capacity Vaivods attended the Second Vatican Council, which started in October 1964. In November he was appointed the Apostolic Administrator of Riga and consecrated a bishop by Pope Paul VI. The date of consecration is significant--18 November 1964--because on that same day in 1918 Latvia proclaimed its independence. The ceremony took place at the Chapel of Our Lady of Czestochowa--not an odd choice, since the Latvian prelate is fluent in Polish. During the course of the Second Vatican Council, the Pope appointed the new Latvian bishop to serve on the commission on canon law.

In the years that followed, Bishop Vaivods devoted his energies in particular to the strengthening of the Catholic Church leadership in Latvia and to the reorganization and enlargement of the Roman Catholic Theological Seminary in Riga.
The seminary has special importance in that it prepares priests for service not only in Latvia but also in Estonia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Georgia, and Russia. Because of the severe restrictions imposed by the Soviet authorities, not all those wishing to follow their religious vocations can study in the seminary. Nevertheless, this spring there were 59 seminarians, more than half of them Latvians, enrolled in the six-year course.

Vaivods has achieved all this without publicity, simply by persevering in the job that had to be done. His accomplishments did not go unnoticed by the Vatican. On 5 January 1983 Pope John Paul II made him a cardinal. This was an extraordinary event, since Vaivods thus became the first Latvian and the first clergyman known to reside in a land ruled by the USSR to be elevated to that rank. The consecration took place on February 2 of the same year at St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. As befitted his new station, Vaivods was assigned a church in Rome, the Chiesa di Santissimi Quattro Coronati. On February 10 he arrived at the 12th century sanctuary and delivered a sermon in Italian. He then said something that is also relevant now, on the occasion of his 90th birthday: "I began as a pastor of sheep, and I don't know how much longer God will allow me to serve as a pastor of men in my Marian land. Only He knows." One thing is known: however many years Julijans Vaivods should live, in the past nine decades he has succeeded in his unobtrusive way in becoming part of the history of the Roman Catholic Church and of Latvia, which he affectionately calls his Marian land.

Dzintra Bungs

1 TASS (in English), 19 August 1985; Reuter and dpa, 19 August 1985.

2 The biographical sketch of Cardinal Vaivods was compiled from the following sources: Gaisma, no. 2, 1983; Latgolas Bolss, 12 March 1983; Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii, no. 12, 1975; Leonards Latkovskis, The Catholic Church in Soviet Latvia 1945-1980 (paper presented at the Ninth Conference on Baltic Studies at the University of Montreal, 15 June 1984); L'Osservatore Romano, 3 May 1985; and Igor Trojanowski, Katholische Kirche in der UdSSR [Catholic Church in the USSR] (Moscow: APN, 1984).

3 It is widely speculated that the very first cardinal from a Soviet-dominated country was a Lithuanian who was named in pectore by Pope John Paul II at his first consistory on 30 June 1979.

4 Latgolas Bolss, 12 March 1983.
3. Archbishop Matulis Dies

On 27 August 1985 Archbishop Janis Matulis, head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Latvia, was buried in the Meza Kapi [Forest Cemetery] in Riga. The funeral was held at St. John's, which had been the archbishop's church since the Soviet regime ousted the congregation from the former cathedral of St. Mary (also known as the Dom church and now a concert hall) in 1959. Leaders of the various Churches in Latvia attended the services, the highest ranking being Julijans Cardinal Vaivods, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in Latvia, who had been congratulated on his 90th birthday on 18 August 1985 by Archbishop Matulis. So far as is known, no clergymen from the West were allowed to attend the funeral. When the Lutheran World Federation learned of Matulis's death on August 19, it made plans to send representatives to the funeral; but the Soviet authorities refused to issue visas at such short notice.  

The cause and circumstances of Matulis's death are not known. This is partly because the central Soviet Latvian press did not report his death, not an unusual omission since it usually refrains from giving publicity to religion and religious leaders. Nevertheless, the news of the archbishop's death traveled quickly throughout Latvia and beyond. On August 27 huge crowds of people wishing to pay their last respects to him assembled in the streets near St John's--the church was already filled to capacity--and at the cemetery. Wreaths were laid at the grave by representatives of what seemed to be every Lutheran congregation in Latvia. Officials of the militia watched the proceedings and directed the mourners so as to keep certain passage ways clear at all times.

Although Matulis was not an unfamiliar figure at international ecclesiastical gatherings and conferences on peace and disarmament, little is known about his personal life. Born in 1911 in Latvia, he graduated from the Riga Pedagogical Institute and then studied mathematics and science. In 1936 he shifted his attention to theology and four years later graduated summa cum laude from the University of Latvia. His thesis was an examination of the role of the servant of God in the texts of Isaiah. Later Matulis devoted his time to the study of the New Testament, Church history, and Latvian mythology. These scholarly pursuits helped him earn honorary doctorates in theology from the Hungarian Theological Academy in 1973 and later from the University of Erlangen.

Matulis was ordained a Lutheran minister in June 1943 and for a while served the congregation in Talsi, a small town in western Latvia. Beyond that, information about how he survived World War II and the harsh postwar years and how he managed to rise in the Latvian Lutheran Church hierarchy is extremely scarce. On 14 September 1969 Matulis was consecrated Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Latvia by the Swedish
Bishop Sven Danell and was entrusted with the bishop's crozier that had been given by the Swedish Archbishop Nathan Soederblom to Dr. Karlis Irbe, the first head of the Latvian Lutheran Church, in 1922.

As leader of the Lutheran Church in Latvia, the new archbishop tried to consolidate his authority through diplomacy: he cultivated "correct relations," as he himself put it, with the Soviet authorities and tried to maintain close contacts with churchmen abroad. He strove to promote the interests of the Church while giving due attention to requirements put before him by the government. Consequently, Matulis actively promoted the Moscow-directed peace endeavors and participated in the Soviet peace delegations sent abroad. He told a TASS correspondent that "It is our duty to support the humanitarian steps taken by the Soviet Union and all peace forces for peace, for the prohibition of the disastrous nuclear weapons, and for general and complete disarmament."

This and other similar statements were probably part of the price that Matulis had to pay for attending international conferences of clergy and meetings of worldwide ecclesiastical organizations and making himself known abroad. One result was that he was elected to the presidium of the World Council of Churches in the 1970s.

Another result was that the archbishop traveled a great deal. His travels abroad, however, did not take precedence over his pastoral duties. As the spiritual leader of the Lutherans in Latvia, he made a point of visiting the 206 parishes and preaching there. His visits were especially welcome, since more than half the congregations do not have their own pastors. Matulis also taught students registered in the Academic Theological Courses. These correspondence courses were organized by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Latvia in the postwar years for the purpose of training new ministers. Last year some 50 students were enrolled in the courses; but the number of students does not meet the requirement for pastors. As the archbishop pointed out to a German journalist last fall, "Most of all we suffer from the shortage of pastors... This makes the rebuilding of our Church all the more difficult; in particular, we lack young theologians."

Another problem of long standing that Matulis tried to resolve was the scarcity of religious publications, including Bibles. Since 1979 the Soviet authorities have promised to publish a new Latvian translation of the Bible. The archbishop had hoped that this year, on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the first edition of the Bible in Latvian, the New Testament would be printed in 20,000 copies; but he died before this dream had even partly been realized. The question remains whether the Soviet authorities in Latvia will now find
it convenient to forget about the commitment that they made to the late archbishop.

Dzintra Bungs


2 The biographical sketch of Matulis was pieced together from the following sources: Latvijas Ev. Lut. Baznicas Kalendars 1974 and 1985 [Calendar of Latvia's Evangelical Lutheran Church], (Riga: RVT, 1973 and 1984, respectively); dpa, 25 October 1984; EPD Dokumentation, no. 51, 1984.


4 TASS, 28 December 1977.

5 EPD Dokumentation, no. 51, 1984.

LITHUANIA

4. The Baltic Tribunal, Cruise, and Seminar

Summary: From July 25 to 29 Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian emigres participating in the Baltic Peace and Freedom Cruise received worldwide coverage for their demonstrations in Copenhagen, Helsinki, and Stockholm and forged better ties between Balts living in the West and those in the homelands. On July 25 and 26 a Baltic Tribunal was held in Copenhagen at which 16 witnesses tested about Russification and the deprivation of human rights in the Baltic states. On July 30 and 31 a Baltic Future Seminar presented papers by Baltic and Western experts on the future of the Baltic region.

* * *

During World War II Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania lost the independence that they had enjoyed after World War I and were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. Thousands of Balts fled their homelands in 1944 and 1945 believing that their countries' independence would soon be restored. This hope was not fulfilled, and subsequently most of these displaced persons followed the example of previous immigrants from their homelands and settled in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe. In the 40 years since that exodus the hopes of independence have faded, but close contacts between Balts living inside and outside their homelands have been maintained. Although enjoying a higher standard of living than most other Soviet citizens, the Balts have not willingly accepted Soviet rule and have expressed their dissatisfaction in both open and clandestine dissent. Last year the Baltic World Conference, an emigre organization composed of three of the major Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian organizations, decided that the approaching 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act would be a good opportunity to attract world attention to the plight of their homelands by organizing a boat trip in the Baltic Sea and other related events.

The Baltic Tribunal. On July 25 and 26 a Baltic Tribunal was held in Copenhagen. There five judges from Austria, England (which sent two), France, and Sweden listened to the testimony of 16 witnesses: the British Vice-Consul in Riga from 1938 to 1941, a Latvian Jew deported to Siberia in June 1941, 3 Estonians, 4 Latvians, 5 Lithuanians, and 2 Russians who had emigrated or escaped from the Soviet Union between 1973 and February 1985. The witnesses were a fairly representative cross-section of the population of the republics. Five of them had spent time, an aggregate of fifty-five-and-a-half years, in Soviet confinement. A founding member of the Lithuanian Helsinki group, Tomas Venclova, who was never arrested but has been effectively exiled, also gave testimony. Others among the
witnesses had held important positions in the republics, for example, Imants Lesinskis, a KGB officer who had been the chief editor of the Latvian newspaper for emigres, Dzintenes Balss, and who later defected in New York while working at the United Nations. Still others had achieved success in music and sports.

The witnesses presented written statements and other evidence, made brief oral statements, and answered questions from the judges. The decision of the judges, known as the Copenhagen Manifesto, declared:

The occupation and annexation of once-independent Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania serves as a prime example of the violation of international public law and treaties ratified by the Soviet Union. The right of the Baltic peoples to self determination, to nondiscrimination, and to noninterference on their ancestral soil must be reinstated.

The Baltic Peace and Freedom Cruise. On July 25 several hundred Baltic emigres assembled in Copenhagen. In the afternoon they staged a demonstration at the Copenhagen City Hall and marched to the Soviet Embassy carrying national flags and banners and various anti-Soviet signs. At the embassy about 350 people sang the three Baltic national anthems, listened to several short speeches, and quietly dispersed. That evening the members of the cruise traveled by train to Stockholm.

In the Swedish capital leaflets were distributed in the streets presenting the aims of the cruise and several lectures were given before boarding the cruise ship, the Baltic Star, which departed one hour later than planned because of a bomb threat. No bomb was found and the following day was spent cruising along the Baltic coast listening to lectures and holding discussion groups. An early morning memorial service was held to commemorate those Balts who had perished while trying to escape from the Soviet Army. The participants in the cruise approved a "Resolution on Peace, Security, and Human Rights in the Nordic and Baltic Countries," which was addressed to the governments of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland, Sweden, and the USSR. The resolution noted the illegal incorporation of the Baltic states into the USSR and mentioned various statements made by dissidents. It also suggested that the creation of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe would be furthered by granting independence to the Baltic countries, for, as sovereign states they would have no nuclear weapons. Finally, it called for a UN-supervised referendum to determine whether or not the Baltic republics wanted their independence.

On Sunday July 28 the ship docked in the industrial part of Helsinki harbor. The approximately 400 members of the cruise left the ship and marched through the streets carrying their national flags and chanting anti-Soviet slogans such as "Nyet, nyet, Soviet." They assembled by a monument to Finnish soldiers
who had died during Estonia's war of independence. Anti-Soviet demonstrations are seldom seen in Finland, the last having occurred in 1968 when the Soviet Army invaded Czechoslovakia. It would, however, appear that the cruise members received considerable popular support as large crowds lined the streets cheering and at times joining the demonstrators. Several thousand people filled the church park by the monument and listened to speeches by Vladimir Bukovsky and Andres Kung. After the official demonstration about 50 cruise members went to the Soviet Embassy and staged an unofficial demonstration. One demonstrator was detained, but after the intervention of US consular officials he was released after paying a small fine.

On July 29 the Baltic Star returned to Stockholm where another demonstration was staged, this time near the building that housed the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures. Representatives of all Swedish political parties, with the exception of the communist party, made speeches supporting the Baltic states' right to be free from Soviet oppression. Three Latvians chained themselves to the fence in front of the Soviet Embassy. About an hour later the Swedish police cut the chains and removed the demonstrators.

Baltic Future Seminar. The final event in the program was the Baltic Future Seminar held in Stockholm on July 30 and 31. At the seminar Baltic and foreign scholars presented papers on the future of the Baltic regions. On the first day speeches were made on a variety of topics: past and present Baltic-Swedish relations; the possible "Finlandization" of the Baltic republics; and the militarization of the Baltic Sea by the Soviet Union as viewed by two officers from the Royal Swedish Military College. On the second day of the seminar the future of the Baltic states was looked at from a less than optimistic point of view. The current low birthrate and continued large immigration of Russians to the area was found to threaten the survival of the native populations, especially the Latvians. Baltic nationalism remained strong, but the Balts were severely underrepresented in the Soviet military establishment. It was also stressed that the Balts should try to form links with other nationalities in the USSR so that more people might learn of the Balts' claims to independent statehood.

Press Reaction. The events of the Baltic Tribunal and the Baltic Peace and Freedom Cruise were covered extensively by the world press. The newspapers in Denmark, Finland, and Sweden had front-page stories about the plight of the Baltic republics. Copenhagen television devoted more than five minutes to the tribunal and demonstration in the city. More important, both Finnish television stations, which can be received in Estonia, reported the demonstration in Helsinki as the main story of the evening news. Many of the witnesses at the tribunal were interviewed by reporters from major European newspapers.
It is ironic that the Soviet authorities were in many respects responsible for generating much of the publicity for the tribunal and cruise. More than a week before the events TASS (in English) published a number of articles describing the Baltic events as blatant provocations conducted by the CIA. 3 According to the TASS articles, the Baltic organizers, led by the CIA and US Information Agency, had two purposes for their program: to divert attention from the Moscow Youth Festival and to torpedo the meeting in Helsinki on the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act.

On July 25 TASS commentator Viktor Ponomarev described the tribunal as a "provocative anti-Soviet show in Copenhagen dubbed the 'Baltic Tribunal' on the CIA's prompting." 4 Ponomarev seems to have lacked even basic information about the forthcoming event. He mentioned eight persons by name, six of whom (including Vladas Sakalys incorrectly called Vladis Sekalis) were not witnesses at the tribunal. Moreover, he claimed wrongly that one of the judges was Australian MP Michael Hodgman, who himself was fighting off rather successfully a court suit accusing him of squandering tax-payers' funds,... How will he upon his return from Copenhagen explain to his colleagues on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights what he has in common with the criminals, terrorists, and liars supplied to him by disinformation experts from the CIA as "witnesses for the prosecution" against the USSR, for testifying about alleged "heinous crimes in the Baltic region?" But then, it's his problem, as they say... 5

In a later article Ponomarev switched his attention to the Baltic cruise, which he called "a CIA-masterminded provocation in the Baltic Sea zone, clearly timed for the anniversary meeting in Helsinki":

A noisy bunch of extremists from anti-Soviet emigre organizations will arrive in Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Helsinki on the eve of the anniversary. ... Aboard the piratic ship Baltic Star will be CIA-assembled "commandoes" from a number of emigre organizations of terrorist orientation which openly call for overthrowing Soviet power in the Baltic republics. 6

In an earlier article another TASS commentator, Aleksei Popov, had even tried to throw in the usual Soviet charge that Baltic emigres were war criminals and Nazi collaborators. A Lithuanian emigre organization leader who did not attend any of the Baltic events was depicted as
chief of a revanchist Lithuanian organization that has been instructed by the CIA to extend protection also to the Nazi war criminals who committed heinous crimes against Lithuanians and Jews in Lithuania’s territory during its occupation by the Hitlerites.⁷

Actually, the Baltic tribunal witnesses were too young to have participated in any Nazi atrocity and included a Jew deported by the Soviets.

Evaluation. The purpose of the tribunal and cruise was to draw world attention to the situation in the Baltic republics. Because of the fumbling and distasteful attacks of the Soviet press, this aim was achieved to an extent even the most enthusiastic organizers could not have hoped for. The Soviet authorities tried to present their version of Baltic affairs by sending a delegation of Balts, with Russian escorts, to Copenhagen at the same time. The known or assumed KGB affiliations of some of these participants were mentioned in the Danish press, and in general their presence only highlighted the cause of the cruise and tribunal. With the success of this Baltic effort it can be expected that more joint Baltic endeavors will be attempted in the future.

Saulius Girnius

1 RFE Correspondent (Copenhagen), 26 July 1985.


3 These TASS attacks are described in Baltic Area Situation Report/6, Radio Free Europe Research, 26 July 1985, item 1.

4 TASS (in English) 25 July 1985.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 26 July 1985.

7 Ibid., 23 July 1985.
5. Gorbachev and Lithuanian Catholics Agree on Dangers of Alcoholism

Summary: The campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism in the USSR intensified after the rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev. The government reduced the number of hours during which alcohol could be sold, raised the drinking age, and called for the production of more nonalcoholic beverages. Ironically enough, as early as April 1980 the priests of the Archdiocese of Vilnius had requested that the government adopt many of these measures, and an active temperance movement has been underway in Lithuania.

* * *

Although the current Soviet campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism might appear to be an innovation introduced by Gorbachev, the Soviet authorities did, in fact, turn their attention to the problem of alcoholism earlier. Gorbachev, however, has been much more vigorous in attempting to deal with it. On 16 May 1985 the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a decree "On Measures To Intensify the Struggle Against Drunkenness and Alcoholism and To Root Out the Production of Home Brew." The decree increased the severity of various legal penalties and implemented many practical measures, such as reducing the hours during which alcohol could be sold and raising the drinking age from 18 to 21.

On 29 May 1985 the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet followed the example of the USSR Supreme Soviet by passing a similar decree. The penalties for appearing drunk in a public place, consuming alcohol on the job, and supplying alcohol to a minor were increased. Stiffer penalties were also imposed for the illegal resale of alcoholic beverages or for their production at home. Both the USSR and Lithuanian Supreme Soviet decrees went into effect on June 1.

As in the Soviet Union as a whole, the production and sale of alcoholic beverages in Lithuania has increased enormously in the last 25 years, while the amount of published information on these matters has decreased. No figures on the retail sale of alcoholic beverages are now given in the annual statistical reports; they are concealed in the category of other food products, along with such items as ice cream, coffee, and spices. It is generally known that alcoholic beverages comprise most of this category. The Western scholar Vladimir Treml estimated that alcoholic beverages accounted for about 90% of "other food" sales in the USSR in the 1970s. For Lithuania the figure is about 85%.
The "other food" category dominated the retail trade statistics and its share has been increasing; in Lithuania in 1960 it accounted for 15.5% of all retail sales and 32.3% of all food sales and by 1983 had increased to 21.9% and 43.2%, respectively. Assuming that alcohol was 85% of "other food," retail sales of alcoholic beverages in Lithuania increased substantially from 1960 to 1983. Over 60% of the beverages were vodka or other spirits, about whose production statistics are no longer published. The actual consumption of alcoholic beverages was, however, undoubtedly proportionally less, since the price of most beverages increased. Nevertheless, the production of beer, wine, and fruit wine in the same period increased by 319%, 739%, and 2,942%, respectively (see table below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Beer (in thousand liters)</th>
<th>Grape Wine</th>
<th>Fruit Wine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>5,200</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>1,006</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>2,362</td>
<td>2,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>13,500</td>
<td>3,354</td>
<td>3,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>16,600</td>
<td>3,189</td>
<td>4,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>16,500</td>
<td>3,147</td>
<td>5,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>15,300</td>
<td>3,773</td>
<td>4,357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>16,600</td>
<td>3,441</td>
<td>4,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>16,400</td>
<td>3,079</td>
<td>4,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>16,600</td>
<td>3,039</td>
<td>4,825</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is assumed that sales of alcoholic beverages constitute 85% of "other food" articles in the annual statistical reports on retail trade.

The preponderance of alcoholic over nonalcoholic beverages is clearly shown by the fact that the production of nonalcoholic beverages was 22,000,000 liters in 1960; 44,000,000 liters in 1970; 53,000,000 liters in 1980; and 55,000,000 liters in 1983.

Public expressions of concern about alcoholism became more common in Lithuania after the publication of an article in *Tiesa*. The author was Vytautas Kaltenis, the head of a section of *Tiesa*, which indicated some official approval for the campaign against alcohol. Subsequently, the number of articles in the Soviet Lithuanian press increased substantially; and most of the major republican newspapers have special sections on alcoholism under various rubrics. In *Tiesa* the section is called "Drunkenness--an Injury to Man and Society"; in *Sovetskaya Litva*, "Combat Hard Drinking"; and in *Valstiecu Laikrastis*, "Temperance--The Norm of Our Life."

In general, the current campaign against alcoholism seems to be quite popular in the USSR, and the newspapers report that sales of alcoholic beverages have fallen by between 20% and 30%. The greater penalties for appearing drunk in public have cleared Soviet streets of alcoholics, whose lives have also been made more difficult by the long lines and shorter hours in liquor stores. It is, however, still too early to determine how successful the campaign will be. The Soviet Union had periods of prohibition before, but many Soviets learned to produce alcohol at home. The large purchases of sugar from Cuba have helped bootleggers produce their wares at considerably below the official prices for alcoholic beverages. The recently announced tripling of the price of yeast will probably have less effect than anticipated by Western reporters, who have failed to note that a 100 gram package of yeast will still cost only 30 kopeks.

For more than a decade the Lithuanian underground press has been discussing the problems caused by alcoholism--problems noted so belatedly by the authorities. The first issue of the journal *Ausra* in October 1975 devoted more than a third of its pages to a commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the death of Bishop Motiejus Valancius, who had successfully created a temperance movement in his diocese. Articles in later issues of *Ausra* presented more statistics on increased alcohol consumption in Lithuania and even accused the authorities of propagating the increased use of alcohol as a means of destroying protest and keeping Lithuania enslaved: "A million drunks are less dangerous than a thousand, or even a hundred bright, sober, clear-headed, self-respecting individuals." In July *Ausra* published an article on three types of temperance and urged the creation of an unofficial temperance movement that should be led by representatives of the Catholic Church.

The bishops and clergy of Lithuania have also tried to propagate temperance. Priests have been urged to be temperate themselves and to give sermons on the subject. Lithuania's bishops officially proclaimed 1980 as "The Year of Temperance." Temperance cards are distributed at the week-long religious festivals at Zemaiciu Kalvarija and Siluva, and one day is devoted specifically to temperance.
In many respects the current government campaign against alcoholism seems to echo a statement made by the priests of the Archdiocese of Vilnius and sent to the Lithuanian government on 23 April 1980. The statement concluded with an eight-point request:

1. The production of alcohol should be reduced by at least 50%.

2. A total ban should be imposed on the production of cheap wine, popularly known as rasalas [ink].

3. The selection of nonalcoholic beverages available on the market should be increased.

4. The sale of alcoholic beverages should be limited to special shops in raion centers, distant from large concentrations of the population.

5. The hours of sale, the quantities purchased, and the age of customers for alcoholic beverages should be strictly limited.

6. A strict campaign should be launched against the resale of spirits and the manufacture of bootleg liquor.

7. Alcoholic beverages should be barred from all cafeterias.

8. The authorities should grant permission for the formation of a Temperance Association with its own press organs as well as radio and television programs.

Most of these suggested measures, except for the formation of a Temperance Association, have now been implemented by the government. The Central Committee of the CPSU called for the cessation of the production of all fruit and berry wines by 1988. The USSR Price Committee on August 15 ordered an average cut of 23% in the price of fruit juices. Alcoholic beverages can be purchased in stores only between the hours of 2:00 to 7:00 P.M. instead of 10:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. The minimum drinking age was raised from 18 to 21. The penalties for the resale of spirits and the production of bootleg liquor have been made stricter.

It should be noted that not only priests but also laymen have asked the government to take active measures against alcoholism, including support of a temperance movement. In Vilnius, for example, the Saltinis [The Well] private temperance...
group planned a conference on alcoholism for 8 September 1979. Even though local party officials had given permission for the conference in 1978, they tried to cancel it several days before its convocation. Moreover, they spared little effort in hindering the work of the conference. Because of party pressure only one of the 13 lectures planned in the program was allowed to be presented; there were no discussions; and a scheduled film was not shown. It would appear, however, that there is no consistent policy of prohibiting local temperance groups. Tiesa published a letter by the chairman of the Azuolas [The Oak] antialcohol club in Rokiskis, which has been active for 10 years.

Dismay over alcoholism is widespread in the USSR. A recent issue of Ausra gave a one-page summary of a report purported to have been given at an antialcohol conference in Riga on 10 March 1984 by USSR Academician Dr. Uglov. The summary contains many statistics on alcohol abuse in the USSR. In 1983 6% of males, 2.6% of females, and 5% of young people practiced temperance. There are 40,000,000 alcoholics and drunkards in the USSR, which includes 36.7% of all males. Among current alcohol abusers, 31.8% began drinking before the age of 10, 64.4% between the ages of 11 and 15, and 3.8% between the ages of 16 and 19. The financial losses to the state caused by alcohol are said to be four times greater than the revenues collected from it. It is interesting that the report in Ausra makes many of the assertions contained in a report obtained by AFP in December 1984 and allegedly prepared by a group of sociologists at the Siberian Department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences located in Novosibirsk. Dr. Uglov is the only scholar mentioned by name in the Novosibirsk report, which many consider to be a somewhat distorted summary of the problem because of a number of factual errors as well as its style and tone.

The current campaign against alcoholism is not the first, particularly not in Lithuania. According to the underground journal Ausra, a rather successful campaign in 1972 to cut down on alcohol sales was halted when Lithuania officials were called to Moscow and told that the state revenues from alcohol sales had fallen too much"; but the climate in Moscow has changed, and Lithuanian officials are ready to try once again. They have declared that there will be no decline in state revenues because of reduced sales of alcohol and that the state plans for stores and restaurants will be fulfilled by the introduction of a greater assortment of food and nonalcoholic beverages. Promises have been made, but they may be hard to keep. The possibility that alcohol consumption in Lithuania will be reduced is, however, probably greater than in some other parts of the Soviet Union, partly because of the influence of the Catholic Church.

Saulius Girnius

* * *

2 Tiesa, 31 May 1985.

3 The best discussion on the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages in the USSR from 1955 through 1979 is Vladimir G. Treml, Alcohol in the USSR, a Statistical Study (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1982).


5 Ausra, no. 21, March 1980.

6 Ibid., no. 23 July 1980; also see "Unofficial Action Against Alcoholism in Lithuania Gains Ground," RL 329/81, 21 August 1981.

7 A more detailed discussion of the Saltinis conference is given in "Alcoholism and Efforts To Form a Temperance Movement in Lithuania," RL 474/80, 11 December 1980.

8 Tiesa, 16 August 1984.

9 Ausra, no. 42, April 1984.

10 The text and evaluation of the Novosibirsk report is given in "Document on Alcoholism Put in Perspective," RL 39/85, 6 February 1985. The only difference between the figures in the Ausra and Novosibirsk reports is the percentage of women practicing temperance in 1983; the latter gives the figure of 2.4%.


12 Chairman of the Lithuanian Cooperative Association Vytautas Ramanauskas, for example, made such an assertion in an interview in Valstieciu Laikrastis, 16 July 1985.
1. The 42nd Issue of Ausra

Summary: The 42nd issue of the Lithuanian samizdat journal Ausra, [The Dawn], dated April 1984, has recently been received in the West. It contains reports of the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the death of St. Casimir last year and about the arrested priests Alfonsoas Svarinskas and Sigitas Tamkevicius. Also included is an appeal by the Lithuanian minority in Belorussia and information about new restrictions on mailing books abroad from Lithuania.

* * *

The 500th Anniversary of St. Casimir's Death. The 42nd issue of the unofficial Lithuanian journal Ausra, which is dedicated to the 500th anniversary of the death of St. Casimir, is dated April 1984 and consists of 27 typewritten pages. It contains the full text of a speech delivered by Pope John Paul II on 4 March 1984 at St. Peter's Basilica on the occasion of the anniversary. An editorial, entitled "Two Anniversaries, One Idea," expresses the "infinite gratitude" of Lithuanian Catholics to Pope John Paul II for making the anniversary a festive occasion for the entire Roman Catholic Church and a "global event":

The Holy Father has shown respect and love for our entire nation and has given us priceless moral support in our struggle for our faith and for fidelity to God and to the Pope of Rome. There are two poles, two centers in the world: Rome, which radiates Christ's rays to the entire world, and Moscow, the northern pole, from which the cold and dark waves of atheism emanate.

Summing up the celebrations of St. Casimir's anniversary in Lithuania, Ausra speaks of a festive spirit and mass participation but also of bitterness and disappointment. The date of the principal event was changed at the last minute, the loudspeakers of St. Peter's and St. Paul's Church in Vilnius were not functioning, and the sermons were bland. The journal comments that Soviet propagandists, "who had maligned St. Casimir, must have been pleased." Contrasted with these lackluster events was a spontaneous gathering of young people on March 4 at St. Peter's and St. Paul's Church. They sang hymns, as described to the world about "our
unsuccessful struggle for our language and culture in the country of so-called socialism."3 They recount their unsuccessful efforts ever since the end of World War II to secure their basic cultural and religious rights and cite some 20 statements and complaints and countless visits to the local and central authorities in Minsk and Moscow that were ignored. After the forcible incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union in June 1940, large Lithuanian-inhabited areas were incorporated into the Belorussian SSR. The situation became even worse after the expulsion of the German occupying forces in 1944: Lithuanian-language schools and organizations were closed, Lithuanian books were removed from libraries and destroyed, and all contacts with the Lithuanian SSR were forbidden. Tourists, students, and ethnographers from the Lithuanian SSR are not allowed to visit the Lithuanian-inhabited areas of the western Belorussian SSR either in organized groups or individually. Even Russian and Belorussian scholars are discouraged from visiting the Lithuanian-inhabited areas. The appeal concludes with these words:

This is the order in a state where brute power is the ultimate law and where superpower chauvinism reigns supreme.... Please publicize this information wherever you can.... We vouch for its accuracy.

Arrested Priests Eulogized and Defended. An article in the Lithuanian CP organ Tiesa is denounced for "slinging mud" at the imprisoned Lithuanian priest Sigitas Tamkevicius.4 "It is not difficult to beat and kick an unarmed and shackled man; it is easy to argue with someone who has been gagged," Ausra comments. The official accusation against them of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" is rejected because, according to the journal, any critical mention of the current circumstances is automatically branded as "slander of the Soviet life and system." Tamkevicius's "greatest crime" was not to close his eyes to "negative phenomena" and to urge Catholics not to go against their conscience and compromise with evil. The Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights,5 of which Tamkevicius was a member, is described as an "effort by the entire persecuted and suffering Lithuanian Catholic Church to defend its most sacred and just causes." The journal emphasizes that Tamkevicius was not a coward and did not break down during his trial:

The Rev. S. Tamkevicius is worthy of the greatest respect. ...

He took the painful road of the gulag for his nation, for the Church, for the common cause of all decent people: human rights, freedom, and justice. This is one more victim of slavery, terror, and arbitrariness.

"A Poet to a Priest," a long poem by Jonas Narbutas (a pseudonym), is dedicated to Alfonas Svarinskas,6 "sentenced for truth by Russian occupiers and Lithuanian quislings, now
carrying his cross of sacrifice on the road of Siberian suffering, which he has trodden more than once before."

"The Hill of Crosses": A Symbol of Lithuanian Catholicism. The Hill of Crosses, a popular pilgrimage site between Siauliai and Joniskis, is described in an article by S. Czyzs (a pseudonym). According to legend, the first crosses appeared on the hill in 1831 and 1863, the years of anticzarist revolts. Pilgrims and sick people were attracted to the hill by their belief in its curative powers. The erection of crosses on the hill was forbidden during czarist rule. There were 2,000 crosses there during World War II and their number increased under the Soviets. Many crosses were raised by people who returned from imprisonment in Siberia. The first major crackdown came in 1961, when bulldozers were used to raze some 5,000 crosses, which were subsequently burned. The systematic destruction of the crosses continued, but Catholics kept adding new ones. Large groups of pilgrims go on visiting the hill and holding religious services there, despite constant harassment and intimidation. Crosses are also brought to the hill from Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, and even Moldavia.

Restrictions on the Mailing of Books Abroad. Ausra reports that since 1982 it has not been possible to send books abroad from Lithuania freely, as in the past. Now the would-be sender is required to get permission from an official in the Ministry of Culture, who determines if the books can be allowed out of the country. Forms have to be filled out, and only three books can be sent at a time. There is a steep tariff in addition to the mailing fee. Thus, the cost of a book is tripled as it starts its journey abroad. Soviet propaganda books in foreign languages can be sent abroad without special permits.

An Old Poem by Yevtushenko Reprinted. This issue of Ausra also includes a translation of "A Restorer's Monologue," a poem sympathetic to religion by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, which was originally published in the November 1961 issue of Novyi Mir; a sampling of statistics about alcoholism in the Soviet Union, entitled "In the Citadel of Atheism," taken from the records of the Antialcoholic Education Conference, held in Riga on 10 March 1984; and an obituary of Joseph Ehret (1896-1984), a Swiss intellectual who devoted his life to Lithuania's culture and freedom.

Jonas Papartis

1 St. Casimir (1458-1484) is the patron saint of Lithuania and Poland.

2 For a discussion of the previous issue, see Baltic Area Situation Report/3, Radio Free Europe Research, 22 March 1985, item 10.

4 Tamkevicius was sentenced on 2 December 1983 in Vilnius to six years in prison camps and four in internal exile (see "Lithuanian Priest Sentenced for Anti-Soviet Activity," RL 456/83, 6 December 1983).

5 The committee was formed in Lithuania on 13 November 1978 (see "Five Years of the Catholic Committee in Lithuania: Its Achievements and Dispersal," RL 431/83, 11 November 1983).

6 Svarinskas was sentenced on 6 May 1983 in Vilnius to seven years in strict-regime camps and three in internal exile (see "The Trial of Reverend Alfonsas Svarinskas," RL 186/83, 9 May 1983).
7. New Samizdat Journal Appears

Summary: A new Lithuanian samizdat journal, Juventus Academica, has begun publication. Its inspiration is clearly Catholic and nationalist, showing interest in Lithuania's past and the activities of emigre organizations.

* * *

A new Lithuanian samizdat journal, entitled Juventus Academica, has recently reached the West. It is 25 pages long and the title and the first page are missing. The latest issue of this journal is presumably the second (there are several references to the first issue), and it was published some time after 14 February 1985 (there is a quotation from Pravda of that day). Juventus Academica seems to be published by the Lithuanian Youth Association, which claims membership in the World Lithuanian Youth Association, an emigre association that has chapters in a number of Western countries. All the articles are unsigned, which suggests that they express the opinions of members of the Lithuanian Youth Association (LYA).

General Characteristics. Although Juventus Academica, it claims, hopes to formulate a program that will appeal to most young Lithuanians, it is clearly Catholic and patriotic in orientation, even though its concept of both Catholicism and nationalism differs somewhat from that of other Lithuanian samizdat journals.

Juventus Academica seems to draw equal inspiration from the type of Catholicism that was a major catalyst in the cultural and social life of independent Lithuania and from the contemporary Church, striving to retain its independence and viability in the face of onslaughts from the state. The new publication traces its spiritual roots to the Ateitis [Future] Federation, the major organization of Lithuanian Catholic academics in the years of independence between the wars and in exile. Its nationalism emphasizes the moral obligations incumbent on Lithuanians, obligations that at this time require heroism and sacrifice. Juventus Academica attaches special importance to the question of possible military service in Afghanistan, quite openly declaring that the Soviet occupation is illegal and that Lithuanians should neither serve there nor obey the orders of Soviet officers.

Will you, for the sake of biological existence, trample on your conscience and honor; will you cling to life to the very end and carry out without thinking the orders of superior officers just because regulations and your oath require that you do so? And will you burn people alive, whole villages? Oradour, Lidice, and Pirclupiai pale in comparison with your (and our) crimes.
Finally, *Juventus Academica* challenges the party's standard concept of Soviet Lithuania as being a closed social and cultural entity, whose ties to Lithuania's noncommunist past and to Lithuanians living outside the USSR are, at best, questionable. The publishers of *Juventus Academica*, the LYA, state their affiliation openly and thus their subordination to an emigre organization, as well as their aim of carrying on the traditions of an avowedly Catholic and, in communist eyes, bourgeois organization.

The Lithuanian Youth Association. The first article is a seven-page report by the LYA leadership about a regular meeting. Some information about the LYA can be gleaned from the report. It claims to be "first and foremost a spiritual association, an association of the heart, in pectore," because the names of its leaders and members are unknown. Secrecy is not a matter of choice but a necessary concession to a stern reality, in which all bravura is inexcusable. The LYA has a Program and Regulations Committee and recently held a secret conference that drafted an appeal to the governments of all 35 states signatory to the Helsinki Final Act. The appeal was apparently published in the first issue of *Juventus Academica*, which is not available here.

The LYA has decided that defense of human rights is the goal that best suits the needs and aspirations of the nation's youth. This belief is said to differ from most political philosophies because of its emphasis on pluralism and the need to grant each individual and organization a maximum degree of freedom of choice.

The goals of the human rights movements of Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Latvians, and most other peoples of the USSR differ significantly from those of the Russians, who seek to reform their society, while the others want national independence. The LYA expresses its sincere respect, on behalf of all young Lithuanians, to former US Ambassador to the UN Jean Kirkpatrick; President Ronald Reagan; and Andrei Sakharov, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, and several other Soviet dissidents for their commitment to and defense of the right to national independence.

The leadership of the LYA congratulates the organizers of the Baltic Tribunal, which was about to be held, and suggests that Molotov be invited to the hearings to testify about the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. According to the LYA, Molotov is an "international criminal" who should be tried in the same way as Nazi war criminals, so that the deaths of millions would not have been in vain and that future killers be made aware that they, too, will be brought to justice.

The LYA recommends that the Helsinki Final Act be denounced, because the USSR is not fulfilling its obligations. The LYA expresses its support for the Australian chapter of the
World Lithuanian Youth Organization, which is organizing the Sixth WLYRO Congress, and thanks Lithuanian youth in Venezuela for presenting to the Pope a request that he appoint a Lithuanian to the College of Cardinals. Juventus Academica also includes a letter of the LYA congratulating President Reagan on his re-election and thanking him for his support for Lithuanian aspirations for national independence.

The War in Afghanistan. Juventus Academica attaches great importance to the war in Afghanistan. The leadership of the LYA notes that for five years Lithuanian youths, ostensibly fulfilling their so-called international obligations, have been "killers, executioners, killing innocent members of a sovereign nation, burning their villages and towns." Lithuanian youths are urged to listen to their consciences and "not become the cowardly instruments of the occupier."

The unknown author of the obscurely titled article "Prologue to the Second Part of 'Meeting Places ...'

presents an impassioned argument, condemning the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and attributing moral responsibility not only to all who are directly responsible for criminal actions but to all who acquiesce in the occupation by simply remaining silent.

We are all guilty, except those who have died for the truth, who have defended with weapons, by word or by deed, the oppressed, whether they be fellow nationals or the innocent citizens of a foreign, yet sovereign state.

In a certain sense these moral demands seem too stringent. Any Lithuanian youth who refuses to serve in the military or who disobeys the orders of a superior officer in Afghanistan is sure to be severely punished, particularly in the latter case. Yet this moral imperative has its logic, which the author drives home by pointing out that when the Baltic republics were annexed in 1940, the Soviet soldiers who carried out the Kremlin's orders were occupiers "such as we are now becoming, and thus there is not and cannot be, to paraphrase a Russian poet, 'justice more righteous than the bullet of an Afghan patriot.'"

Other Matters. One article heaps scorn on a recent, so-called documentary film Love and Betrayal about the partisan struggle in postwar Lithuania. The author asserts that the central contention of the film, that a class war was waged by a handful of "terrorists" and "foreign mercenaries," is completely erroneous, for such a small number of individuals could not manage to survive for 10 years against armored and infantry divisions, as well as the armed supporters of the Soviet regime.

In this issue of Juventus Academica the publishers introduce a new section, called "The Work of Our Contemporaries," which will present the work of Lithuanians whose thoughts retain their importance for contemporary Lithuanian youth. This issue
contains an article and a short story, published in the journal *Ateitis* in 1938-1939, by Vytautas Macernis, perhaps the most brilliant Lithuanian poet of his generation, who was killed by a shell in 1944. At the time of his death Macernis was only 24 years old. In his article about the traits necessary in a Lithuanian Catholic intellectual, Macernis argues that a Catholic should not be afraid of expressing his views and criticizing those that he believes to be incorrect. Tolerance is not indifference. It requires that one not injure or slander an opponent, that one refrain from coercion; but "the enemies of truth" must be challenged at every moment and their views contested by honorable means.

Kestutis Girnius

1. For the Baltic Tribunal, see item 4 above.

2. The Sixth Congress of the World Lithuanian Youth Association is scheduled to be held in December 1987 and January 1988.