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Darius Furmonavicius

LITHUANIA TRANSFORMS THE WEST

Lithuania's Liberation from Soviet Occupation and the Enlargement of NATO (1988–2022)

With a foreword by Vytautas Landsbergis



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Cover picture: President Vytautas Landsbergis (standing next to the sign of Lithuania) and Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas (on his right) during the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York. Lithuania joins the UN, September 17, 1991.

Sitting: on the left of Pres. Vytautas Landsbergis—Emanuelis Zingeris, MP, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Lithuanian Parliament.

Standing: on the right of Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas—Anicetas Simutis, independent Lithuania's Consul in New York.

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Printed in the EU

To my wife Ruta, my daughter Ieva, my grandchildren Sofia, Joshua, Noah, and everyone else in my family

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Abbreviations

APN	Soviet News Agency (Agentura pechatij i novosti)
BAFL	Baltic American Freedom League
BALTBAT	The Joint Baltic Battalion
BALTNET	The Baltic Regional Air Surveillance Network
BALTRON	The Baltic Joint Marine Corps
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
С	Crowned
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	Cable News Network
CSBMs	Confidence and security building measures
CSCE	Conference for Security & Cooperation in Europe
EC	European Community
ELTA	Independent Lithuania's News Agency
EU	European Union
FDR	Franklin D. Roosevelt
FO	Foreign Office
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRU	Soviet military intelligence (Glavnoje Razvetovate-
	lnoje Upravlenije)
IFOR	The Implementation Force
JBANC	The Joint Baltic American National Committee
KGB	Soviet intelligence (Komitet Gosudarstvenoj Be-
	zopasnosti)
LAF	The Lithuanian Activists Front
LITPOLBAT	The Joint Lithuanian and Polish Peacekeeping Bat-
	talion
MA	Master of Arts
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NATO PfP	NATO Program for Partnership and Peace
NKVD	Soviet security forces
OMON	Soviet special forces
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Eu-
	rope

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PhD	Doctoral dissertation
POTUS	President of the United States
PRO	Public Record Office
RFE	Radio Free Europe
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic
SFOR	Stabilization Force
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
TASS	Soviet information agency
TV	Television
UK	The United Kingdom
UN	The United Nations
UNPROFOR	The United Nations Protection Force
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VOA	The Voice of America
WEU	Western European Union

Brief Chronology

1009	The earliest documentary mention of Lithuania in the annals of the German Benedictine abbey at Quedlinburg in Thuringia
1248	Lithuania, independent state, created under Grand Duke Mindaugas in 1248
1236	Lithuania was defended against the German Knights of the Sword in Saulès (Sun) battle near Šiauliai
July 6, 1253	Great Duke Mindaugas is crowned as the first King of Lithuania
1316 - 1341	Reign of Gediminas, Vilnius, Lithuania's capital was founded by Grand Duke Gediminas
1345 - 1377	Reign of Algirdas
1363	Grand Duke Algirdas won the decisive Battle of the Blue Waters at the Black Sea against the Golden Horde Reign of Kęstutis Reign of Vytautas, the Great
July 15, 1410	The battle of Žalgiris (Grunwald, Tannenberg)
Sept. 8, 1430	Coronation day of Vytautas, the Great
Oct. 27, 1430	Death of Vytautas, the Great Reign of Casimir
1492 - 1494	War with the Muscovites
1500 - 1503	War with the Muscovites Reign of Sigisimund the Elder War with the Muscovites
1521	Lithuania defeats the Teutonic Order War with the Muscovites Reign of Sigisimund Augustus
1569 - 1795	The Union of Lublin (analogous of the European Union) between Lithuania and Poland
1573	The First Statute

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1579	The establishment of Vilnius University, the first university in the Baltic region, by Jesuits
1629	War with Sweden
1655	War with Sweden
	Russian occupation of Lithuania
1772	The first partition of the Grand Duchy of Lithua- nia
1793	The second partition of the Grand Duchy of Lith- uania
1797	The third partition of the Grand Duchy of Lithua- nia; Lithuania, Poland and the union between them were removed from political map Russian occupation of Lithuania
1794 - 1795	Lithuanian rebellion against the Russian (Tsarist) regime
1812	Lithuanian rebellion against the Russian (Tsarist) regime
1831	Lithuanian rebellion against the Russian (Tsarist) regime
1863 - 1864	Lithuanian rebellion against the Russian (Tsarist) regime
1904	Ban on the Lithuanian press was lifted
1905	Lithuanian rebellion against the Russian (Tsarist) regime
Nov. 1914	Committee to Assist the Victims of the War was founded in Vilnius
Dec. 11, 1917	Convention of the National Council in Vilnius
Feb. 16, 1918	the National Council proclaimed the independent Lithuanian state based on democratic political structures
Nov. 11, 1918	The first cabinet took office under Prime Minister Augustinas Valdemaras

Nov. 23, 1918	Lithuanian Army was founded
April 4, 1919	Antanas Smetona elected as the first President of Lithuania
1918-1920	Three liberation wars against Bolsheviks in the East, Bermondists (remnants of Tsarist army) in the North and Poland in the South
1920 - 1939	Poland's seizure of Vilnius, Lithuania's capital
July 12, 1920	Peace Treaty was signed in Moscow between the Republic of Lithuania and Soviet Russia
May 15, 1920	The first session of Seimas, Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania
Aug. 1, 1922	Constitution adopted
Dec. 17, 1926	Military coup
Sept. 28, 1926	Non-aggression and neutrality treaty with the So- viet Union was signed
May 1, 1934	Lithuania joined the Baltic Entente
Mar. 26, 1935	The first Nazi activists trial in Europe
Mar. 20, 1939	German ultimatum, requiring the cession of the territory of Klaipėda to the German Reich
Aug. 23, 1939	The Soviet Union and Nazi Germany signed "mu- tual non-aggression pact," and the first secret pro- tocol (the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact)
Sept. 17, 1939	Soviet troops occupied Vilnius region
Sept. 28, 1939	The second protocol of the secret Molotov-Rib- bentrop pact was signed under which the major- ity of Lithuania's territory was transferred from the German influence zone into the Soviet zone of interests
Oct. 3, 1939	Soviet ultimatum to Lithuania
Jun. 14-15, 1940	Soviet army occupied Lithuania
Jul. 11-12, 1940	Mass arrests to Soviet concentration camps

Jul. 23, 1940	The United States announced the Stimson Doc- trine of non-recognition of Soviet annexation of the Baltic States
Oct. 15, 1940	President Franklin D. Roosevelt met with the del- egation of the American Lithuanian Council, con- firming the US policy of non-recognition of the in- corporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Un- ion
Jan. 10, 1941	The third secret protocol of the Stalin – Hitler (Molotov – Ribbentrop) pact between the Soviet Union and Germany was signed in Moscow
1941 - 1944	German (Nazi) occupation of Lithuania
Jun. 22-29, 1941	The uprising against the Russian (Soviet) regime in occupied Lithuania
1944 - 1990	Russian (Soviet) occupation of Lithuania
1944 - 1965	Partisan war in Lithuania
Dec. 1947	Partisan Juozas Lukša Daumantas broke through the Iron Curtain (border between occupied Lithu- ania and Poland)
March 1948	Partisan Juozas Lukša Daumantas reached Stockholm
1951	Partisan Juozas Lukša Daumantas was para- chuted back into Lithuania with CIA help and he perished
	dissident activities
Mar. 19, 1972	First issue of the Chronicle of the Catholic Church of Lithuania was published
Aug. 23, 1987	Gathering near the monument for Adomas Mickevičius in Vilnius, organised by the Lithua- nian Freedom League
Aug. 23, 1988	Vingis park rally organised by Sąjūdis
Oct. 22-23, 1988	Lithuanian liberation movement Sąjūdis held founding congress

- Aug. 23, 1989 The Baltic Way, the largest demonstration, when people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia linked their hands along the highway running from Vilnius, through Riga to Tallinn
- Dec. 24, 1989 The Soviet Congress of People's Deputies acknowledged that the Soviet take-over of the Baltic States had been illegal
- Mar. 11, 1990 Declaration of Independence
- Jan. 13, 1991 Failure of communist coup d'étate in Lithuania
- Feb. 11, 1991 Iceland passed a resolution stating that its recognition of the Republic of Lithuania of 1922 remained valid
- Sept. 6, 1991 Soviet Union recognized the Republic of Lithuania
- Sept. 17, 1991 Lithuania joined the UN
- Sept. 8, 1992 The agreement about the withdrawal of the Russian troops was signed between the Lithuanian and the Russian governments
- Aug. 31, 1993 Russian army was withdrawn from Lithuania
- Nov. 22-23, 2002 President George W. Bush visited Lithuania
- Mar. 29, 2004 Lithuania joined NATO
- May 1, 2004 Lithuania joined the EU
- Oct. 17, 2006 Her Majesty the Queen Elizabeth II visited Lithuania
- 2009 Lithuania commemorated the millennium since the first written mentioning of its name
- Feb. 16, 2018 Lithuania commemorated the centenary anniversary of the Declaration of Independence
- March 11, 2021 Lithuania commemorated the 30th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence on March 11, 1990
- Jan. 25, 2023 Vilnius celebrated the 700th anniversary

- July 11-12, 2023 NATO Heads of states and Government summit in Vilnius
- July 9-11, 2024 NATO's summit in Washington, DC. The 75th anniversary of NATO

Foreword Königsberg's Status Needs to be Restored

While Putin's terrorist regime tugs at maps and pulls apart borders, it's worth taking a look at one of the first cases of Soviet-Russian occupation. The annexation of the Königsberg region (a part of East Prussia now known as Kaliningrad) took place after the 1940 annexation of Lithuania and its re-occupation in 1944-1945.

When Joseph Stalin made the unilateral decision to annex Königsberg - a part of the former territory of Germany - neither the Soviet Union, nor its former larger counterpart, the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, acquired any legal rights to that European land or its inhabitants. (This is reminiscent of the recent "annexation" of Donetsk or Mariupol in occupied Ukraine.)

The then Soviet action also did not receive any direct international recognition or legal confirmation. There was no accord. In fact, the timid West remained silent.

In addition, genocidal extermination and the forced resettlement of local people – the indigenous communities – has never been legally evaluated. Königsberg was handed over to hostile and lawless murderers and colonists. Moscow erased historical documentation. It changed all geographical names, thus destroying ethnic and linguistic evidence that native people had ever lived in the region.

A so-called end of war

Usually, wars end with some sort of peace treaty. But there was none in this case – just a provision confirming that it would be in future. The Potsdam Declaration was signed, which laid out the future boundaries of defeated and conquered Germany. The declaration stated that the Königsberg territory would be administered by the Soviet Union "pending a Peace Treaty," at which time all issues would be addressed. However, to this day, a Peace Treaty (agreed to be concluded by Stalin himself in writing) has not addressed the Königsberg region. Temporary administration of the territory was granted to a now non-existent entity, the USSR, and continues to the present day. Who in fact administers the Königsberg region?

At the time of the Potsdam Conference, the Soviet Union included a number of occupied countries, including Ukraine and Belarus. However, they do not administer this region, so the agreement has been violated. Russia announced that it had inherited the rights of the Soviet Union after the state created by Stalin ceased to exist in 1991. So, post-Soviet Russia has potentially "inherited" the right to temporarily administer the former region of Königsberg, a temporary administration which continues to this day. So much for "post-war legality"! The question is apparently closed. Or is it?

The United Nations General Assembly could prepare and approve a newer provision declaring that the previous 1945 provision was never withdrawn and is therefore still valid, despite current Russia not being equivalent to the former USSR. This could be followed by encouragement to organize a delayed post-war peace conference, which would at least define issues related to this territory.

This would allow Europe to move forward in a more legally correct and stable manner that is based on international law, a legality which Russia has never addressed.

Dr Darius Furmonavicius' important monograph *Lithuania Transforms the West* opens up fundamental historical research into the issues highlighted above, deserving further research work and wider international debate.

President Vytautas Landsbergis Vilnius, December 24, 2022