

# BRIDGES

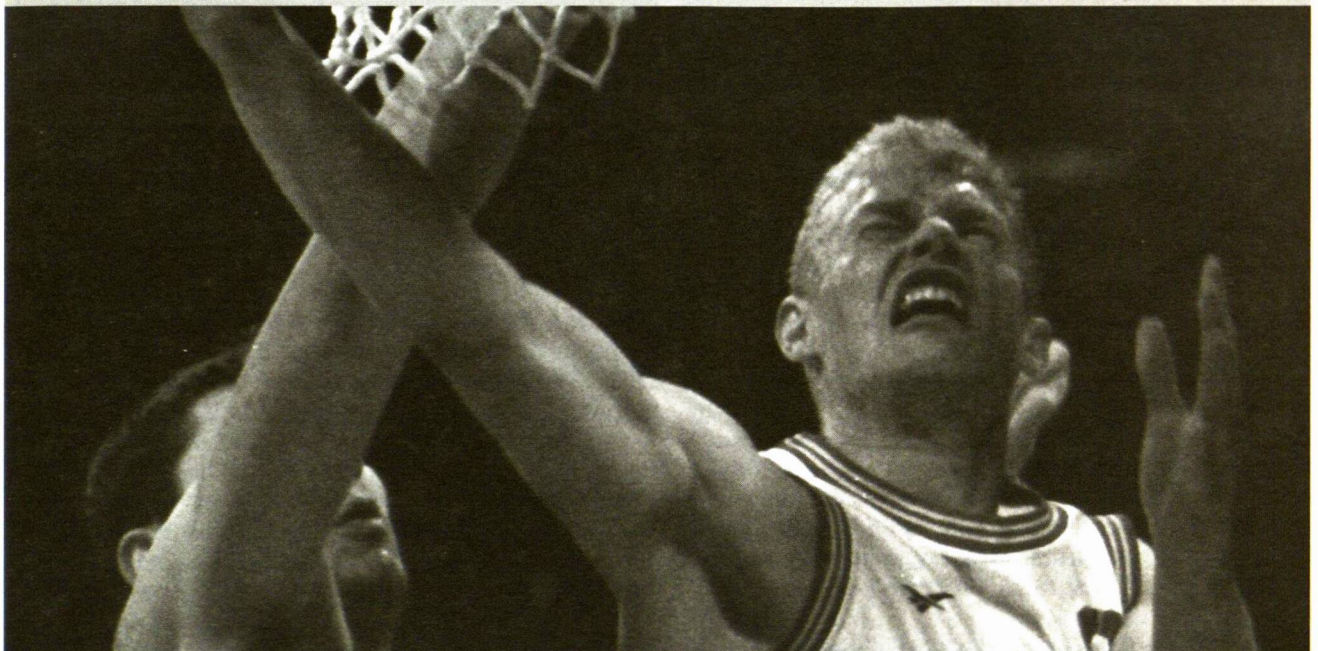
## LITHUANIAN AMERICAN NEWS JOURNAL

Volume 20, No. 7

AUGUST/SEPTEMBER 1996

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA: Saulius Štombergas (R) of Lithuania goes past Efthimis Rentzias of Greece during the basketball quarter-finals in Atlanta, July 30. UPI cs/Christine Chew





### To Our Readers:

The Lithuanian Basketball team has done it again! A bronze medal in two consecutive Olympics. We couldn't be more proud. Valio!

Of course, it would have been nice to have been able to witness the Lithuanians trouncing the Australians, but we live in the US and NBC denied its viewers even a few live excerpts from that match. In the contest with Yugoslavia for the silver medal, I had to take my two little children to a sports bar in Virginia that had a satellite downlink from Canada to be able to cheer on the Lithuanian team. [Ačiū, Paulius Mickus, for the e-mail message that spread like wildfire throughout the Washington Lithuanian community.] In the case of the bronze, I called the UPI (United Press International) office in Atlanta, which is responsible for the photographs you will see in this issue, to ask who won. "You guys did!" It would be a while before NBC would report those results.

Charles Krauthammer says it better than I ever could, and you can read his "Bad Sports" editorial later in these pages. He draws an interesting comparison between American power-wielding in the Olympics and American ball-dropping on the NATO issue.

From the exhilaration of the Olympics we descend to the reality of politics and the upcoming parliamentary elections in Lithuania (October 20) and presidential elections in the US (November 5). There are almost as many political candidates in Lithuania as there were total athletes in the Atlanta Olympics. Perhaps Coach Vladas Garastas should run. At least he knew how to put together a winning team.

We have tried to construct a Lithuanian parliamentary election roadmap for our readers so at least you know who the current Seimas members are and what parties have been registered. In short, all 138 seats are up for election. There are over 34 political parties, some of which are proposing hundreds of candidates each. The LDDP (former communist party) is expected to lose some of its heavy majority and, as a result, some of its influence on committees in Parliament. The presidential elections in Lithuania will not be for another two years.

As far as the American elections go, I think we have to admit that political rhetoric (and Asta's admonitions) to the contrary, the Balts are on the back burner for both candidates. US foreign policy under either would seem to focus on bolstering the self-esteem of a fallen empire rather than supporting democratic movements among her neighbors. These issues are discussed by a US Major General in a reprint from *ARMY* magazine, and responded to by writers from The Baltic Institute.

**BRIDGES: Lithuanian-American News Journal** (USPS 0735-830) is published 10 times per year by the Lithuanian-American Community, Inc. 2060 N. 14th Street, Suite 217, Arlington, VA 22201

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**BRIDGES** - The Official Publication of the Lithuanian American Community, Inc.

Postmaster: Send any address corrections and/or changes to **BRIDGES JOURNAL**, 2060 N. 14th Street, Suite 217, Arlington, VA 22201.

For those of you wondering why the past two issues have been double issues, I just wanted to remind you that **BRIDGES** comes out 10 times per year. I would love to be able to put out twelve issues, but the Lithuanian-American Community's budgetary constraints do not allow that at this time. In any event, I hope you find this and our other issues substantive and interesting, and hope you will encourage your friends to subscribe.

Su viltim!

*Diana S. Vidutis*



**Asta Banionis**

# Gearing up for Elections in the US and Lithuania

On August 3rd, 1996, the US Congress recessed for its annual August vacation — but you won't see many Senators and Congressmen relaxing at the beach this year. It's a presidential election year, and both parties had their conventions in August. The Republicans descended on San Diego, CA at the beginning of the month to nominate Bob Dole and Jack Kemp, and the Democrats were in Chicago, IL at the end of August to renominate the Clinton-Gore ticket.

## President Clinton's View on NATO

To Lithuanian-Americans, the issue of NATO enlargement and Lithuania's future security loom large in this election. President Clinton maintains that his approach to enlarging NATO through a measured, deliberate and transparent process will accomplish the goal of securing the peace and independence of the newly democratic countries of Central and Eastern Europe, while neither alienating nor provoking Russia. President Clinton maintains that he supports a process which is open, i.e., that any country which wants to join NATO will be able to apply and qualify if it meets the criteria. In the President's own words, "NATO's first new members should not be the last."

But events can outrun the best of intentions. President Clinton seems to think that the tide of Russian aggression which is battering Chechnya won't spill westward into the heart of Europe. Estonia, Latvia and our beloved Lithuania are the very first beachhead for a Russian assault against Western values and European territory. And this author will repeat this truism once more for the record. Lithuanian-Americans are the first line of defense for Lithuania. What you do leading up to the November elections and who you cast your vote for in the congressional and presidential elections will have a profound effect on Lithuania's continued independence.

Rumors weigh heavy in the air of Washington, DC as to whether NATO will enlarge its membership in December, 1996 or whether this 16-member body will again delay the decision to accept new members. Every move and word of the White House is watched carefully to see who is winning the battle for President Clinton's views on the subject. Experts debate whether the U.S. alone can convince supposedly reticent European governments to vote for the

inclusion of new members. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott continues to rally the anti-NATO enlargement forces within the U.S. government. Whether Mr. Talbott wants the credit or not, the Russian government itself believes that he is their staunchest defender within the Administration.

American communities of Polish, Hungarian and Czech ancestry are growing particularly restless and skeptical that there will be any new members accepted into NATO. The word has gone out through the proverbial grapevine that after the November elections, the NATO enlargement issue will be DOA (dead on arrival) at the annual NATO ministerial meeting in December, 1996. The Lithuanian-American Community, Inc. (LAC, Inc.) finds it hard to believe that Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland would not be accepted into NATO. They have the least to fear from the present Russian military and Russian intelligence services. They are minimally dependent on Russian energy sources. And the Russians demonstrated at a meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Berlin on June 4, 1996 that they can be flexible in their attitudes on NATO enlargement when it comes to Central Europe.

In December, 1996, the LAC, Inc. fully expects these three countries to be named as candidates for NATO membership and rigorous "schedules" of integration set. Now, this doesn't mean instant full membership. After all, NATO is not a box of pudding. Sixteen national parliaments (including the U.S. Senate) will have to vote on ratifying each new applicant's inclusion in the defensive alliance. But, there is no doubt that the protective mantle of NATO political support will descend upon these three nations securing them to the West, and interoperability between NATO and these three countries' armies will grow logarithmically.

The real problem that haunts the White House is: What to do with the Baltics?

The conventional wisdom in Washington, DC at the moment says that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are not going to make it into the first round of new NATO members. The reasons lay very much in the perception of Western observers that these three countries have little to offer NATO, while their inclusion "unnecessarily" provokes Russian government hostility towards the West. Yet,



no one in the White House, nor in the Dole campaign wants to be seen as "SELLING OUT THE BALTS" ... I might add, AGAIN.

So, how does the West, particularly, the United States which is still the leader of the Western world, help to ensure the independence and territorial integrity of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia while not letting them into NATO?

What you do depends on what you perceive the threat to be to their continued independence. Will Russian tanks roll across the Lithuanian-Kaliningrad border as soon as the decision comes to bring Poland into NATO, or will Gazprom (the Russian state natural gas company) merely shut off the supply of natural gas to Lithuania? By freezing the Lithuanians this winter, the Russians hope to provoke a decision by the Lithuanians to follow the Belarusian route of joining both the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and a "greater" Russian Federation.

Most Washington, DC planners dismiss the idea of Russian tanks rolling across any border. This phenomenon, any undergraduate political science major will tell you, is "cognitive dissonance." You believe what you want to believe and screen out all the facts that don't support your preconceived decision. Since the Clinton Administration doesn't believe that there's a genocidal war going on in Chechnya, the scenes of Russian tanks shooting at civilians in Grozny will not be repeated in Vilnius nor Klaipėda, they reason. "Not to worry, there is no threat" is a common mantra here in Washington these days.

What of the scenario that the Russians will mount an energy blockade of Lithuania? Well, the argument follows that, "if the Lithuanians choose to give up on their independence, there is little the United States can do to dissuade the Lithuanians."

The Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania came to Washington, DC to meet with President Clinton at the end of June to express once again their concern for Russian intentions and seek U.S. support for their application for NATO membership. As President Lennart Meri of Estonia said in answer to reporters questions about the meeting with President Clinton, "We discussed security, security, and security." There is no other question for any responsible political leader in Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania today. The lives of over 8 million people depend on that question being answered in their favor.

On the eve of that visit, their "good neighbor" President Boris Yeltsin sent a letter to President Clinton offering the United States "a purported deal." The Russian government would cease objecting to NATO including Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic as members, if the United States promised never to support the entrance of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia into NATO. As BRIDGES was going

to press, the White House had not responded to the letter. However, LAC, Inc. representatives were assured by White House officials that when a response was sent, it would not contain any agreement for a deal on Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. "NO DEAL" is what the White House promised.

Why would Yeltsin send such a letter on the Baltics to President Clinton just as the four presidents were about to meet? Could he have misread the diplomatic signals from the recently concluded negotiations on the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty? The CFE Treaty limits (and seeks to reduce) conventional forces in Europe, i.e., tanks, artillery, etc. In a two-week marathon negotiating session in Vienna, Austria which ended on May 31, 1996 the United States agreed that the Russians could increase the number of tanks on their border with Estonia from 190 to 600, and still not violate the spirit nor the letter of the 1990 treaty. Since the Estonians have no tanks and barely have 2,000 men in their lightly equipped army, one had to wonder what was this threat that the Russians needed to protect themselves against? And why would the United States agree that there was a threat which justified a 200 percent increase in heavy armaments directed against Estonia, Finland, Latvia and Lithuania? Or did Boris Yeltsin send the letter to once again probe, trying to test President Clinton's resolve to offer political support for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

If the no deal promise holds, the White House is still faced with the problem of providing tangible support to the independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Since the bulk of U.S. aid money over the last decade has gone to the Visegrad nations (Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia), and now aid money is being retargeted to war-ravaged Bosnia, the Baltic nations are bound to be losers, i.e., left to muddle through on their own.

There are rumors of a special Baltic strategy or a Baltic package being developed by the Clinton Administration. Will the outline and substance of this package be made public before the November presidential elections? Will Lithuanian-American voters trust Bill Clinton again?

## The Republican Congress and NATO

Earlier this summer, Senator Robert Dole, in anticipation of his fall presidential election campaign, chose to work with Congressman Benjamin Gilman, Chairman of the International Relations Committee in the House of Representatives, to pass a law which would restore momentum to the NATO enlargement process. Senator Dole also understood that additional financial resources needed to be provided to get the East European countries ready for NATO membership. But in this effort, the Republicans, too, appear to not know what to do with the "Baltics."



Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have a major public relations problem in the House and Senate. Few members of Congress understand the threat that Russia poses today for this European region. Few members of Congress know that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have actually applied for NATO membership. Few members of Congress understand that it is United States political support that is keeping these countries independent, and not the good will of Russia.

And, worst of all, we discovered in our negotiations with the House and Senate Republicans over the "NATO Enlargement" bill that almost none of them understands that if Poland is admitted into NATO without some tangible support for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, the Russian government will move to eliminate the sovereignty of these three nations. A withdrawal of political support from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia today would condemn these countries to the plans of Russian imperialists. With its crippling energy debt, an economy riddled by organized crime, system-wide bank failures and a former Communist nomenklatura desperate to keep its control over government structures, Lithuania is a ripe candidate for the Belarusian model of reintegration with Mother Russia. How will NATO feel if Lithuania, left to fend for itself, is forced to sign a treaty "stationing" Russian troops on Lithuanian soil? How will Poland feel totally surrounded on its eastern border by a solid line of Russian tanks and artillery?

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With its crippling energy debt, an economy riddled by organized crime, system-wide bank failures and a former Communist nomenklatura desperate to keep its control over government structures, Lithuania is a ripe candidate for the Belarusian model of reintegration with Mother Russia.

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The final bill which was crafted in the House and the Senate throughout June and July, called the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act of 1996 (H.R. 3564 and S. 1830), does not designate Lithuania as a candidate ready to receive additional financial assistance to help prepare it for NATO membership. The Congress itself chose to designate only Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic for this

additional assistance, thereby giving its political imprimatur for NATO membership to only these three Visegrad countries. The Congress left it to the President to designate any further countries for this assistance — countries like Lithuania.

With heavy resistance from some of the bill's sponsors who felt that Lithuania was "a part of the former Soviet Union and should not be allowed into NATO," Congressman Benjamin Gilman and his staff were able to undo some of the potential diplomatic damage of HR 3564/S 1830. They added language to the bill to say that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia should not be disadvantaged in seeking NATO membership just because they had been illegally occupied by the Soviet Union. The bill also includes legislative authority for the President to include Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia into the Regional Airspace Initiative being constructed throughout Eastern Europe with United States assistance.

Congressman Gilman and the leadership of the House of Representatives put HR 3564 on a fast track and, shortly after the Russian presidential elections, the bill was passed on a vote of 353 yeas to 65 nays. On the Senate side, the bill (known as S.1830), was not passed as a free standing bill. Instead, on July 25, 1996, the Senate on a vote of 81 yeas to 16 nays added the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act (S.1830) as an amendment to the appropriations bill for fiscal year 1997 foreign assistance. But, as the House and Senate scrambled to finish their work the last days before the August recess, this congressional effort to support NATO enlargement stalled.

A legislative idea, such as this NATO bill, can take many routes. And the provisions of the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act of 1996 are stuck in a dispute between the House and Senate conferees on the foreign aid bill. Because the Senate has not passed S.1830 as a free standing bill, there can be no conference between the House and Senate to resolve differences between the two versions of the bill (HR 3564 and S.1830), thereby passing it along to the President for his signature and making it the law of the land. At the moment, the only place where House and Senate members, together, can produce a law which would endorse NATO enlargement is the annual appropriations bill for foreign aid which must (or should be) passed by September 30, 1996.

But the House and Senate conferees for the foreign aid appropriations bill (HR 3540) are refusing even to meet, claiming that the differences in views between the House and Senate on a number of provisions is so great, that currently there is no point in reconciling the House and Senate versions of this bill. The two major sticking points appear to be abortion prohibition language and the difference in overall spending on foreign aid for fiscal year 1997. The Senate has passed HR 3540 with \$700 million more for foreign aid than the House did. Unfortunately, for advo-



cates of NATO enlargement, part of this \$700 million contains an additional \$50 million for getting NATO candidates ready for membership.

These disagreements are very similar to the issues which prevented a foreign aid appropriations bill from being completed on schedule last year. It took until February, 1996 for the Congress to release funds for foreign aid spending for fiscal year 1996, thereby disrupting aid programs to countries including Lithuania. We and other advocates of NATO enlargement are exploring alternative routes for the NATO legislation. If the Senate would pass S.1830 as a free standing bill, we are confident that a House-Senate conference, chaired by Congressman Gilman and Senator Helms, would see that the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act of 1996 made it to the President's desk for signature before the Congress recesses for the fall campaign at the end of September. But this approach would do little to provide the financial assistance which is needed to put the good intentions of the NATO enlargement bill into practice.

The 104th Congress distinguished itself in its willingness to cut U.S. government spending in some areas. Isolationists in the Congress found U.S. foreign aid an easy mark and cut foreign aid to all but the Camp David countries to historically low levels. That is why we say that what you do leading up to the November elections and who you cast your vote for in the presidential and congressional elections will have a profound effect on Lithuania's continued independence.

## **Morally and Intellectually Bankrupt in Lithuania**

It is an election year in Lithuania as well. All 141 seats in the Lithuanian parliament are up for voter consideration. Politics in Lithuania leading up to the October 20 election day is proving to be far more entertaining than the Clinton-Dole-Perot(?) struggle in the United States. 33 political parties managed to register for the fall elections and will be competing for seats in the parliament. The vast majority of these parties are not political parties at all. They are small groups of people united around some eccentric personality. They have little structure. They have no well-defined political philosophy, they have no party platform that addresses the basic problems of the economy and the society.

Unfortunately for Lithuania, the results of its parliamentary elections will be far more critical for Lithuania's future than the outcome of the U.S. elections. In the United States, over 200 years of democratic practice and tradition have created a system which results in incremental change in social and economic policy. Most of the social and economic life of American citizens is defined by the decisions of local government and the workings of the private economy. In Lithuania democratic institutions are new and democratic practice is still largely undefined. The govern-

ment and state-owned enterprises are still the major players in the social and economic life of the people.

Four years ago, the people of Lithuania gave the former Communist Party of Lithuania, renamed the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (LDLP), a slim majority in the parliament. Observers of the election claimed that the appeal of this party was its claim for "technical and managerial professionalism" — that they would govern more effectively than the upstart reformers of Sajūdis had since March, 1990. The LDLP, the party of the old nomenklatura, parlayed its slim majority in the parliament and the control of the presidency into effective one-party rule in Lithuania.

The private (free) media and press, and the fledgling courts have been the great defenders of the public interest in Lithuania during the past four years. But it has been a difficult and unsteady effort because the centralized government controlled by one party has had the economic resources and police powers to restrict the growth of a vibrant free market, while enlarging a central government apparatus.

Although the International Monetary Fund (IMF) continues to give this current Lithuanian government a clean bill of health, thereby releasing loan money, these two headlines from the Baltic News Service (BNS) on July 25, 1996 sum up the precarious situation in Lithuania today:

"International Monetary Fund finds no fault with Lithuania" and

"Half of IMF loan to be allocated to cover debts of Lithuanian energy sector"

After four years, the self-designated professional managers of the LDLP have done little to bring Lithuania's energy use into balance with its ability to pay for energy. Critical international loans, rather than being used for infrastructure or new equipment to make Lithuanian workers more competitive, continue to be spent for consumption. Dollars that should be used for investment are literally going up in smoke. The other half of the IMF loan was to stabilize Lithuania's economy (and litas) by covering its balance of payments deficit.

Just when the IMF and the World Bank hoped that their "bail-out" program had stabilized the banking sector in Lithuania after the private banking crisis of December, 1995, the long-predicted banking crisis of the state-controlled (government) banks accelerated this past month. The Lithuanian State Commercial Bank (LVKB), and the Savings Bank (Taupomasis Bank), two of the three state-run banks, have had their loan operations suspended as the government struggles with a bail-out or possible consolidation plan. Next month BRIDGES will bring you details of this sordid tale of government waste, fraud and abuse.





*Professor Vytautas Landsbergis, Leader of the Opposition, Lithuanian Parliament, meets with then Majority Leader of the Senate Bob Dole concerning Lithuania's security and NATO enlargement. United States Capitol, May 17, 1996.*

The private economy has struggled to come back from the collapse of two of the three largest private banks in Lithuania in December, 1995. With a downturn in economic activity, and fewer tax revenues, the government's budget deficit has grown. The new Prime Minister of Lithuania, LDLP member, Mindaugas Stankevičius, recently put out a call to Western experts among Lithuania's emigre community to come to the assistance of his government. But there appear to be no takers. BNS also reported on July 18, 1996 that "over the 12 months since last June, the greatest cost increases in Lithuania were recorded for food products, the prices of which increased 33.8 percent."

Whether such macro and micro economic indicators will lead Lithuania's voters to reject the leadership of the LDLP is still very much undecided. The LDLP's campaign headquarters, headed by LDLP parliament member Gediminas Kirkilas, is hard at work gathering every last voter onto their voter-turnout lists. But just to hedge their bets, the LDLP held a press conference on August 1, 1996 during

which they proposed a referendum be held during the parliamentary elections which would expand presidential powers over the parliament, foreign affairs, defense and internal affairs ministries, as well as over the courts. Former LDLP party chairman Brazauskas' term as president expires only in February, 1998.

President Brazauskas' recent press release must have caught Mr. Kirkilas' eye and imagination. The press release read, "On July 24 (1996) Lithuanian president Algirdas Brazauskas signed Wednesday his 1,000th decree." It appears that Lithuanian government structures are even more highly centralized that anyone would have thought possible for a parliamentary democracy. With so many government decisions being made by presidential decree, rather than broader government structures, it is difficult to imagine why President Brazauskas would need enhanced and expanded powers. Could Mr. Kirkilas have Belarusian President Lukashenko and his near dictatorial regime in mind as Lithuania's future?



Vytautas J. Bieliauskas

# Preparing for the Elections of Seimas (Parliament)

The debate is heating up in Lithuania as parliamentary elections draw near. Quite a few new parties have been established, with about 30 registered in all by AGEP's<sup>1</sup> last count of August 15 and at least four more since then. Leaders and members of each party are criticizing those of the others, accusing one another of corruption, self-aggrandizement, appropriation of state property, exploiting perks, breaking campaign promises, etc. They encourage the public not to "sit on the fence" but to get involved in politics and engage in political discussion (generally referred to as "arguments").

The major parties have passed legislature requiring candidates to receive 5% of the votes cast in order to be allowed to participate in the Seimas. There is talk of lists of candidates by different parties but we have not seen much action on this front. Most parties seem more interested in self-promotion and muck-raking than in describing what they can offer Lithuania. Some parties have actually drafted programs but they talk mostly in abstract terms of protecting Lithuania's independence, democratic rights, national defense, economic security, law and order, etc. All of these ideas are in the Lithuanian constitution and every party is, therefore, bound to uphold them. What these programs lack are specific proposals and a plan of action.

## Fundamental Problems

Lithuania stands on the brink of chaos: 1) one third of its people, and perhaps more, live in poverty or on the edge of starvation; 2) corruption is widespread in most layers of society; 3) the rising crime rate has robbed people of any sense of personal security; and 4) instability in the banking and economic sectors has severely undercut public confidence. The question arises, therefore, whether it is at all possible to create a sense of order in this country, to make Lithuania operate in a normal, free and self-sustaining fashion? In my opinion, it is entirely possible. All that is lacking is the will to do so.

<sup>1</sup> *Algis Giedris' Electronic Post of Cleveland* (aq106@cleveland.Freenet.Edu), a daily news service providing media highlights from the Lithuanian press, in Lithuanian.

## Seeking Answers

Most importantly, we have to determine which party is committed to restoring and improving Lithuania's standard of living so that all of its citizens are assured at least minimum conditions for survival. It appears that Lithuania under the communists espoused, at least in theory if not in actual practice, certain humanitarian ideals. One wonders how the current ruling party, the LDDP (former communists), which claims to base its ideology on the principles of social democracy, disregards these very principles in practice. How could this party and its hierarchy allow such a large portion of the population to fall into poverty in the past four years, meanwhile tolerating the spread of "heartless capitalism?" A large class distinction has grown during this period of time which the government either fails to see or refuses to admit. What rules of social justice would allow so many pensioners, senior citizens and children to live in poverty? Capitalist countries encourage private initiative, but their governments temper these tendencies and socialize them. The rapid growth of personal wealth of some alongside the equally rapid fall of others into poverty signals chaos and a lack of governance. There is no doubt that the ruling party, the president, government and parliament are responsible for this state of affairs. During four years, the LDDP has not managed to create a realistic state program and, as a result, has lost the opportunity to do what needed to be done.

The question arises, therefore, which party is committed to Lithuania's physical and spiritual rebirth? Was it, or is it possible to curb the rise of crime in Lithuania, to guarantee each citizen personal security? Yes. It is possible to do so. Which party is prepared to combat the mafia, to bring order into the police, to strengthen the rule of law in the nation?

As I write this, *Lietuvos Rytas* reported in its August 16, 1996 issue that Lithuania's President invited the Foreign Minister, the Chief Prosecutor, and various Justice officials to discuss ways to stop organized crime (the mafia). It seems that they made decisions that should be implemented shortly. This is a laudable achievement, but it is not clear what took them so long. Over the past four years, the President and his government have witnessed Mafia activity in Lithuania, but it seems that it took them until the eve of the elections to come to the conclusion that they ought to



do something about it. Let us hope that we do not have to wait another four years for them to implement their ideas.

Another question arises: which party will offer a program to stop corruption overall: in the parliament, in the presidency, in the government, in the banks and, in some cases, in the church? Is this possible?

Yes. But who will assume this responsibility? Which party in its platform will have ethics and morality as its priorities? Which party in its platform will include a strong defense of human rights and respect for the equality of all? Which party will commit to returning property stolen by Lithuania's occupiers to its rightful owners or their heirs? Is this possible?

Yes, this should have been done and justice requires that it be done even in cases where "little castles" have been built upon land that was distributed by a government that had no right to do so. The government never had land of its own. It had, and still has, only that land which was taken over from the former Soviets, who had stolen it from private citizens. The same holds true for Lithuanian agriculture. Land should be returned to its former owners or their heirs, not given to former heads of collective farms.

Which party agrees to regulate the Lithuanian banking system so as to make deposits secure? This is and was possible to accomplish, based on serious control measures and not upon notions of "democratic freedom" which would not allow the government to interfere in private bank matters. This sort of utopian "freedom" exists nowhere, and those who try to base their actions upon these notions enjoy ideal conditions for waste, poverty and corruption.

Which party will seriously assume the responsibility of managing Lithuania's foreign debt? According to recent statistics, Lithuania owes 20% of its national wealth to foreign creditors, and so long as more loans are being negotiated, that percentage will grow. How long will it be before Lithuania loses the right to half of its national wealth? Perhaps we should be borrowing more from Russia so that when we are totally in debt to her, she can just once again assume us as payment.

One has to express deep disappointment in our rulers, who wasted so much time and so many opportunities in order to shore themselves up at the expense of the nation. The nation can come to its own conclusions in the elections. But apart from the conclusion that enough is enough, the nation has to have something positive to hold onto. That positive vision must arise from other parties with which it would be worthwhile for Lithuania to move forward. Are there such parties?

It is difficult to decide, because no party has yet proposed a serious program that would respond to these hopes. We voters need new ideas, new proposals, and perhaps new faces in the parliament. We do not seek only to change the party distribution in the parliament. We are seeking a party whose first priority would be Lithuania, its people and its future.

## Non-political Parties

Some say that most people today are disappointed in politicians and political parties and, as a response, are creating "non-political" parties which would rise above any politics. One party aiming to do this is called "Elections 96." This party claims to want to serve those who want to be elected to Parliament no matter what party they belong to. "Samburys" thinks along the same lines, wanting to unite parties while excluding any talk of their politics. This all sounds fine and good, but it is unrealistic. No one will create a non-political party because even a "non-political" party becomes a political party once it espouses any serious principles. But who needs these groups? Neutrality without ideology would lead only to more chaos. Politics is not a dirty undertaking. It become dirty only in dirty hands. We need to strengthen the meaning and value of political work so that politics would attract new and young idealists, people for whom the country and the nation are the first priorities.

I do not believe that Lithuania needs new parties. There are already too many of them. Lithuania needs parties with ideals, principles, and the desire to save the country. As the elections draw near, we should turn to all of these parties, whether they be Christian Democrats, Conservatives, Social Democrats, Democrats, Political Prisoners and Exiles, Nationalists, etc. and perhaps even a few from the LDDP and demand concrete programs from them whose implementation would allow Lithuania's rebirth to continue and grow. Let them tell us how they plan to combat corruption, strengthen the banks, restore the economy, guarantee a minimum standard of living and personal security for all. The answers to these questions will determine how we, the voters, will make our choices in these elections.

From an article in DRAUGAS, August 23, 1996.

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*Vytautas J. Bieliauskas is Executive Vice-President of the Lithuanian American Community, Inc. He served as President of the Lithuanian World Community from 1988 to 1992. A Distinguished Professor of Psychology, Dr. Bieliauskas was Department Chairman at Xavier University in Cincinnati, Ohio for 18 years.*



# All 141 Parliamentary Seats Up for Election

## List of Incumbents\*

Incumbent	Party	Frakcija**	Committee
Zenonas ADOMAITIS	LDDP	LDDP	Agrarian
Albinas ALBERTYNAS	none	LDDP	Agrarian
Vilija ALEKNAITĖ-ABRAMKIENĖ	TS/LK	TS/K	Human & Minority Rights
Leonas ALESIONKA	LDDP	LDDP	Health, Social Services, Labor
Nijolė AMBRAZAITYTĖ	TS/LK	TS/K	Environment
Laima Liucija ANDRIKIENĖ	TS/LK	TS/K	Foreign Relations
Vytenis Povilas ANDRIUKAITIS	LSDP	LSDP	Health, Social Services, Labor
Kazimieras ANTANAVIČIUS	none	mixed	Economic
Jonas Algirdas ANTANAITIS	none	LSDP	none
Vytautas ARBAČIAUSKAS	LDDP	LDDP	National Defense
Vytautas ASTRASKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Health, Social Services, Labor
Arvydas BAJORAS	LDDP	LDDP	Environment (Chair)
Alvydas BALEŽENTIS	LTS	LTS	Agrarian
Juozas Gediminas BARANAUSKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Education, Science & Culture
Antanas BASKAS	LSDP	none	State and Justice
Julius BEINORTAS	LKDP	KDF	Health, Social Services, Labor
Aleksandras BENDINSKAS	none	LDDP	National Defense
Juozas BERNATONIS	LDDP	LDDP	State and Justice
Egidijus BiČKAUSKAS	LCS	mixed	none
Romualdas BLOŽKYS	LDDP	LDDP	Education, Science & Culture
Kazys BOBELIS	LKDS	mixed	Foreign Relations (Chair)
Vytautas BOGUŽIS	LKDP	KDF	Gov't Reform & Municipalities
Vanda BRIEDIENĖ	LPKTS	PKTL	Economy
Vytautas Jurgis BUBNYS	none	mixed	Foreign Relations
Antanas BŪDVYTIS	LDDP	LDDP	Agrarian
Vytautas Algimantas BUINEVIČIUS	LDDP	LDDP	Education, Science & Culture
Virgilijus Vladislovas BULOVAS	LDDP	LDDP	Foreign Relations
Sigita BURBIENĖ	LDDP	LDDP	Economy (Chair)
Vladas BUTIŅAS	LDDP	LDDP	State and Justice
Medardas ČEBOTAS	LKDP	KDF	Health, Social Services, Labor
Rimantas Jonas DAGYS	LSDP	LSDP	Health, Social Services, Labor
Kęstutis DIRGĖLA	TS/LK	TS/K	Economy
Juozas DRINGELIS	TS/LK	TS/K	Gov't Reform & Municipalities
Vytautas EINORIS	LDDP	LDDP	Budget & Finance
Algirdas ENDRIUKAITIS	none	none	Budget & Finance
Balys GAJAUSKAS	LPKTS	PKTL	National Defense
Kęstutis GAŠKA	none	mixed	National Defense
Bronislavas GENZELIS	LSDP	LSDP	Education, Science & Culture (Chair)
Neris GERMANAS	LDDP	LDDP	Foreign Relations
Alfonas GIEDRAITIS	LDDP	LDDP	Agrarian
Povilas GYLYS	LDDP	LDDP	Foreign Relations
Petras GINIOTAS	none	KDF	Health, Social Services, Labor

\*There are only 138 incumbents because 2 died in office and another resigned.

\*\* Frakcija - faction or caucus.



Algimantas Antanas GREIMAS	LDDP	LDDP	Environment
Algirdas GRICIUS	LDDP	LDDP	Foreign Relations (Dep Chair)
Romualda HOFERTIENĖ	TS/LK	TS/K	Education, Science & Culture
Arvydas IVAŠKEVIČIUS	LDDP	LDDP	National Defense (Chair)
Bronislavas JAGMINAS	LDDP	LDDP	Gov't Reform & Municipalities
Povilas JAKUČIONIS	LPKTS	PKTLF	Education, Science & Culture (Dep Chair)
Vladimiras JARMOLENKO	TS/LK	TS/K	Foreign Relations
Kęstutis Leonardas JASKELEVIČIUS	none	none	Budget & Finance
Gema JURKŪNAITĖ	LDDP	LDDP	Human, Civil & Minority Rights
Česlovas JURŠENAS	LDDP	LDDP	none
Vytautas JUŠKUS	LDDP	LDDP	National Defense
Antanas KAIRYS	LDDP	LDDP	Budget & Finance
Vytautas KANAPECKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Health, Social Services, Labor
Justinas KAROSAS	LDDP	LDDP	Foreign Relations
Povilas KATILIUS	LKDP	KDF	State & Justice
Juozapas Algirdas KATKUS	TS/LK	TS/LK	Education, Science & Culture
Gediminas KIRKILA	LDDP	LDDP	Foreign Relations
Feliksas KOLOSAUSKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Budget & Finance (Chair)
Kazimieras Vytautas KRYŽEVIČIUS	LKDP	KDF	Human, Civil & Minority Rights
Kęstutis KUBERTAVIČIUS	LDDP	LDDP	Economy
Andrius KUBILIUS	TS/LK	TS/LK	Environment
Jonas KUBILIUS	LDDP	LDDP	Education, Science & Culture
Algirdas KUNČINAS	LDDP	LDDP	State & Justice
Elvyra Janina KUNEVIČIENĖ	TS/LK	TS/K	Budget & Finance
Kazimieras KUZMINSKAS	LKDP	KDF	Health, Social Services, Labor
Vytautas LANDSBERGIS	TS/LK	TS/LK	Foreign Relations
Vaclovas LAPĖ	TS/LK	TS/K	Agrarian
Linas Antanas LINKEVIČIUS	none	LDDP	National Defense
Juozas LISTAVIČIUS	TS/LK	TS/K	Budget & Finance
Vytautas LIUTIKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Education, Science & Culture
Albinas LOZURAITIS	LDDP	LDDP	State and Justice
Ryčardas MACEIKIANECAS	LLRA	LLS	Gov't Reform & Municipalities
Valentinas MAČIULIS	LDDP	LDDP	Gov't Reform & Municipalities
Stasys MALKEVIČIUS	TS/LK	TS/K	Economy (Dep Chair)
Rimantas MARKAUSKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Human, Civil & Minority Rights
Nikolajus MEDVEDEVAS	LSDP	LSDP	National Defense
Leonas MILČIUS	LTS	LTS	Health, Social Services, Labor
Gabrielis Janas MINCEVIČIUS	none	LLSF	Education, Science & Culture
Petras Algirdas MIŠKINIS	LKDP	KDF	State & Justice
Alfonsas NAVICKAS	none	none	Environment
Juozas NIKROŠIUS	LDDP	LDDP	Health, Social Services, Labor
Antanas NESTECKIS	LDDP	LDDP	Budget & Finance
Romualdas OZOLAS	LCS	mixed	State & Justice
Jonas PANGONIS	LDDP	LDDP	Economy
Petras PAPOVAS	LDDP	LDDP	Gov't Reform & Municipalities
Algirdas PATAČKAS	none	KDF	National Defense
Kęstutis Povilas PAUKŠTYS	TS/LK	TS/K	
Gediminas Adolfas PAVIRŽIS	LDDP	LDDP	Health, Social Services, Labor (Chair)
Saulius PEČELIŪNAS	LDP	DPF	National Defense (Dep Chair)



Vytautas PETKEVIČIUS	LDDP	LDDP	National Defense
Valdas PETRAUSKAS	LDP	DPF	Human, Civil & Minority Rights (Dep Chair)
Vytautas Petras PLEČKAITIS	LSDP	LSDP	Foreign Relations
Arturas PLOKŠTO	none	none	Budget & Finance
Algirdas POCIUS	LDDP	LDDP	Education, Science & Culture
Zigmas POVILAITIS	LDDP	LDDP	Economy
Juras POŽĖLA	LDDP	LDDP	Education, Science & Culture
Vincentas PRANEVIČIUS	LDDP	LDDP	Budget & Finance
Mykolas PRONCKUS	LDDP	LDDP	Agrarian (Chair)
Antanas RAČAS	TS/LK	TS/K	Foreign Relations
Everistas RAIŠUOTIS	LDDP	LDDP	Human, Civil & Minority Rights
Arimantas Juvencijus RAŠKINIS	LKDP	KDF	Education, Science & Culture
Algirdas RAŽAUSKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Agrarian
Virginijus RAŽUKAS	LDDP	LDDP	State & Justice
Benediktas Vilmantas RUPEIKA	LDDP	LDDP	Environment
Algirdas SADKAUSKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Gov't Reform & Municipalities (Chair)
Aloyzas SAKALAS	LSDP	LSDP	none
Algimantas SALAMAKINAS	LDDP	LDDP	Gov't Reform & Municipalities
Algirdas SAUDARGAS	LKDP	KDF	Foreign Relations
Vytautas SAULIS	LDDP	LDDP	Budget & Finance
Zbignevas SEMENOVIČIUS	none	LLS	Human, Civil & Minority Rights
Kęstutis SKREBYS	TS/LK	TS/K	Gov't Reform & Municipalities
Karolis SNEŽKA	LDDP	LDDP	Economy
Mindaugas STAKVILEVIČIUS	Socialist	LDDP	Human, Civil & Minority Rights
Antanas Napoleonas STASIŠKIS	TS/LK	TS/K	National Defense
Saulius ŠALTENIS	TS/LK	TS/K	Education, Science & Culture
Irena ŠIAULIENĖ	LDDP	LDDP	Health, Social Services, Labor
Zita ŠLIČYTĖ	none	PKTL	State and Justice (Dep Chair)
Vytautas ŠUMAKARIS	LDDP	LDDP	Economy
Juozapas TARTILAS	LDP	DPF	Education, Science & Culture
Algimantas Povilas TAURAS	LDDP	LDDP	Health, Social Services, Labor
Mečislovas TREINYS	LTS	LTS	Agrarian
Pranciškus TUPIKAS	none	TS/K	Education, Science & Culture
Kazimieras UOKA	none	LTS	Economy
Ignacas Stasys UŽDAVINYS	LKDP	KDF	National Defense
Gediminas VAGNORIUS	TS/LK	TS/K	Gov't Reform & Municipalities
Alfonsas VAIŠNORAS	TS/LK	TS/K	Environment
Albinas BAIŽMUŽIS	LVP	mixed	Agrarian
Virmantas VELIKONIS	LDDP	LDDP	Agrarian
Julius VESELKA	none	mixed	Economy
Marijonas VISAKAVIČIUS	LDDP	LDDP	Health, Social Services, Labor
Pranciškus VITKEVIČIUS	LDDP	LDDP	State & Justice (Chair)
Vytautas Vidmantas ZIMNICKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Economy
Emanuelis ZINGERIS	TS/LK	TS/K	Foreign Relations
Juozas ŽEBRAUSKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Agrarian
Vidmantas ŽIEMELIS	TS/LK	TS/K	State & Justice
Ričardas ŽURINSKAS	LDDP	LDDP	Foreign Relations

This list is current as of 6/10/96 and was obtained from <http://rc.lrs.lt/snl.htm#SEIMO NARI0 PRIKLAUSOMYB>



## Lithuanian Political Parties And Organizations\*

Name	Registered	Address	Members**	Head	Coordinates
Lietuvos demokratų partija (LDP) Lithuanian Democratic Party	89.12.29	Jakšto 9 2001 Vilnius	2,000	Saulius Pečeliūnas	(2) 62603, 47927, 62870 F: 46967
Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija (LSDP) Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	09.01.17	Basanaviūaus 16/5 2009 Vilnius	1,500	Aloyzas Sakalas	(2) 65238, 65231 F: 65215
Lietuvių tautininkų sąjunga (LTS) Lithuanian Nationalists Union	90.02.23	Gedimino pr. 22 2600 Vilnius	3000	Rimantas Smetona	(2)62493, 61732 F: 60731
Lietuvos krikščionių demokratų partija (LKDP) Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	90.03.22	Šv. Ignoto 14-6 2001 Vilnius	10,500	Algirdas Saudargas	(2) 61115, 61050 F: 61050
Lietuvos humanistų partija Lithuanian Humanist Party	90.06.01	Vilnius		Leopoldas Tarakevičius	(2) 73583, 22124
Lietuvos žaliaji partija Lithuanian Greens Party	90.08.01	Pylimo 38/1 2001 Vilnius	400	Rimantas Astrauskas	(2) 22421, 35074 F: 22421
Lietuvos valstiečių partija (LVP) Lithuanian Citizens Party	90.10.10	Dominikonų 16-2, Vilnius	10,000	Albinas Vaižmužis	(2) 22677 (7) 298
Nepriklausomybės partija Independence Party	90.11.19	Pylimo 38/1 2001 Vilnius	400	Valentinas Šapalas	(2) 22677 (7) 298
Lietuvos demokratinė darbo partija (LDDP) Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party	90.12.19	B. Radvilaitės 1 2600 Vilnius	10,000	Česlovas Juršėnas	(2) 61542, 61390, 61181m 61271 F: 61729
Respublikonų partija Republican Party	91.02.06	Pramonės pr. 3-62, 1031 Kaunas		Kazimieras Petraitis	(7) 75221
Lietuvos liberalų sąjunga Lithuanian Liberal Union	91.03.11	Jakšto 9 2600 Vilnius	1,000	Eugenijus Gentvilas	(2) 62763, 25711 F: 62763
Tėvynės sąjunga/Lietuvos konservatoriai (TS/KP) Fatherland Union/Lithuanian Conservatives	93.05.26	Gedimino pr. 1 2600 Vilnius	16,000	Vytautas Landsbergis	(2) 22474, 61526 F: 22455
Lietuvos protėvių atgimimo partija Lithuanian Ancestor Rebirth Party	93.06.01	Rietavo 17-24 Kaunas	400	J. Ramanauskas	(7) 23237
Lietuvos centro sąjunga (LCS) Lithuanian Center Union	93.10.27	Vrublevskio 6 Vilnius	1,000	Romualdas Ozolas	(2) 62562, 62499 F. 224
Tautos pažangos partija National Progress Party	94.06.21	Laisvės al. 46 Kaunas	800	Egidijus Klumbys	(7) 20865 F: 20083
Lietuvos politinių kalinių ir tremtinių sąjunga (LPKTS) Lithuanian Political Prisoners and Exiles Union	94.08.19	Laisvė al. 39 Kaunas	60,000	Balys Gajauskas	(7) 22350, 22804 F: 71410
Lietuvių nacionalinė partija "Jaunoji Lietuva" Lithuanian National Party "Young Lithuania"	94.09.07	Sapiegos 5/12 Kaunas	1,000	Stanislovas Bučkevičius	(7) 20457, 71192, 79105
Lietuvos laisvės sąjunga Lithuanian Freedom Union	94.09.13	Donelaičio 6-226 Kaunas	1,000	Vytautas Šustauskas	(7) 20254
Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija (LLRA) Lithuanian-Polish Election Action	94.10.21	Didžioji 40 Vilnius	1,000	Jan Senkevič	(2) 42771, 22424 F: 23338



Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija (LLRA) Lithuanian-Polish Election Action	94.10.21	Didžioji 40 Vilnius	1,000	Jan Senkevič	(2) 42771, 22424 F: 23338
Lietuvos politinių kalinių partija Lithuanian Political Prisoners Party	95.03.08	Laisvės al. 39- 111 Kaunas	400	Zigmas Medineckas	(7) 20933
Lietuvos moterų partija Lithuanian Women's Party	95.04.20	Vilniaus 45-13 2001 Vilnius	1,000	Kazimiera Prunskienė	(2) 22283 F: 22195
Lietuvos socialistų partija Lithuanian Socialists Party	95.09.11	Šeškinės 67-58 Vilnius	600	Albinas Visockas	(2) 41976, 73861
Lietuvos teisingumo partija Lithuanian Justice Party	95.09.11	Nemuno 19 Kaunas	400	Bronius Simanavičius	(7) 20938, 20457, 55123
Lietuvos laisvės lyga Lithuanian Freedom League	95.11.08	Darbininkų 15- 50 Vilnius	400	Antanas Terleckas	(2) 76928, 26552
Lietuvos rusų sąjunga Lithuanian Russian Union	95.12.28	Savanorių pr. 11 - 70 Vilnius	400	Sergejus Vasiljevičius Dmitrijevas	(2) 65086, 63274
Lietuvos ūkio partija Lithuanian Farm Party	96.01.22	Savanorių pr. 7 Vilnius	1,000	Klemensas Šeputis	(2) 63156, 76661, 72328 F: 65138
Lietuvos socialinio teisingum partija Lithuanian Social Justice Party	96.04.29	Žirmunų 30-42 Vilnius	1,000	Kazimieras Jocius	(2) 73205
Lietuvos reformų partija Lithuanian Reform Party	96.06.25	Gedimino pr. 2 Vilnius		Algirdas Pilvelis	(2) 22580
Lietuvos liaudies partija Lithuanian Peoples Party	96.08.02	Pelesos _ Vilnius		Vytautas Lazinka	(2) 63042
Nepartinių judėjimas "Rinkimai 96" Non-Party Movement "Elections 96"	96.08.08	Algirdo 25 Vilnius		Julius Veselka	
Lietuvos gyvenimo logikos partija Lithuanian Logical Living Party	96.08.14	Kaukysos 18 Vilnius		Vytautas Bernatonis	
Lietuvos tautinių mažumų asociacija Lithuanian National Minorities Movement	96.08.14	Didžioji 20 Vilnius			
Krikščionių demokratų sąjunga (LKDS) Christian Democrat Union	96.08.14	Akmenų 1-17 Vilnius		Kazys Bobelis	(2) 65090
Lietuvos lenkų sąjunga (LLS) Lithuanian Polish Union					
Jungtini sąrašas Joint List					
Lietuvos teisininkų draugija Lithuanian Judges Fellowship					

\*This information was taken from the Lithuanian Parliament Home Page:  
<http://rc.lrs.lt/cgi-bin/ora7dbcg/rinkimai/sql/partl.html>

\*\* These numbers were provided by the parties themselves and their accuracy cannot be confirmed



## Breakdown of Political Party Representation in the Seimas

Lietuvos demokratinė darbo partija (LDDP) Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party	64
Tėvėnės sąjunga/Lietuvos konservatoriai (TS/KP) Fatherland Union/Lithuanian Conservatives	23
Lietuvos krikščionių demokratų partija (LKDP) Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	10
Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija (LSDP) Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	7
Lietuvos demokratų partija (LDP) Lithuanian Democratic Party	3
Lietuvių tautininkų sąjunga (LTS) Lithuanian Nationalists Union	3
Lietuvos politinių kalinių ir tremtinių sąjunga (LPKTS) Lithuanian Political Prisoners and Exiles Union	3
Lietuvos centro sąjunga (LCS) Lithuanian Center Union	2
Lietuvos valstiečių partija (LVP) Lithuanian Citizens Party	1
Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija (LLRA) Lithuanian-Polish Election Action	1
Krikščionių demokratų sąjunga (LKDS) Christian Democrat Union	1
Lietuvos socialistų partija Lithuanian Socialists Party	1
Unaffiliated	18
Totals	137

## Videos Of Lithuanian Basketball Games

The Lithuanian basketball teams played eight games in Atlanta at the 1996 Summer Olympics. Now all eight games are available on video cassettes from Lithuania. The commentary is in Lithuanian; the screen visuals are in English. Tapes are available either in PAL or NTSC form. Please keep in mind that in order to view these tapes in the US, they must be transcribed to NTSC.\*\*

One three-hour tape (two games) for \$19 + \$4 for shipping = \$23. Add \$10 for transcription from PAL to NTSC by the Lithuanian Catholic Studios in Kaunas\* for a total of \$33.

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Checks should be made out to Evaldas Imbrasas, Uosio g. 32, Kaunas 30009, Lithuania. Please allow 6-8 weeks for delivery. For any questions, please contact Evaldas by telephone (011-370-7-70-86-25) or e-mail (imbras@soft-en.ktu.lt or ear@tdd.lt).

\*The Lithuanian Catholic Studios receive an extra donation of \$2/tape when you order through Evaldas Imbrasas.

\*\*Transcription may also be done in the US. We know of the following sources: **Intervideo**, 3533 S. Archer Avenue, Chicago, IL 60609 (312-927-9091) and **Amerikos Lietuviu Televizija**, P.O. Box 215, Downers Grove, IL 60515 (630-969-2777).

\*\*\*Please note that **BRIDGES** cannot vouch for the quality of any of these productions, and we convey this information strictly as a service to our readers.

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Algis Rimas

# BUSINESS AND INVESTMENT NEWS

## Baltic Investments Promoted in New York

When the presidents of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia visited President Clinton on June 26 in Washington, DC to discuss NATO expansion and similar critical issues of state, their retinue of trade officials and business leaders stayed in New York to drum-up business and investments for the Baltics. They did so with the aid of the Institute for East-West Studies, the U.S. government-funded Baltic American Enterprise Fund, and the U.S. Baltic Foundation which co-sponsored an investment forum about the three Baltic states. Some 80 U.S. companies attended and rubbed shoulders with the Baltic visitors.

Algis Avižienis, the head of the Lithuanian Investment Agency, gave an informative and up-beat presentation about investment opportunities in Lithuania. Justas Paleckis, foreign affairs advisor to President Brazauskas, and Ambassador Designate to Great Britain, read a message from President Brazauskas welcoming foreign investors to Lithuania.

Among comments heard at the session were praise for participants such as the director of the Lithuanian **Pepsi Cola** bottler and the beer brewer, **Utenos Gerimai**. Unlike some, he gave specific details about his company's projects. Other business visitors appeared to be less prepared to offer concrete proposals or vague in describing their prospects. The rewards for the visitors appeared to be in direct proportion to the concreteness of their business plans.

## Economic Highlights in June

At least three significant events took place in June. The first was the Lithuanian Parliament's (Seimas) passage of an amendment to the Constitution permitting **foreign ownership of land** under certain conditions. Foreign-owned businesses operating in Lithuania will now be able to buy land for their use. They remain barred from owning agricultural land. Private foreign individuals are not covered by the change.

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*Algis Rimas is a business consultant living in Reston, Virginia. Before retiring from the U.S. Foreign Service, he served from 1992 to 1994 at the American Embassy in Vilnius as its deputy principal officer.*

Although the measure was passed with the support of the major opposition parties, it is not popular. A recent public opinion poll conducted by a joint Lithuanian-British private polling service found 66 percent of the respondents against any sale of land to foreigners. This figure rose to 78 percent in rural areas. The older and less educated tended to be disproportionately opposed. The measure is expected to become fully implemented by July.

The second event was Parliament's vote to approve Lithuania's status as an associate member of the **European Union (EU)**. This was one more step taken toward Lithuania's eventual full membership in the EU and its integration into the community of western European nations. The process of harmonizing its laws, regulations and standards with those of the EU is already underway. European technical advisors are playing an influential and constructive role.

According to media reports, between 1992 and 1995, the European PHARE program, which funds most of the technical assistance in Lithuania, spent an estimated \$155 million. On June 21, PHARE signed another agreement with Foreign Minister Gylys, extending the program for another three years at a cost of \$58 million. PHARE advisors have been active in shaping transportation, energy, law enforcement, private business development and agricultural policies.

The third event in June was the signing on June 28 by Prime Minister Stankevičius of a **free trade agreement with neighboring Poland**, a market more than ten times the size of Lithuania's. Similar agreements are expected to be signed this year with the remaining members of the Central European Free Trade Area, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia. An agreement with the Czech Republic was concluded earlier this year.

The Prime Ministers of the three Baltic states also signed an agreement in mid-June allowing **free trade among Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania**, including free trade of agricultural products. The later was particularly controversial and opposed by farmers. Liberalizing trade with its central European neighbors should improve Lithuania's trade prospects and make it more attractive for investment purposes. It also complements Lithuania's policy of seeking closer integration with the rest of western Europe.



## The IMF Endorses Lithuania's Economic Policies

Despite earlier discord over the Lithuanian handling of its banking crisis, the executive board of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was reported to endorse Lithuania's overall management of its economy. The IMF advanced the country a further \$30 million loan. According to the Vilnius daily, *Lietuvos Rytas*, the IMF also urged the Lithuanians to focus their efforts on maintaining a tight fiscal policy (i.e. tax more, spend less), keeping the currency board which ties the litas to the U.S. dollar at a fixed rate of exchange, dismantling some of the remaining trade barriers, privatizing additional state owned industries, reforming the banking industry by allowing illiquid banks to slide into bankruptcy instead of floating them with costly subsidies, and reforming the energy sector by removing subsidies benefitting energy consumers.

All of the above priorities are difficult to implement, especially in an election year, and contrary policies are being advocated by various interest groups. Businesses want lower taxes and are willing to evade them, exporters want lower exchange rates, farmers and some local manufacturers want protection from imports. Proponents of national ownership want to keep the remaining state industries out of the hands of unscrupulous businessmen, bankers want to save, not close, their troubled banks and most residents want no further increases in utility prices. But higher energy costs are inevitable once existing subsidies are ended. The price of centrally provided hot water is already scheduled for a 25 percent hike this July.

Dissenting voices are heard also within the inner circles of the Lithuanian Central Bank. Its director, Reinoldijus Šarkinas, said at a mid-June press conference that he thought the time was ripe to abolish the country's currency board. He would like to restore to his Central Bank its traditional power to manage the exchange rate.

Hard on the heels of the favorable IMF comments and its loan, the Ministry of Finance announced that it is also negotiating a \$50-75 million syndicated loan from a consortium of international banks to bridge the expanding budget deficit. The loan would also roll over a previous \$33 million borrowing taken out in April. At that time, the Lithuanian Treasury obtained its loan at an average of 8 percent from a consortium of banks including Nomura, Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Dresdner, and Morgan Guarantee. The Ministry of Finance is also negotiating with Moody's and Standard and Poors to obtain a credit rating from these internationally recognized rating agencies. The Lithuanians expect that, once their government bonds are rated, it will become easier to market them regardless of the rating received in any given year. At the government's three month bond auction in late May, the going average annual interest rate was a high 23 percent.

## Banking News

As reported previously in **BRIDGES**, the Lithuanian government had decided to nationalize the Joint Stock Innovation Bank but to allow the similarly troubled Litimpeks Bank to continue functioning as a private bank. Litimpeks' stockholders in early June appointed a new executive board, headed by the bank's prior director, Gintautas Preidys. Litimpeks has resumed most of its operations: it is taking deposits, making foreign exchange transactions and clearing accounts. However, it is avoiding doing what commercial banks normally do: making loans to the private commercial sector. Instead, Litimpeks is putting its assets in short-term Lithuanian government obligations, i.e. lending to the government.

The now defunct Auras Bank is slated to become the National Refinancing Bank, a public entity that would buy from commercial banks their bad loan portfolios and resell the accounts receivable. The fate of the fourth major commercial bank that had closed its doors, Western (Vakarų) Bank, remains undecided. Its major stockholder, the port of Klaipėda, has offered to recapitalize the bank to meet minimum central bank requirements. But it appears that the port authority may be prevented from doing so by laws restricting the financial activities of public agencies.

As for the Joint-Stock Innovation Bank, Parliament is currently debating whether to authorize a fund of up to a billion litas that would serve to recapitalize it and other troubled banks. The opposition Conservative Party is against this legislation as are many Lithuanian economists. They would prefer to see the banks slide into bankruptcy, an alternative that would be less expensive to the taxpayers than floating a rescue package. Even the head of the Central Bank said he would personally have liked to see the Joint Stock Innovation Bank declared bankrupt, as recommended by the IMF, but added that he is committed to enforcing the law and thus he will see the now nationalized bank through its troubles.

Troubles of another type fell on the Innovation Bank's temporary administrator, former Central Bank chairman, Romas Visokavičius. According to media reports, while in a meeting with a visiting vice president of the Bank of New York, Visokavičius was accosted in his office by an irate customer, allegedly one Mr. V. Kukys, a Vilnius University business graduate who trades in auto parts at Gariūnai, the notorious free-wheeling open air market on the outskirts of Vilnius. Mr. Kukys allegedly drew two pistols, Wild West style, and demanded to withdraw his savings account. Like all such accounts, it had been frozen since the bank closed its doors last October. The non-plussed Mr. Visokavičius reportedly accommodated the armed intruder by refunding his \$11,000, but insisted that the man sign a receipt, which he did. When caught by the police a day later, Mr. Kukys turned up neither the cash nor



the guns. He claimed to have gone on a drunken spree and dissipated his entire bankroll. As for the pistols, Kukys reportedly claimed they were toys belonging to his children. The police are investigating.

Despite the recent shake-up in Lithuanian banking, withdrawals (the legal variety) tapered off in April after contracting 17 percent since the beginning of the year. Deposits are once again expanding in volume. Bank interest rates for deposits were steady in June, averaging about 1.3 percent per month for term deposits and 0.5 percent for demand deposits. The Central Bank announced that all banks were becoming better capitalized. Foreign reserves held by the Central Bank on June 1 declined by \$94 million to \$645 million. All reserves were reported at \$716 million.

## Energy Disconnects

Kęstutis Schumacheris, director of the natural gas utility, Lietuvos Dujos, sounded alarm bells over the festering problem of unpaid bills to the Russian gas supplier, Gazprom. The Lithuanian utility owes Gazprom close to \$33 million. The Russian company has demanded at least a schedule of repayment that would clear the books by October. The Lithuanian side still owes the schedule. Schumacheris pointed the finger at Energy Minister Saulius Kutas as bearing the responsibility for the plan. Lietuvos Dujos cannot pay its bills because it is unable to collect money due from its own customers, which include state institutions and major companies. Gazprom has reduced gas supplies in the past for non-payment of bills and threatens to turn off the pipeline in the future if no settlement is reached.

The economic committee of the Parliament endorsed a proposal to merge most of the state-owned petroleum energy companies into one. There are six such companies: the Mažeikiai oil refinery; the oil pipeline company, Biržų Naftotiekis; Butingė oil handling terminal, which for lack of funds has yet to be built; the gas and fuel oil wholesaler and retailer, Lietuvos Kūras; the Klaipėda oil products handling terminal; and the state oil exploration and production company. The first four reportedly are ready to merge into Lietuvos Nafta which would act as a holding company.

Under one version, the new company would offer part of its shares for sale to the public, including foreign investors. The proceeds would be used for much-needed capital improvements. Critics have raised the specter of the Russian oil giant, Lukoil, buying up the shares and gaining control. One of its Lithuanian representatives, former deputy energy minister and director of the Mažeikiai oil refinery, Bronislavas Vaišnora, dismissed such concerns as unfounded. He said that Lukoil operates on a purely commercial basis, that it is fully occupied with other projects.

It would be hard pressed to invest in Lithuania unless enticed to do so.

Litofinn, the joint venture between the Finnish oil company, Neste, and Lietuvos Kūras broke up after five years. The dissolution was by mutual agreement and Neste will continue to operate service stations under its own name in Lithuania.

## More on Foreign Investors

**McDonalds** finally opened its doors in Vilnius, near the railroad terminal. The first of several such restaurants to appear in Vilnius, we hear it is serving Lithuanian MacSausages along with the usual Mac fare. The prices are comparable to those in the U.S. According to recent visitors, among its other features, McDonalds arguably boasts the cleanest public restrooms in the country. The chain will soon open other restaurants on the main downtown business street, Gedimino, and at a gas station operated by the Norwegian company, Statoil.

**Siemens**, the German telecommunications and industrial company, opened its offices in Vilnius. Its first major project promises to be a new telephone exchange. The company is also active in the areas of energy production and distribution, industrial automation and the sale and service of medical equipment. Siemens first came to Lithuania in 1854 when it laid the first ever telephone line linking St. Petersburg with Warsaw.

**Johnson and Johnson**, whose many household products sell well in Lithuania, donated 20,000 litas (\$5,000) to the Lithuanian Olympic Committee. The 64-member Lithuanian team planned to arrive in Atlanta on a Boeing 737 chartered from Lithuanian Airlines.

## National Economic Performance Highlights

Adjusted figures for the first quarter show a 6.4 percent increase in retail sales. In May consumer sales rose by 8.2 percent and industrial production climbed by 11.3 percent. Despite a 27 percent growth in exports during the first quarter, the balance of payments deficit widened as did the budget gap. Parliament raised the national debt to 655 million litas (close to \$164 million).

The CPI rose 1.3 percent in April but only 0.3 percent in May. Highest increases were in the price of food, housing and utilities. Prices for education and cultural expenditure actually declined. The unemployment rate in May stood at 7.4 percent.

According to a household survey conducted by the Statistics Department, average per capita income in the first quarter was \$112 - 130 for urban dwellers and \$101



for rural residents. The largest portion of household expenditures was for food (47 percent) followed by housing and utilities (18 percent). About 44 percent of all families own a car, 100 percent refrigerators, and 80 percent TV sets. Only 6 percent of the families own a microwave and barely 3 percent have CD players.

## **Business Directory of U.S. Companies in Lithuania Published**

The Economic Relations Council of the Lithuanian-American Community published in August a business guide and directory to promote trade and investments between the United States and Lithuania. The 46-page booklet, written in Lithuanian, contains essays on the U.S. market-place by Algirdas Rimas, Antanas Grina and Ingrida Bublys. It also has addresses of appropriate trade associations, government agencies and describes 34 American companies that have indicated their interest in trading or investing in Lithuania.

Copies of the booklet, aimed primarily at newly established, small and medium sized private businesses in Lithuania, will be distributed free of charge in Lithuania to local Chambers of Commerce, business groups, trade promotion organizations and individual companies. If the project succeeds, a second, revised issue of the business guide may be published next year.

## **A First-hand Look at the Lithuanian Stock Market**

Vytautas Černius, a Los Angeles based Lithuanian-American financial consultant, recently traveled to Lithuania as an adviser for the Overseas Executive Service Corps, a voluntary American organization providing technical assistance in business and management. Mr. Černius worked with the Lithuanian stock exchange where he assisted in the development of the Lithuanian stock market. His first-hand account of his experiences is reported in the next issue of **BRIDGES**. It is informative and insightful for both the potential investor and the general reader.

## **Business Opportunity in Lithuania**

The Šiauliai City Municipality has announced an international public competition open to U.S. companies. Interested parties are invited to submit bids by December 18, 1996 to prepare a business plan for the operation of a free economic zone at Šiauliai and for the selection of an organizing group to administer the project. For additional information, application forms and detailed specifications please get in touch directly with the Šiauliai City Municipality, 62 Vasario 16 g-vė, Room 310, Šiauliai 5400, Lithuania, tel (3701) 433 555, fax (3701) 427 575. We understand that correspondence in the English language is acceptable.

## **The Lithuanian Economy this Summer**

The Lithuanian press this summer reported solid economic growth, a further drop in inflation, but mixed signals on unemployment. Also, 80 percent of Lithuania's aging and declining population is considered to lie below the poverty line and discontent reportedly is running high. The October parliamentary elections, which will be fought in large part over economic policy, are expected to result in a win for the right-of-center opposition parties. They would be able to form a new cabinet and introduce new programs. However, any new government will have to work out an accommodation with President Brazauskas. His term will not run out for at least another two years when the next presidential election is contested.

The most recent available data announced by Lithuania's Statistics department in August shows the GNP during the first quarter of the year to have grown by two percent over the same quarter in 1995. According to Economics Minister Antanas Kaminskas, the inflation adjusted GNP for the entire year is expected to increase by 3.5 percent over the 1995 figure of \$ 5.56 billion. Figures for industrial sales rose and excess plant capacity in the country's manufacturing and processing sector contracted. During the first seven months of 1996, sales of domestically produced goods and services increased in real terms by 34.6 percent. Over 74 percent of all goods produced were exported. Plant capacity appears to have also expanded with large increases being recorded in production volumes. According to a survey of the 146 largest companies in Lithuania conducted by the daily newspaper, *Respublika*, average sales volumes increased by 10-50 percent since 1994. Despite such figures, most private observers were skeptical that such rapid growth could be sustained.

With higher volumes, reported company profits surged correspondingly. *Respublika* wrote that Achema, the country's leading manufacturer of chemical fertilizer, headed by former prime minister Bronislavas Lubys, earned a record net profit of \$28 million during its fiscal year. As a group, consumer goods manufacturers, especially confectionery producers such as the U.S.-owned Kraft Jacobs Suhart, did exceptionally well. In the services sector, all modes of transportation and hotels reported strong earnings. However, meat processors lagged behind the rest. Reportedly, their prospects for greater export sales were dashed by trade barriers erected in European Union countries.

Inflation figures hit new lows. The monthly figure for July fell to 0.1 percent, the lowest in six years. The seven-month rate of inflation reached 10.3 percent compared to 19.9 percent for the same period in 1995. The most current 12-month figure, from July '95 to July '96, is 24.9 percent. Current official estimates for calendar year 1996 project the annual inflation rate to fall to 20-22 percent, five per-



cent below last year's level. However, this downward trend faces upward pressure from at least two sources. Most of the country's households and industrial consumers will experience a 25 percent increase in their utility bills this September as energy providers adjust prices to pay for the higher cost of imported energy. Also, the minimum wage is set to increase from \$52.50 per month to \$75 per month and similar increases are planned for recipients of state pensions and disability payments.

The unemployment situation remained uncertain as a result of mixed signals. The Lithuanian labor exchange reported glowing statistics of further improvements in the employment picture. For the second quarter of the year, the exchange showed the rate of unemployment at 7.5 percent. But then came the European Union (EU). As part of the effort to prepare Lithuania for entry into the EU, new guidelines were introduced to harmonize the collection of unemployment data with practices followed in western Europe. According to surveys conducted using those guidelines, Lithuania's unemployment rate during the second quarter was nearly double the official rate, i.e., 14.2 percent.

In the run-up to the October parliamentary election, the economy is a major campaign issue. The front runner Conservative and Christian Democratic Party platforms promise more social programs and a more efficient market-driven economy. Among the proposed measures are the following: de-linking the national currency to the U.S. dollar but keeping the currency strong; and introducing more progressive taxation of personal incomes but reducing taxes on company profits. All the leading opposition parties join the current majority in pushing for rapid integration into the European Union.

## Starts and Stops in the Energy Field

A diplomatic row has erupted between Lithuania and Latvia, and the problem concerns energy. One dispute ranges over drawing the boundary line between the two neighbors in the adjoining off-shore waters of the Baltic Sea. Although the two sides have yet to reach agreement over how to divide the contested stretch of territorial sea, the Latvian government has already started to award gas and oil exploration drilling rights in the disputed area. Contracts reportedly have been initialed with two companies: AMOCO of the United States and OPAB of Sweden. The Latvian Parliament has yet to ratify the contracts but the Lithuanians are incensed and have reportedly called on the Baltic Assembly, among others, to intervene. In the meantime, AMOCO has announced plans to invest in building gas stations in Lithuania and to participate actively in the country's oil products market.

The other dispute is over the Lithuanian project to build an off-shore oil handling facility at Butingė, near the Latvian border. The Latvians have voiced objections on environ-

mental grounds claiming that possible oil spills in the area could ruin local Latvian beaches and destroy tourism, not to mention ruin the ecology. The Latvian government has requested the Lithuanians to commission an impartial environmental study to reevaluate the project. The Lithuanians responded that such a study had already been done by a Norwegian firm and that it gave a green light to the terminal. Both sides deny any connection between the border dispute and the off-shore terminal dispute. Lithuania also has unresolved border disputes with Russia over delineating the border between Lithuania and Kaliningrad. Possible oil and gas deposits are also a feature in those discussions.

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The Russian supplier of natural gas to Lithuania, Gazprom, again warned that unless Lithuania keeps its commitment to repay the \$32 million gas debt, Gazprom will increase its prices starting in September and will reexamine its entire supply arrangement for next year (meaning that it may cut-off the gas entirely).

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Despite the excitement with Latvia, the Butingė project has been languishing for lack of cash. Of the \$46 million which the project organizers planned to raise in equity capital, only \$12.5 million has been secured, and all of subscribed by state-owned companies. However, there are now signs of renewed activity. A new appeal is in the works to attract foreign investors. Invitations reportedly are being sent to 23 companies in the U.S., Western Europe and Russia. The California engineering firm, Fluor Daniel, reportedly already offered to take a five percent equity stake in the project. Additional interest from the U.S. reportedly came from the Export-Import Bank. According to press sources, it has renewed its offer to finance U.S.-sourced goods and services for the project with a loan of up to \$90 million. Unlike its previous terms, no matching funds from the Lithuanian side will be required. Also interested is a German company, Preussag Anlagebau. It tabled an offer to build the on-shore oil storage tanks for the project and brought a \$9.35 million financing package arranged through Germany's version of the Ex-Im, Hermis bank. The Lithuanian Energy Minister, Saulius Kutas, reportedly said that the fate of Butingė is no longer in doubt, and that it will be built.



Prospects are also looking up for the country's oil refinery at Mažeikiai, which has been plagued by frequent work stoppages as a result of interruptions in the delivery of crude oil. Although the plant can process 12 million tons of crude per year, it refined only 1.3 million during the first half of 1996. However, according to the plant's director, Gediminas Kiešus, the refinery is working once again and earning revenues. In the past few months, Mažeikiai has been purchasing oil on its own account using a \$10 million foreign loan guaranteed by the government. A further \$9 million loan was negotiated but failed to come through when the government declined to extend its guarantee. But all is not lost, and the refinery may be able to buy more oil. According to unverified press reports, Chase Bank has offered an additional \$40 million credit line and the bank is now seeking to secure it with a government guarantee. Mr. Kiešus is also pleased with another development: he said that competition in the domestic market for the refinery's product has been drastically reduced. According to Mr. Kiešus, stricter law enforcement has cut sales of illegal, smuggled gasoline and oil products from 30-35 percent to 3 percent of the market total.

Not so bright are the prospects for the gas company. The Russian supplier of natural gas to Lithuania, Gazprom, again warned that unless Lithuania keeps its commitment to repay the \$32 million gas debt, Gazprom will increase its prices starting in September and will reexamine its entire supply arrangement for next year (meaning that it may cut-off the gas entirely). Energy Minister Kutas said the Lithuanians will pay. However, it is unclear how the funds will be raised. Collections from energy users, especially industrial companies and state institutions, have been notoriously lax. The Lithuanian Energy Company, the distributor of heat and electricity to end users, reported that its industrial and household customers owe a total of \$87.5 million in back payments. To raise more funds to pay suppliers of energy, the government has approved an increase in utility rates. Most consumers will see a 25 percent increase in their charges starting September 1. The question remains, will they pay?

## Banking Blues

The government majority-owned State Commercial Bank (SCB) is the latest to experience serious liquidity problems. During the first half of the year, the bank reportedly lost \$25 million through bad loans, many of them allegedly made under suspicious circumstances to groups affiliated with the private company, EBSW, a minority shareholder in SCB. The Central Bank removed SCB's management and appointed a temporary administrator, Mr. Gintaras Čiapas. Unlike in the case of last year's closing of the Joint-Stock Innovation Bank and Litimpex, the government appears committed to keeping SCB afloat and operating. One measure was to bring about an infusion of funds by ordering government ministries, agencies and

even local governments to transfer their accounts to the SCB. Another likely measure is a direct transfer of funds from the sale of government bonds.

There are now ten troubled commercial banks in various stages of insolvency but struggling to rise again. All are seeking assistance from the government which appears inclined to help only a few of them. Some of the banks have shed their bad loans by transferring them to a new government refinancing agency tasked with tracking down deadbeats. Another measure taken by some was to pressure their depositors into converting deposit accounts into equity shares in the troubled banks. This has met with only limited success. For example, in the Joint-Stock Innovation Bank, \$39 million was expected to be raised through stock conversions but depositors switched only \$9 million worth of their frozen deposits to bank shares.

Not all the banks saw red ink. Vilnius Bank shares soared on the Lithuanian Stock Exchange on reports of strong profits and a sound balance sheet. Vilnius Bank has also struck a deal with the Post Office to operate limited retail banking services at post offices throughout the country. However, Industry and Trade Minister Klimašauskas has complained that bank loans for business inventory have virtually dried up. Jonas Viesulas, President of the Lithuanian Business Association catering mainly to small and medium-sized firms, agreed adding that the banking crises had hit small business especially hard.

Commercial bank annual lending rates in July averaged 24 percent for litas and 19 percent for convertible foreign currencies. Deposit rates averaged 16 percent for litas and 13 percent for foreign currencies. Short-term lending rates exceeded long term rates. Government borrowing has been strong. The World Bank announced an \$80 million structural loan in August. The terms are reportedly at 7.4 percent for 22 years with a 5-year grace period. The loan is intended to fund bank reform, energy, agriculture and social services reform. The J.P Morgan Bank reportedly is negotiating with the Central Bank a syndicated \$75 million on-year loan to cover the government's deficit spending. In the latest government 3-month treasury bill auction in August, some \$14 million were borrowed at an average interest rate of 13.4 percent.

The head of the Central Bank, Reinoldijus Šarkinas, announced the formation of a Policy Department in his bank. According to the paper, *Lietuvos Rytas*, the new department's mandate will include the development of contingency plans for implementing a monetary policy based on possible alternatives to the present currency board system and a tied exchange rate. Both Mr. Šarkinas and the International Monetary Fund's representative in Lithuania, Mr. Domenico Fanizza, denied that there are any plans to abolish the currency board.



**Paul Goble**

# Analysis from Washington Molotov-Ribbentrop at 57

Washington, August 23 (NCA/Paul Goble) — The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, signed 57 years ago today, remains a powerful reminder to East Europeans that their fate can be decided by others secretly and without their participation.

This 1939 accord, it will be recalled, eliminated the threat that Hitler would have to fight on two fronts, thus opening the way to war in Europe and to untold suffering throughout the region. But those tragic consequences are not the primary reason the pact continues to resonate so strongly in East European thinking.

Instead, its impact there arises from three other aspects of the accord that some fear could be repeated — even in the quite different conditions of today or tomorrow.

The first of these is that the Nazi-Soviet accord was at the time totally unexpected. Up to the time of the signing of the pact, Hitler and Stalin each declared the other his sworn enemy. But as a result of the agreement, they suddenly became allies, very much at the expense of their smaller neighbors.

All too many people in the zone of weak states between Berlin and Moscow and the Baltic and the Black Seas, the geopolitical seedbed of both the first and second world wars, continue to fear that such a sudden and unexpected shift in position at their expense could happen again — albeit with different players and for different purposes.

The second aspect of the pact which helps explain its continuing resonance is that its secret protocols had an even greater impact on the peoples of this region than did the public version of the pact. Among other things, these protocols divided Eastern Europe between the Germans and the Soviets into spheres of influence and allowed for the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States and other regions.

Again, many in this region remain fearful that whatever the West and Russia are saying to each other in public, these powers may be saying something in private that is both different and threatening to the interests of Eastern Europe.

And the third aspect of the 1939 pact that continues to have an impact on East European thinking in 1996 is that the Nazi-Soviet pact decided the fate of the countries of Eastern Europe without consulting them, the people most directly affected. Many in Eastern Europe believe that something analogous could easily happen again.

Such fears, reflected often by references to the 1939 accord, have only increased as Moscow has sought to achieve some kind of grand bargain with the West on security in Europe, to sign a 16 plus 1 agreement with NATO, and to define formally or informally spheres of influence on the continent.

Because most of the diplomatic and political exchanges concerning such agreements pass between Moscow and the West over the heads and without the direct participation of the East European states, the latter not surprisingly fear the worst, given their often unfortunate history.

Obviously, the world is a very different place than it was in 1939, and neither the East nor the West wants the same kind of division of Europe that was drawn by Hitler and Stalin 57 years ago today.

But East European fears of possible accords affecting the region but reached without its participation, fears reflected in the continuing references to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, are genuine if overstated.

And on this anniversary of an accord that had so many tragic consequences, these fears place a special burden on everyone involved — great powers and small, East and West — to conduct international relations in a way sufficiently transparent and honest that everyone feels his voice has been heard and his interests protected.

*Paul Goble is Deputy Director of the Broadcast Division (U.S.) at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in Washington, DC. He served as Baltic Desk Officer at the U.S. State Department in the late 1980s.*



# Prospects of NATO Membership for Lithuania

*The following article "NATO Expansion" by Major General Edward B. Atkeson, USA Ret. appeared in the June 1996 edition of the ARMY Magazine. It discusses the pros and cons of NATO expansion and focuses on the membership question for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. It is an excellent summary of the thinking prevalent in the Clinton Administration and the Department of Defense.*

*A counter view ensues written by three members of The Baltic Institute (Col. Algis Garsys, USMC Ret.; Col. Romas Kilikauskas, USAF Ret.; and Col. John Kronkaitis, USA Ret.). ARMY Magazine has agreed to publish The Baltic Institute's response to General Atkeson's article in its forthcoming issue.*

## NATO Expansion

**by Major General Edward B. Atkeson**

U.S. Army retired

Russian tanks, some flying the red banner of the Stalinist era, rolled into Tallinn this morning. Fighting broke out in Riga and Vilnius, as well. In reaction to NATO's initiative to extend its defense lines eastward to the borders of Belarus and Ukraine, Moscow moved to fulfill its threat to reestablish the Soviet Socialist Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. NATO ministers hurried to Brussels to thrash out a strategy to answer calls for immediate and massive military intervention in the Baltics.

Sound impossible? It is not, according to some of the analysts debating the planned expansion of NATO. What for many has been a natural development for the alliance since the collapse of the Warsaw Pact appears to other to be the height of folly at a critical juncture in Europe's history.

We are now risking breaking the camel's back, these analysts argue, just to add a couple more straws to the security load on the Continent. Not so, the proponents of expansion counter. NATO is a free association of like-minded states, and they can invite others to join them as they wish. Above all, the alliance should not allow the concerns of nonmembers to dictate who joins and who does not.

But the Baltic scenario cited here illuminates some of the possible problems with the concept.

However, much momentum has been built up behind the initiative, the serious potential consequences of the move give observers on both sides of the Atlantic pause as the alliance considers pushing ahead along the path to a larger

security club in a region of enormous sensitivity to the United States and Russia.

As even a RAND Corporation pro-expansion study group has written, "depending upon how it is handled, expansion could stabilize a new European security order or contribute to either the unraveling of the alliance or a new Cold War with Russia." There is ample evidence of the risks.

A letter from the Russian Duma (lower house of parliament) in 1995 to President Karsten Voight of the North Atlantic Assembly (NATO's legislative counterpart) left little doubt of the Russian legislature's disposition: "We will consider an enlargement of NATO as an unfriendly move toward Russia."

Last March, in a largely symbolic gesture, Duma members followed up the letter with a somewhat startling, if quixotic, nonbinding vote to reestablish the Soviet Union. In February, Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny M. Primakov warned that Moscow planned to take a tougher line in defending its national interest. He likened the idea of expanding NATO to announcing a plan to deploy more strategic missiles.

At the same time, Russian Deputy Defense Minister Andrei Kokoshin went further, asserting that NATO expansion would violate the Russian-German agreement on unification, foster the growth of militaristic thinking and bring Western influence into the "heartzones" of



Russia. This, he said, would trigger a negative reaction in Russian society.

Former Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev warned in an op-ed piece in The New York Times on February 10:

Expanding NATO's umbrella...is seen as a fundamental violation of Western guarantees after Russia dissolved the Warsaw Pact and agreed to German unification. Many in the West see NATO as benign. But Russians see it as something that didn't change with the end of the cold war — as a machine that is trying to take advantage of [Russia's] troubled political and economic situation. Not surprisingly, the Russian Parliament may refuse to ratify START II, which calls for slashing American and Russian strategic nuclear arsenals to about a third of their cold war levels.

More apocalyptic comments have been made by members of the new breed of Russian nationalists. Party leader (and former general) Aleksandr Lebed of the Congress of Russian Communities told Prague daily newspaper Lidove noviny that if NATO expands eastward, "World War III would begin [and] both civilized and noncivilized states would disappear."

Other signals are almost universally negative as well. Remarks about NATO expansion made by Defense Minister General Pavel S. Grachev at the 1995 annual international security conference in Munich were so charged that he was not invited back this year.

Even former Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev, long considered sympathetic to Western interests, pointed out that NATO enlargement would undermine NATO-Russian cooperation; that it would kill the democratic experiment in Russia; and that the Russian public would never understand the expansion.

These indicators notwithstanding, the alliance has stood on record as favoring expansion since the January 1994 NATO summit.

The same meeting of premiers and chiefs of state launched the Partnership for Peace (PFP) program, which, being a somewhat lighter matter for the treaty members, has darted ahead of the expansion concept.

Partnership for Peace is now in effect in some 27 countries, many of which interpret their membership as an initial step toward credentials for the big league: NATO. While PFP focuses on "modalities" — standardization of military doctrine and procedural matters, the nuts and bolts of how Western forces work — NATO membership determines who is defended when the chips are down.

This is certainly not to denigrate the PFP. The partnership is a sensible mechanism for the modern age when the

armed forces of different countries may find themselves working together in a foreign expedition — such as Operations Desert Storm or Joint Endeavor — and have a cogent need for standardized communications and operational and support procedures.

It is no longer difficult to imagine Czech and Estonian units working alongside an American, British or French battalion on patrol in the Balkans. They do it every day, and it is the Partnership for Peace program that has eased the learning process. Even Russia is a member of the PFP, and is working under PFP guidelines in Bosnia with its semi-independent brigade as part of the Implementation Force, alongside the U.S. 1st Armored Division.

Few analysts would bet, however, that Russia would ever be invited to become a member of NATO. For one thing, the country is just too big. It borders on countries as remote from the North Atlantic area as Kazakhstan, China, Mongolia and North Korea. The purpose of the treaty, to "promote [the] stability and well-being of the North Atlantic area," seems hardly applicable to the huge land-mass that Russia covers.

Moreover, the key article in the treaty, Article 5, calls for each of the members to consider an attack on one to be an attack on all, and to render assistance to "the party or parties so attacked." A Sino-Russian border war is clearly not what many of the members had in mind when they signed on.

Then, too, Russia's history is different. We cannot expect that centuries of despotism there will be washed clean in a few years of democracy. In a special report of the North Atlantic Assembly Defense and Security Committee, the writers candidly admitted that the concept of NATO membership for Russia is a nonstarter. "Even its articulation," they wrote, "is anathema to most European members of NATO."

That clarity of expression is far short of a determination to leave Russia out of the calculus, however. Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA) and other influential figures in Washington have pointed out that Russia remains a great power, and that any scheme that ignores that reality incurs enormous risks.

The senator has called special attention to the vulnerabilities of the "indefensible" Baltic states, suggesting that the scenario posited earlier is all too possible to ignore.

However, his arguments also point out the following:

- The Russian armed forces are in catastrophic disarray. The Chechen campaign indicates that they cannot even conquer a province in their own country, much less one abroad.



- Absent the Russian threat, there is no need to extend NATO at this time. It will take years for Moscow to reconstitute its forces, if it ever decides to do so.
- In the meanwhile, the extension of NATO eastward now would be interpreted as simple exploitation of Russian weakness at the very time that the internal forces of democratic reform are trying to pull the nation into a more harmonious relationship with the Western world. Such crass opportunism would undoubtedly be viewed in Russia as a hostile act and could drive the course of events in the opposite direction—into totalitarianism.
- A much wiser course for the West would be to continue to work with all of the countries of Europe interested in building a stable regime for the Continent through the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and the PFP. (The NACC is a forum, consisting primarily of former Warsaw Pact nations, for discussion of topical issues. The PFP provides a bilateral relationship between NATO as a whole and each participating country. Accordingly, it is uniquely tailored in each case.)

This effort would raise the sights of interested states without raising unrealistic expectations among any of them that they might be selected for bestowal of a corner of the NATO security blanket. In this way the alliance would put its emphasis on the development of the political and judicial systems of the states of the former Warsaw Pact and on their economies to prepare them for membership in the European Union (EU), rather than on their armed forces for membership in NATO. In the long run, the security of Europe is likely to be affected more by the internal stability of the constituent states than by their military alliance agreements.

If Russia were to return to its totalitarian roots, and it were to begin to pose a threat to its neighbors, that would be the time to consider extending security guarantees. If, by that time, the candidate states had developed worthy democratic institutions, and their forces had evolved as experienced players in the PFP, the task of absorption of the countries could be accomplished more rapidly and efficiently.

An entirely different point of view has been fashioned by Lt. General William E. Odom, USA Ret., former director of the National Security Agency and now director of national security studies at the Hudson Institute. From his perspective, conflict in Europe is already at hand, manifested principally in the recent fratricidal wars in the former Yugoslavia. The historical focus of such struggles, he believes, has been for the “mastery of Europe”.

In uncontrolled situations, he argues, powerful countries tend to exploit their neighbors’ weaknesses. He identifies Germany, historically, as the principal target of Western security alliances — not Russia. The main problem has not been that Germany has been strong, but that its neighbors have been so weak. In other words, instability and power vacuums have been the real culprits.

Nowhere in the Washington (NATO) Treaty is Russia or the Soviet Union even mentioned. Instead, European stability and security — twice threatened in a quarter of a century by Germany — are the real objectives. Article 1 of the treaty requires the members to “settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means...and to refrain from the use of force...” Thus General Odom argues that “although the alliance balances Soviet power, it was created as much to solve Western Europe’s problem with Germany as it was to prevent Soviet expansion.”

The American role, in this context, is interesting. While there have been costs in connection with the maintenance of troops in Europe, the balance, General Odom argues, has been very much in our favor. While he does not adopt the term “empire” in describing the U.S. grip on Europe, he points out that sales figures for American corporations in Europe have reached \$850 billion annually, with \$30 billion in earnings. Further, 3 million Americans are employed by European firms in the United States.

None of this would have been possible, General Odom asserts, if the United States had not seized the leadership early in the post-war period and brought stability to Europe. In a nutshell, his reasoning goes, NATO was a good investment in terms of simple cash on the barrelhead. “Without the umbrella of the U.S. military alliance,” he asserts, “this unprecedented postwar economic prosperity is unlikely to continue.”

By this reasoning, the dramatic changes within Russia pale in importance when questions of the life or death, or the extension, of NATO arise. With the stability of Europe as the focus, rather than an external threat, it makes sense to expand the area of security as quickly and as far as possible.

Just as NATO has served to dampen potential conflict between Greece and Turkey, it offers the means for dampening conflicts between the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and between Hungary and Romania. It can be the antidote to the Balkanization of Europe.

To date, all six central European states formerly belonging to the Warsaw Pact (counting the Czech Republic and Slovakia as two) have expressed a desire to join NATO and to assume “all rights and obligations” of the alliance. Yet in an NAA survey, only the Czech Republic and Hungary indicated a willingness to host foreign troops on their soil, and only the Czech Republic has shown a readiness to accept nuclear weapons. Survey replies do not necessarily indicate that any of the countries are unwilling to accept foreign troops, but it is clear that Bulgaria, for one, considers nuclear weapons “hardly suitable” and that the others prefer not to discuss the matter at this time.





Other former communist countries desiring NATO membership include Estonia, Latvia, Albania and Ukraine. Of these, Estonia has expressed a willingness to accept foreign troops, but not nuclear weapons. Latvia might accept up to 1,200 foreign troops for training, but, in terms of nuclear weapons, will only act in accordance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The wide variety of the survey responses received illustrates the importance of the PFP's tailored approach to associative military training and development.

A complication of the NATO expansion issue is the current requirement for unanimity among members toward new aspirant states. One member can veto the candidacy of any new member. If this rule is followed, observers fear that some newly selected members may choose to bar entry to other states with which they have disputes, thus "closing

the door behind them," or may use their votes to gain unfair leverage over other nations.

A possible solution would be to bring candidate countries into the alliance in groups, but there is concern that such a practice could lead to admission of some less desirable applicants. The matter is difficult for the alliance to debate in public because of the obvious political ramifications and the dangers of raising unrealistic expectations among some or unintentionally discouraging others.

Another complication is the proliferation of security organizations in Europe with overlapping membership. Each has a special constituency and history of development that tends to perpetuate its existence and set it apart from others. Below the U.N. global level, in order of numbers of members, the most important are the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, with over 50 mem-



bers; the European Union, with 15 members; the EU's military arm, the Western European Union, with 10 members; and NATO, with its ancillary organs, the NACC and the PFP.

There is an argument that the Western European Union also serves as a collective European "pillar" of NATO (to balance the U.S. "pillar"), but in practice it is more a concept than a reality. While there is an effort to develop a common foreign and security policy to guide the EU, attainment of this ambitious objective continues to hover beyond the horizon. Many observers agree that the very complexity of the overall system, with different expectations and desires in different capitals, tends to limit the responses of some of the organizations to crises and to make NATO membership such a prized position.

While the expansion issue has been the source of some hot debate, it is prudent to withhold judgment of much of the rhetoric at the present time. This is an election year for the two largest countries involved in the matter — the United States and Russia — and, while the basic ideas may have genuine roots, the intensity of the dialogue may be inspired more by domestic politics than by the rational consideration of objective factors. In Russia, most of the contending parties have found that nationalism and international prestige strike responsive chords among voters of all political stripes.

It is for this reason that visible progress in the admission of additional members to NATO is unlikely before 1997 at the earliest. Thereafter, the governments of the United States and Russia are expected to have stronger domestic footings for dealing with the issues on their merits, free from bumper sticker, election year sloganeering. It is also expected that in another year some of the prime candidate countries will have had additional time to shape their efforts in terms of the PFP, and will have a clearer idea of their own needs and objectives.

The first group of countries to come up for consideration may be the "Visegrad" states, so named for the city in northern Hungary where the presidents of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary met in 1991 to develop a common approach to westernizing their countries. (As mentioned earlier, Czechoslovakia has since broken into two separate republics, raising the original group of three to four.)

All four have made substantial, if painful, progress toward the development of democratic institutions and market economies. Unemployment remains high, and some of the governments are having difficulty privatizing their larger industrial enterprises, but there is much less resistance to the changes than one encounters in Russia. The four have formed a free trade area that Ukraine and Slovenia have shown signs of wishing to join.

However, as much speculation as there may be in unofficial channels about the Visegrad group, it is likely that most official pronouncements will continue to treat all states aspiring to membership with equal detachment and equal cordiality. At times this official egalitarianism goes so far as to include speculation about eventual Russian membership. While it may be diplomatically useful to mouth such words, most observers consider the notion pure fancy.

It is important to bear in mind the purpose of the expansion. General Odom's analysis rests on continental stability. Senator Nunn may agree on this point but offers no more cogent purpose. In either case, it is important to note that geopolitical and military factors have not been raised. There is no argument that NATO needs additional troops or a foothold east of Poland's Vistula River.

In fact, the extension of NATO probably assumes as many liabilities as assets. While Germany may feel more secure with an allied country on its eastern border, it is clear that the stability of the region is more important than the territory or forces that may be added to NATO's operational area or to its order of battle. These advantages must be weighed against the increased defensive responsibilities assumed, and eastern Poland offers few natural barriers to invasion.

In the final analysis, the success of the extension of NATO is likely to rest as much on Western concern for Russian sensitivities as on its concern for the stability of the region. If candidate countries are sincere in their pursuit of democratic reforms and are able to strengthen their economies, they can achieve much, with or without NATO membership — as the "neutral" countries (Sweden, Finland, Austria and Switzerland) can attest.

If, however, an aroused and provoked Russia perceives that its security is somehow endangered by a spreading blue tide, it may lash out in unpredictable ways. If it lacked the power to redress perceived international wrongs, Russia could turn inward, nursing its inner hostilities until it explodes.

As different as Senator Nunn's Russocentric and General Odom's Eurocentric theses are, they do not clash over recognition of a need to reach out to Moscow in an effort to persuade the Russian leadership of the positive aspects of a stable central Europe. If, contrary to Mr. Gorbachev's argument, Moscow could be convinced that NATO is fundamentally benign and is sensitive to Russian concerns, it should have substantially less resistance to the initiative than we see today.

The most dangerous course for the alliance would be to plunge ahead on the assumption that "it is none of Moscow's business" what NATO does. Russia is a vast, dynamic entity with a history of strife, conflict and subj-



gation by successive invaders. It is clear that Russia is vitally interested in how the West postures itself, and Russian leaders expect to be consulted before critical decisions or changes are made in the European security regime.

The trick will be to find a middle road to an improved arrangement that will draw as much strength from a reassured Russia as it does from a reassured Poland or Hungary.

In late March, the Russians themselves may have devised a means for softening the issue. Foreign Minister Primakov suggested that there was room for compromise if NATO would refrain from extending its borders to the east. Security guarantees given to central European states would have the same positive effect, he said, without the negative implications of alliance membership.

President Boris Yeltsin, during a visit to Norway, went further. It may be acceptable, he remarked, for unattached states to join NATO's political wing, but not the integrated military command. This would approximate the position of France until the reintegration of its forces in 1995.

These ideas should give analysts and negotiators on both sides of the Atlantic something to chew on until the political year is over. It may ultimately prove desirable for both NATO and Russia to grant parallel security assurances. In any event, all would be well advised to remember the point made in the RAND analysis — in the long run, it may be more important how NATO expands than when, or even if, it does so.

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## Security and Stability through NATO Expansion

**by The Baltic Institute**

Permit us to modify MG Edward B. Atkeson's scenario presented in his article on "NATO Expansion" in the June 1996 issue of ARMY magazine.

Russian tanks, flying the banners of the new democratic Russia, rolled into Tallinn this morning. Fighting broke out in Riga and Vilnius, as well. Moscow moved to fulfill its threat to absorb Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the Russian empire after years of political and economic intimidations failed to force them into the union. Moscow issued a statement claiming it was moving to defend the interests of the "oppressed" Russian minority in the Baltics. Sixteen NATO ministers hurried to Brussels to thrash out a protest note to their colleagues in Moscow for this unprovoked attack on three of NATO's Partnership for Peace members. Governments in Warsaw and Kiev issued decrees for national mobilization, Polish military moved reinforcements along Kaliningrad and Belarus borders. Ukraine's Crimean fleet departed port. China accused Russia of violating its territory ... UN Secretary General called an emergency meeting of the Security Council ... etc, etc.

The above scenario is far more likely to play out, with very uncertain results, in the absence of NATO expansion than the one described by General Atkeson.

At this very critical time in European history NATO has a choice of policies: it can expand its membership to Central

and Eastern Europe and thereby stabilize the area by providing a security umbrella for nations too small to provide for their own security, or it can leave the security of this region to the good will of Russia and a precarious future.

The argument that the expansion of NATO will so outrage the Russians that they will resort to military action is without merit. There are few today who would disagree that the Russian armed forces are in no condition to seek new military adventures anywhere. Russia, for all its time zones, is not now a world power, notwithstanding its nuclear arsenal. Under those circumstances, how likely is it that Russia would contemplate an unprovoked attack on a new member of NATO? On the other hand, what is the likely outcome if NATO waits for Russia to regain its military power before making a move to provide security and stability in Central and Eastern Europe?

Those who argue that nothing will be lost by waiting to expand NATO in Central and Eastern Europe are ignoring history and today's political reality. Russian politicians in government and in the opposition make no secret of what they are planning for the "near abroad." Threats to invade, or otherwise to incorporate the Baltics into the Russian empire are an everyday occurrence. Some in the West say that these statements should be ignored since they do not represent the official Russian government position. Others argue that friendly relations with Russia will soften its



policies and rhetoric. Tell that to the people in the Baltics and they will tell you how their attempts of befriending Russia in the late 1930's resulted in unprovoked Soviet military invasion of their countries in June 1940. In Lithuania alone the Soviets executed or exiled to Siberia about 350,000 people, or 10 percent of the population. In relative terms that would equate to 27 million Americans. The atrocities committed in the Baltics by the Soviets are too numerous to mention, but has anybody heard any Russian government official so much as apologize? The present day Russian government has conveniently washed its hands of any responsibility for what occurred during the Soviet reign of terror, but it cannot disclaim responsibility for the events of the past six years during which threats, intimidations and economic coercion toward the Baltic people have become a routine practice.

The trail of broken treaties and agreements between the Moscow government and Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia is another reason why the Baltic republics are in need of a security arrangement with the West. Over many years the people in the Baltics have learned that agreements with Moscow are mere pieces of paper which Russia ignores when they no longer serve their purpose. Consequently,

suggestions that compromise agreements can be reached with Moscow concerning alternatives to NATO membership will do little to reassure the people of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

NATO should "seize the moment" to provide for stability in Central Europe as it has done so successfully in the West. This window of opportunity will close as soon as Russia reconstitutes its power.

The Baltics are anxious to enter the NATO alliance in order to assure their own independence and security, but they expect to contribute to the stability of Europe as well. They have never been a threat to Russia and they will not be a threat as a member of NATO. Russia is alarmed that the Baltic republics might become NATO members not because they see enlarged NATO as a threat, why should they, but because of their clear intention to reoccupy them, as soon as they can handle it militarily.

As the modified scenario suggests, consequences to the West of allowing this to happen goes far beyond the stigma of moral abandonment.



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Charles Krauthammer

## Bad Sports

A28 FRIDAY, JULY 26, 1996 s

I am watching the Olympic Games on NBC, and I am gagging. It is not the oppressive commercialism. I can understand that. NBC paid \$456 million for the rights and has to make it back.

Nor is it NBC's turning every race, every performance, every personal profile into a mawkish music video. I can almost understand that. American audiences no longer will tolerate the staccato rhythms, the natural delays of a real-time track meet. They demand the Hallmark package, the synthetic symphonic emotion prompted by gauzy video and a lugubrious "Crimson Tide" sound track.

What is it then? The unbearable, indeed shameful, chauvinism of the coverage. For every event the only important questions are: How are the Americans doing, and if they're not on their way to gold, why are they not doing better?

The nadir (I hope) was reached by Day Four during the women's team gymnastics competition, won by the Americans. It was a nearly all-American show. The high-decibel cheerleading of the experts in the booth was relentless, interrupted only for the occasional announcement of the welcome news that some East European type (Russian, Ukrainian or Romanian) had fallen off the high bar or otherwise disgraced herself, thus making it easier for our charming little girls to win it all.

You'd be watching your fifth American doing her floor exercise and, if the camera angle was such, you might accidentally catch a Russian in the distance doing a flip on the balance beam. But if the flip failed and the Russian fell off and landed on her bottom, you could be sure NBC would treat you to a full replay of the lucky event as soon as our star-spangled mite was done.

I can't remember ever before feeling pro-Russian. Yet for this group of Russian athletes—gamely battling to maintain their dominance after losing an empire (the Ukrainians were now their

opponents!) and most of their funding—it was hard not to feel sympathetic.

Olympics carry heavy symbolism. The Berlin Olympics of 1936 foreshadowed the rise of Nazi Germany. The 1960 (Rome), 1964 (Tokyo), and 1972 (Munich) Games announced sequential reconciliation with the Axis powers of World War II. The 1996 Atlanta

*Extend a hearty handshake to the Russian athletes, then take the whole Warsaw Pact the very next morning.*

Games are perfectly timed to highlight the apogee of American power in the world.

Since the fall of the Soviet empire, much has been written about how the bipolar Cold-War world has given way to a multipolar world with many comparable centers of power. This is arrant nonsense. Never in the past 500 years has there been a greater gap between the number one power and the rest of the world.

And not just militarily. In practically every human enterprise—finance and fashion, technology and medicine, culture and communication—we lead. Has any nation been simultaneously so dominant culturally, economically, diplomatically and militarily as America is today?

So here we are at the end of the 20th century, standing on Olympus. What is our reaction? There are two.

The official reaction of those in charge of our foreign policy is timidity and self-effacement. At a time of supreme unipolarity, the Clinton administration's watch-

word from the beginning has been "assertive multilateralism," a policy of group action and commitment, tying others and ourselves into as many treaties and pacts as we can invent.

Warren Christopher's repeated pilgrimages to Damascus, including one in which he was actually turned away at the dictator's palace and returned the next day for more, is only the most public demonstration of this policy of self-effacement. Its most significant manifestation is our timidity regarding NATO expansion: Instead of pocketing the gains of our Cold War victory, we equivocate and postpone lest we offend the sensibilities of the country we roundly defeated in the contest for world dominance.

This official reaction to our dominance—obliviousness, indeed a conscious downplaying—is all the more remarkable given our unofficial reaction on display at the Olympics: a wild, gluttonous proclamation of American superiority, a 17-day orgy of rubbing it in.

Officially, we apologize. Unofficially, we gloat. Is there not something in between?

I'm glad for U.S. gymnasts. But why was this win so important to the rest of us? Did we really have to take such glee in the East Europeans losing one of the few things they had left, their perch at the top of this one athletic discipline?

I've long imagined that the Soviets threw that famous 1980 Olympic hockey game, Black-Sox style. Why? To give us a little symbolic win, a sop, a blow-softener while they were walking off with Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Grenada (all taken in 1979) and we were reeling from Vietnam, the Iran hostages, inflation and a general national funk.

Clever KGB psychology, I thought. Sixteen years later, with the tables turned, I'd have reciprocated: Give them ladies' gymnastics, extend a hearty handshake, then take the whole Warsaw Pact the very next morning.

We thank the *Washington Post* for permission to reproduce this article.



**Evaldas Imbrasas**

# Lithuania - Bronze Medal Winner

Finally, it's all over. The Lithuanians got the medals they dreamed of, and the Lithuanian people are very satisfied. The medals did not come easily, however. The Lithuanian players were very disappointed after losing a very intense and tough semifinal match against Yugoslavia in the final minutes of the game. This did not leave them with much self-confidence for the medal match. The Lithuanians felt great pressure from the Lithuanian people who demand medals from their national basketball players. But with such strong-willed players as Arvydas Sabonis (30 points) and Šarūnas Marčiulionis (16 points), the Lithuanian team was determined and ready to fight.

The Australian basketball team, especially their leaders Andrew Gaze, who finished with 25 points, and Shane Heal, who was held to just 11 this time, showed that they are very strong and did not reach the semifinals by accident. Although the Australian players are not so strong individually as the Lithuanians, they played well as a team and victory was not easy.

## Instant Replay

The first minutes of the game belonged to Lithuania as it took an early lead 4-0 and 6-2. The rest of the game was very even with leaders changing from time to time. The game was tied at 13-13 with 11 minutes remaining in the first half and 17-17 with 9 minutes remaining. Then the Australians exploded to gain their highest advantage (27-19) when there were 5 minutes left in the first half. They were able to keep this difference only for a couple of minutes, however, as Sabonis and Marčiulionis immediately shot in two three-pointers. The Lithuanian team made a 10-2 run to take over the lead 33-32 with 1:40 left, and the first half ended with the Lithuanians in the lead 36-34. Sabonis and Karnišovas had scored 10 points each. Interestingly enough, the Lithuanian team had no free throw attempts in the first half.

Early in the second half, the Lithuanians increased their advantage and pushed their lead to 44-39 within the first 3 minutes of play. Somehow Australia managed to cut the difference and re-take the lead at 49-46 with 14 minutes left in the game, and 53-50 with 12 minutes left. This advantage did not last for long, however, after another 3-pointer and a hook shot by Arvydas Sabonis. Lithuania gained a pretty solid 8-point advantage (67-59) with 6 min-

utes left to play and 69-61 when only 5:10 minutes remained.

Then several unsuccessful shots by Lithuania gave Australia hope again for the Bronze as they cut Lithuania's lead down to 71-70 with only 2:10 minutes to go. Two free throws by Šarūnas Marčiulionis increased the Lithuanian lead to 72-70 with 1:10 left, but the Australian shooting guard Shane Heal hit an unbelievable jumper flying out from the court behind the basket. The decisive points came from big man Sabonis (who finished with 30 points, 13 rebounds and 5 blocks) when he made a hook shot and converted a free throw into a 76-72 lead for Lithuania with 35 seconds left to play. The Australian sniper Shane Heal missed a three-pointer but Australia took an offensive rebound and cut Lithuania's lead to two points with 20 seconds remaining. The Lithuanian team held the ball, so the Australians had nothing else to do but foul. Marčiulionis (who finished with 16 points and 9 assists) made only the first free throw, but he grabbed a rebound after his unsuccessful second free-throw attempt and was fouled again. He successfully shot 1-for-2 free throws to give the Lithuanians and comfortable four-point lead of 78-74 with only ten seconds left to play. Shane Heal missed a three-pointer and Arturas Karnišovas sealed the Lithuanian victory converting two free throws at the end of the game making the final score 80-74. A bronze for Lithuania!

The victory was very important for our team as the leading players, Arvydas Sabonis and Šarūnas Marčiulionis, played their last games for the national team in these Olympics. Both players are exhausted after a grueling NBA season, both have painful injuries, and both are older. Our youngsters will be given a chance to prove that they are good players, too. Let's hope they won't break with Lithuanian tradition and will not leave Lithuania without medals in the next Olympic Games in Sydney in 2000.

Let me remind you that the Lithuanian team played very successfully in the past four years. Every big event in which the Lithuanian basketball team participated resulted in medals. After Lithuania gained independence our basketball team won a bronze at the 1992 Barcelona Games, a silver in the 1995 European championship, and another bronze at the 1992 Atlanta Games. Very good performances! I believe we will have many great victories in the future.



Jim O'Connell

# Lithuania's Triumph

ATLANTA (AP) — Arvydas Sabonis and Šarūnas Marčiulionis, Lithuania's NBA players and Olympic veterans, came through Saturday night and won their third medal and the country's second straight bronze, 80-74 over Australia.

Sabonis, who plays for the Portland Trail Blazers, had 30 points, 13 rebounds and five blocks. Marčiulionis, who plays for the Denver Nuggets, had 16 points and nine assists in the game that wasn't decided until Sabonis' three-point play and Marčiulionis' two free throws in the final 35 seconds.

The celebration after the game was subdued compared to four years ago, when Lithuania beat the Unified Team for the bronze in its first Olympics as an independent country. Sabonis and Marčiulionis were key players for the Soviet Union team that won the gold medal in 1988. Rimas Kurtinaitis also played on all three teams.

"They're even," he said when asked if the bronze medals meant more than gold because of the country's fight for independence. "The gold was very important at that time. I am from Lithuania and we got the bronzes playing with our national team. That was very important."

Australia, which matched its best finish in the 1988 games, took the lead for the last time at 58-57 with a turnaround jumper by Scott Fisher. That's when Sabonis and Marčiulionis began to dominate.

Sabonis fed Kurtinaitis with a behind-the-back bounce pass for a 3-pointer that gave Lithuania (5-3) the lead for good with 9:38 left. Sabonis then scored all the points in Lithuania's 7-1 run that made it 67-59 with 6:37 left.

Six straight points had Australia (5-3) within 71-70 with 2:18 left. But Marčiulionis and Sabonis scored all but two of the points the rest of the way and Lithuania again had its bronze — and the NBA stars had their third medal.

"The veterans just had the ball in their hands at the end of the game and they took over the game," Kurtinaitis said.

Artūras Karnišovas, who played at Seton Hall, added 21 points for Lithuania, which was 9-for-188 from 3-point range, while Kurtinaitis had nine.

"We have shown we are consistent with another bronze," Lithuania coach Vladas Garastas said. "One of the things we knew we had to do was get the ball to Sabonis because he had a size advantage and we know that he is one of the best centers in the world."

Andrew Gaze, who also played at Seton Hall, led Australia with 25 points on 5-for-9 3-point shooting. Mark Bradtke and Fisher each had 13. Australia was 10-for-21 on 3s, but Shane Heal had an off-night from long range. He was 3-for-9 and finished with 11 points.

The 6'10" Bradtke gave away four inches and 30 pounds to Sabonis.

"He had an exceptional game," Bradtke said. "I don't think I was any more than a distraction to him. He did everything you could ask from hitting 3-pointers to rebounds."

Lithuania lost to Yugoslavia 66-58 in the semifinals, while Australia lost 101-73 to the United States.

## The Players: Starting Lineup

5	Mindaugas Žukauskas	Forward
12	Artūras Karnišovas	Forward
11	Arvydas Sabonis	Center
13	Šarūnas Marčiulionis	Guard
10	Rimas Kurtinaitis	Guard

## Remaining Players:

8	Saulius Štombergas	Forward
7	Tomas Pačesas	Guard
9	Darius Lukminas	Guard
4	Rytis Vaišvila	Guard
14	Gintaras Einikis	Center
6	Eurelijus Žukauskas	Center

## Coaches

Vladas Garastas	Head Coach
Jonas Kazlauskas	Assistant Coach
Donn Nelson	Assistant Coach
Algimantas Pavilionis	President, Lithuanian Basketball Federation

\* Jim O'Connell is an AP Basketball Writer. This report is from Saturday, August 3, 1996, 10:35 pm EDT. We thank the AP for permission to reproduce this article.





ATLANTA, GEORGIA, USA: Lithuania's Arvydas Sabonis (11) sets a giant screen for Rimas Kurtinaitis (10) against Yugoslavia's Predrag Danilovic (5) in Olympic quarter-final basketball action, August 1. UPI ts/Christine Chew





Lithuanian basketball players, including forward Gintaras Einikis (14) and Darius Lukminas (9), celebrate their victory over Australia to win the bronze medal in the 1996 Summer Olympics August 3. UPI Im/Christine Chew





ATLANTA, GEORGIA, USA: Šarūnas Marčiulionis (13) of Lithuania goes past a Jugoslavia player in the men's semi-finals Aug 1, Olympic Games in Atlanta. UPI cs/Christine Chew





ATLANTA, GEORGIA, USA: Arvydas Sabonis, 11, clowns around with the ball as he celebrates the Lithuanian team victory over Australia in the bronze medal men's basketball game August 3. UPI Im/Christine Chew



Vidas Mačiulis and Evaldas Imbrasas

# Interviews with Members of Lithuanian Olympic Team

These interviews were made by Vidas Mačiulis and published in the Lithuanian daily newspaper *Kauno Diena*. Translated by Evaldas Imbrasas.

## Vladas Garastas Head Coach of the Lithuanian Team

"I am the happiest man in Atlanta because our guys won the Bronze in the Olympics, and they gave me the 12th medal, which actually didn't belong to me. Also, I'd like to thank all Lithuanian fans, who were with us here and in Lithuania, wishing us good luck."

### *Coach, please comment on the last game of our team.*

"Our plan was very obvious: to stop Australian players, who shoot very well. M. Žukauskas showed good defense against A.Gaze, R.Kurtinaitis against Sh. Heal, and Š. Marčiulionis had to stop one of the Australian forwards who was over 2 meters tall... I have to admit that now it's winter in Australia, and the basketball season is underway. Australian basketball players are in very good sporting form, they are not tired. Our leaders had difficult seasons with their club teams and they were pretty tired. We had to re-energize. Thank God, our men withstood this Australian trial."

### *The main thing is that you didn't repeat those mistakes you made in the game against Yugoslavia.*

"Yes. This time our guys showed good defense, intelligent offence and carried out our directions, especially in the final minutes of the game. I'm satisfied that then we played the ball and gave it to Sabonis at the end. Everybody tried hard, did their best, everybody wanted the third place. The Lithuanian team was stronger than their rivals both spiritually and physically this time."

### *But why wasn't it so in the semifinal match?*

"We made one fatal tactical mistake: we shouldn't have tried to win the game playing one-on-one. We shouldn't have shot right away. We should have played the ball all 30 seconds. At the end of the second half, the Yugoslavs had 8 fouls, and we had only 5, so we should have forced them to foul our players. Unfortunately, it didn't turn out well. But those lessons were quite useful for us."

### *Is it true that A.Sabonis and Š. Marčiulionis played their last games for the Lithuanian national team?*

"Although it's a pity, both players decided firmly not to play for our national team anymore, mostly because of a lot of criticism in their address."

## Jonas Kazlauskas Assistant Coach of the Lithuanian team

"The last game in Atlanta was very difficult for us, because our rivals were playing very well. I'm happy that they played a good game, but we played better than them."

### *Who was your favorite on the court?*

"It's hard to choose, but Arvydas Sabonis played wonderfully. Šarūnas, in spite of his injury, did his best, too. Everybody deserves respect. It's the Olympic Games. I never thought it would be so difficult here — tremendous amount of nervous stress and inexpressible excitement."

### *What will happen to the national team when Sabonis and Marčiulionis no longer play?*

"Well, it's very sad, but true... Our young players should work hard. We have many talented players, but their luck depends on their characters. Our youngsters were very "capricious" until then. Only four years later we will be able to tell if anybody has replaced our leaders..."

## Šarūnas Marčiulionis, Guard One of the Leaders of Lithuanian Team

"It's nice that we won. What can I say — of course, we wanted to reach higher. But we are realists. We are proud of what we did achieve, having such physical data and such talent. I think this victory is not only ours, it belongs to the whole Lithuanian nation!"

### *It seems that you were playing better as the Games progressed, Šarūnas. Maybe you could play as you did in the European championship in '95?*

"I don't think so because my leg is in difficult shape. It's hard to explain to people who have never had such an injury. I really did my best to help the Lithuanian team."



***But next year, if we get into the final round of European championship, can we expect to see you, Šarūnas, playing for our team in Barcelona?***

"No. Arvydas and I won't play anymore for the national team. It's our decision. Please understand, I just want to be able to take a walk with my daughter in Vingis park, I don't want her to push me in a wheelchair... It's just the final limit of play."

***Will you have enough time to cure your injury before the next NBA season starts?***

I really can't say anything about that. I used to understand my body earlier. Now my right leg has swelled a lot, and I just don't get it. I'll give it couple weeks to rest. Afterwards I'll go to Denver to undergo a rest treatment.

***Does your leg hurt a lot?***

"Of course. Imagine a toothache that tortures you for a year and a half. You can understand how it feels. But now I'm just happy that I've won the bronze medals with our team. I try not to think about the future now."

**Darius Lukminas**  
**Guard**

"I'm happy like I've never been before! Now I'm happier than last year, when I've won the silver medal in the European championship! Everything was like in a dream. Of course, we all were hoping to win the Olympic silver medals. Unfortunately, it didn't happen..."

***Why?***

"Everything was OK in the game against Yugoslavia, except the final three minutes. We were very excited, and only a man with no nerves could avoid making any mistakes then. But the Bronze didn't come easily, either. So, I'm happy!"

**Mindaugas Žukauskas**  
**Forward**

"I never imagined that I would play for Lithuania in the Olympic Games. And now I don't believe yet that I've won the Olympic bronze medal."

***When did you believe for the first time that you would play in Atlanta?***

"Just when I settled with the team in the Olympic Village in Atlanta..."

***What did make the biggest impression on you?***

"Of course, the play of the best American, Yugoslavian and Australian basketball players. It was amazing. I still have a lot to learn."

***Mindaugas, how will our national team look without its best Lithuanian players?***

"We'll see how we'll be able to replace them. Lithuania will lose a lot without them. But maybe in place of those two will appear new talents, because this victory in Atlanta is very inspiring for our young players."

**Saulius Štombergas**  
**Forward**

"I expressed my feelings on TV when after the decoration ceremony I saw a TV camera in front of me with a wink-light, I exclaimed: "Aa-ooh, Lietuva!"

***Saulius, please compare your feelings after the competitions in Athens last year, and in Atlanta.***

"In Greece, we were less happy. Although we won the Silver there, the Yugoslavs spoiled our mood in the final game. Olympic medals are more valuable to me. I just can't express my happiness."

***Weren't you afraid on the court?***

"We all were excited on the bench, and on the court we felt even more pressure. But the more you play the more experience you gain."

## Šarūnas' Next Move

Šarūnas Marčiulionis is making his fourth move in the NBA. In a trade for its most valuable player, Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf, the Denver Nuggets obtained Marčiulionis from the Sacramento Kings. Although the sum has not been disclosed, Marčiulionis is expected to earn \$2.8 million per season.

Šarūnas Marčiulionis made his debut on the US basketball scene in 1989 with the Golden State Warriors. He was the first NBA player to be recruited from the former Soviet Union. In 1993-93, however, Marčiulionis suffered knee injuries that kept him sidelined almost the entire season.

Marčiulionis played 53 games this season for the Sacramento Kings, averaging 10.8 points per game. He helped the Sacramento Kings break a 10-year deadlock and make it into the NBA play-offs.



Ramunė Kubilius

# Excerpts from “The Business Insider”

Michael (Mihkel) Tarm

## On Communication

“Communicate or die” is not a motto you are likely to hear ringing through the halls of too many Baltic businesses. “Die rather than communicate” seems to be the guiding principle in most work places. A distinct lack of dialogue and information-sharing tends to inhibit the kind of teamwork and unity of purpose that often distinguishes well-run companies.

Foreign businessmen say this communication gap is frequently the root cause of production mistakes and delays. This inability to parlay in the workplace reflects a general hesitancy of Balts to open up and speak their minds. On the other hand, when they do volunteer an opinion, it is usually well-thought-out and to the point. People here tend to say what they mean and mean what they say. The art of BS is not highly developed. Said one observer: “Once they do start talking, people here can get to the point fast, and they do it without long introductions or overtures.”

## On Youth

In the Baltic states, there is not much of an anti-establishment youth culture. That’s because young people here ARE the establishment. Virtually every sector of the economy appears to be dominated by businessmen in their twenties and thirties. When you walk into the headquarters of many of the biggest and most successful Baltic businesses, there is often a sense that you have stumbled into a college dormitory. You may be hard pressed to find anyone over 40. Fifty and over — forget it! This can also apply to government. A few years ago, Estonia’s prime minister was 32; the foreign minister was 27 and the defense minister, 28.

Most older Balts have not been able to keep up with the lightning pace of change in recent years. There is a per-

ception that older generations have too much of a Soviet work ethic so they are often written off as prospective employees. The plus side of this emphasis on youth is that there is often a refreshing dynamism at many Baltic businesses. Sometimes, though, this dominance of the young brings with it a certain immaturity, inexperience and cockiness. Since young people have so much spending power, there seems to be an inordinate amount of pandering to teenage tastes in everything from cars to music

## On Corruption

Corruption in the Baltic states is a little like a major leak of natural gas: You cannot necessarily see it, but everyone smells it in the air. While few Balts of any stature have ever been convicted on corruption charges, bribery and back room dealing are thought to be fairly widespread — at least compared to Western Europe. On the other hand, compared to Russia and other former Soviet republics, Baltic officialdom is a model of honesty and virtue. Many practices considered corrupt elsewhere — like using government offices and cars for private business use — are still considered gray areas here.

The notion of conflict of interest still tends to draw blank stares from journalists and bureaucrats alike. Reporters rightly complain that corruption stories do not provoke appropriate public outrage — so, they ask, why even bother writing them? But journalists can be part of the problem. Some accept under-the-table payments for favorable articles about businesses or politicians. Others are so tied up in a web of vested business and political interests themselves that they are easily persuaded to look the other way even in the most obvious cases of corruption. But while it can pose problems, few businesses complain that corruption directly affects their daily operations.

## On Etiquette

Balts tend to be fairly formal, especially in first encounters. Both Estonians and Latvians were influenced in this regard by centuries of German rule. Balts also avoid appearing overly familiar. Addressing someone you have just met by their first name is generally frowned upon. It is seen as something of a sign of disrespect. As one Baltic businessman explained: “You might begin calling a business associate by his or her first name only after a couple weeks, say, after you have had your first beer together at a bar.”

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*Michael (Mihkel) Tarm is editor and co-publisher of CITY PAPER-The Baltic States, an English-language news and tourist magazine based in Tallinn. The Business Insider provides tips and explanations on doing business in the Baltics. CITY PAPER-The Baltic States would appreciate any comments about the above excerpt, and would like to reserve the right to republish the responses. Messages can be sent to: tarm@pb.uninet.ee*



Estonians can seem especially cool and tight-lipped. Their stony silence during meetings can be a little unnerving, but it should not necessarily be taken as a sign of disapproval. In general, Balts like to keep their distance, and they don't like being crowded or rushed. The ice can best be broken by acting in a friendly and respectful way. Approaching Balts in too informal or casual a manner can be a turnoff. Note that Balts aren't big smilers and even harbor certain doubts about those who always walk around with grins on their faces.

### On Labor

Employers here, like everywhere in the world, tend to grumble about how hard it is to find good workers. People with good management skills are especially hard to come by. The low jobless rate and a high demand for skilled and semi-skilled labor allows workers to call the shots in many cases; they can work with the confidence that, even if they get fired, they can easily find another job. It is a confidence that can be a major drag on worker productivity. Young people, especially college graduates, are highly sought after and usually have several job offers before the ink even dries on their diplomas.

Balts also tend to be strong individualists; that means they aren't natural team players. At the same time, Baltic employees are often very hungry to learn, and they are tenacious about doing tasks the right way. Recently arrived foreign investors are usually pleasantly surprised by the pool of top-level, Western-oriented employees.

### On Skepticism

Balts have strong skeptical streaks. This holds true in business as well. Balts tend to approach most business prob-

lems by first insisting there is no solution. This can be frustrating, especially for Americans used to a can-do attitude in the face of any and every problem. Overriding scepticism also means Balts are less prone to taking risks.

The positive side of this ingrained caution is that Balts are not too gullible; they do not seem to fall for scams as readily as some other peoples. The scepticism is a function of a strong rational strain; Balts like to pore over a problem for days on end, sometimes to the point where they do not actually get anything done.

### On Smallness

The relative smallness of the Baltic countries is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it does not take that long to network and you can get to know the lay of the land much faster than in places like the United States, Germany or Russia. You can also get to know personally the movers and shakers in a short period of time. But there are drawbacks to countries where everybody seems to know everybody else. If you make a colossal faux pas or mess something up business-wise, that news travels fast. In this sense, you can both make and break your reputation quickly.

The smallness of the Baltics also means tight corporate clans are well-developed. Many of the key politicians and businessmen went to school together or, in some cases, are even related by blood or marriage; they have been known to watch out for each other's interests. If you don't happen to be part of one of the old boys' networks, this can be a hindrance at times. On the other hand, as competition intensifies, there seems to be an increasing emphasis on professionalism and dependability rather than on whom you know.

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## Excerpts from Lithuanian Sources in the U.S.

### Lithuanian Days in Los Angeles

October 5-6, 1996 at the Parish of St. Casimir, 2718 St. George Street, Los Angeles: the traditional and folk arts of Lithuanian culture come alive with displays and demonstrations of amber jewelry, weaving and sashes, wood carvings, Easter egg waxing and painting, Christmas tree ornaments, and silhouettes. There will be continuous live entertainment, folk costumes, athletic competitions, and traditional Lithuanian food and drink such as dešros (sausage), kugelis (potato pudding), pyragai (cakes) and koldunai (dumplings). For further information, contact: Živilė Tomkutė (818-340-6151).

### Container Shipment to Lithuania

The Lithuanian Hall at 851 Hollins Street in Baltimore, Maryland 21201 (410-685-5787) will be accepting packages for shipment to Lithuania on October 12 and 26 from 10:00 am to 6:00 pm. The boxes should reach Lithuania in time for Christmas.

The cost is \$25/box with no weight limit but a strict size limit. Only two box sizes are acceptable: 20" x 16" x 16" and 18" x 12" x 12." The addressee's name, street, city, region and telephone number in Lithuania must be clearly marked in large bold letters on the outside of the box. The sender's address should appear on the outside. The boxes will have to be picked up by the addressee at a central distribution point in Vilnius.



Please present check or money order made out to "Lithuanian Hall, Baltimore" in the amount of \$25/box. Cash is also acceptable.

## Lithuanian Days in Australia

Thinking of heading down under for the Christmas holidays? The 19th Australian Lietuvių Dienos (Lithuanian Days) to be held in Melbourne this year from December 26 to January 1 will feature choirs, folk dancing, and cultural performances. G. Gasiūnienė is arranging an art exhibition at Melbourne City Town Hall, and Roma Eskirtaitė is arranging a Folk art exhibition at another venue to be announced. There will also be separate conferences and get-togethers by Lithuanian teachers, engineers and architects, Jaunimo Sajunga (Youth Organization), Catholic Federation, veterans, and the Krašto Taryba (Lithuanian Community Council). For further ALD Informacija:

Algis Taskunas  
13 Wickham Avenue  
Forest Hill  
VICTORIA 3131  
Australia  
Telephone +3 98785631. Fax +3 9873 1643. - Algis.  
A.Taskunas@educ.utas.edu.au

## Children's Programs at Balzekas Museum

The Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture in Chicago is planning on expanding its Children's Museum programming. The new programming will not require children to sit for long in one place, but rather will allow children to look at the world through their own eyes. They will be able to draw, glue and construct. This will enable them to use their imaginations, to better understand the world, and the phrase "I can't, I don't know how" will not be accepted. 5-12 year old children are invited to the summer programming cycle "Lithuanian History through the Eyes of Children", which will run Saturdays 10 am-12 noon. July 27th-August 10th, the children will: learn how to know people of different cultures, who speak different languages; learn about children's games from around the world; draw scenes from Lithuania's history which they can show to other children; will learn traditional young farmhand ("piemeneliai") games; about Lithuania's kings, dukes, castles, etc. An exhibit of the children's work will be prepared. (Programming is apparently geared towards Lithuanian language speaking children.-rk)

(DRAUGAS, 7/13/96, from an article by Eglė Ivinskis, Program Coordinator)

## Tegul Skamba Mūsų Dainos: Volungė Celebrates 20 Years

Under the leadership of Dalia Skrinkas-Viskontas, music director since 1975, the Toronto Lithuanian Chorus

"Volungė" (Oriole) has grown from a young ladies octet into a mixed chorus of 45 singers. It boasts a varied repertoire of over 100 songs, hymns and major choral works, several composed by its accompanist, Jonas Govedas. "Volungė" has performed in major cities in North America, Great Britain, Germany and Lithuania and has participated in numerous song festivals and community celebrations, including Toronto's International Choral Festival.

As part of its 20th anniversary celebration, "Volungė" has issued a new release of 21 songs entitled "Tegul Skamba Mūsų Dainos" on compact disk and audio cassette. The music is a blend of traditional and contemporary works. Copies are available as Compact Disc (CD) \$15 (Canadian or US) including postage or Audio Cassette (tape) \$10 (Canadian or US) including postage. To order, please send your payment and mailing information to:

Volungė Inc.  
154 Varsity Road  
Toronto, Ontario M6S 4P3 Canada or  
for more information please contact  
dbreen@nesbittburns.ca

## Denver Doings

The Colorado Lithuanian folk dancing group "Rūta" is celebrating its 20th anniversary. The group participated in the 10th Lithuanian Folk Dance Festival in Chicago this summer where 16 dancers performed 6 dances in the program ...The Lithuanian-American Community, Inc. chapter in Colorado again plans to sponsor Lithuanian language lessons for adults and a children's kindergarden this fall. Lessons take place in the Latvian church in Denver. Arvidas Jarasius will answer questions and take registration at 303-439-2089.

(DRAUGAS, 8/6/96)

## Baltic Diaspora Project

Seven academicians who have studied the post World War II immigrant experience gathered at the UMHRC, University of Minnesota Immigration History Research Center, in St. Paul, MN. Curator Joel Wurl and member Astra Apsitis invited participants to the four day event in order to draft guidelines for the massive project which is being called "Baltic Diaspora". The project will encompass the time period beginning 1946-52 in the Displaced Persons ("DP") camps in Germany and Austria.

Astra Apsitis has a master's degree in History and Latvian Studies from San Jose State University, California. She feels that the present diaspora is a living monument of those post-War times, and the exiles attempted to elevate their cultural, social, and religious existence outside of their homelands, beginning in the DP camps. The time has come to analyze this time period.



Regina Kučas, President of the Educational Council of the Lithuanian-American Community, Inc., feels that the realization of the project will be a resource and teaching tool for schools and teachers. Lithuanian language students will be able to learn about one another, and the schools' programming (at over two dozen Lithuanian language schools around the U.S.-rk) will be more varied. It will make students aware that you can have ties with your homeland (or that of your parents) even if you are not born or living in that country of origin.

Curator Joel Wurl, Director of UMHRC and History Professor, considers the Rudolph Vecoli Baltic Diaspora Project a part of a larger project entitled "The Post WW II Eastern Europe Project." That project would include other ethnic groups-Ukrainians, Polish, Czech, Hungarians, etc. Two academicians have been invited to represent the Baltic portion of this larger project, dr. Milda Danys and r. Antanas J. Van Reenan.

Prof. Milda Danys is the author of the book *D.P.: Lithuanian Immigration to Canada After the Second World War*. She is formerly from Montreal, Canada, and presently is a professor at Vytautas Magnus University in Vilnius. She travelled from Lithuania to attend the conference. Dr. Antanas J. Van Reenan (Antanas Adomenas) teaches at Columbia College in Chicago, and his book is entitled *Lithuanian Diaspora: Koenigsberg to Chicago*.

Latvian and Estonian representatives came from diverse geographic locations and workplaces: University of Stockholm (Sweden), Loughborough University (Leister, Great Britain), the Latvian Studies Center Archives (Kalamazoo, MI), the President of the Estonian National Council & Board of Regents at Rutgers University, the Library of Congress Gifts and Exchange Division.

Dr. Van Reenan pointed out other aspects of the project—the concentration of Lithuanians and Lithuanian experts in Chicago (such as Dr. Robertas Vitas of the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center there), other experts in the field such as Rev. Valkavicius.

The Baltic Diaspora project has much potential for academicians and for Lithuania's politicians and government officials since it can raise consciousness about the role and lives of the diaspora.

(DRAUGAS, 7/9/96, from an article by Antanas Adomenas)

## Swiss-Lithuanian Juozas Eretas

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of Professor Juozas Eretas. Swiss by birth, Professor Eretas devoted most of his life to Lithuanian causes. He became a Lithuanian citizen in 1919 and in 1920 he joined the army as a volunteer.

Professor Eretas was born in 1896 in Basel. He studied Germanic Studies and History, and in 1918 he went to work at the Lithuanian Information Bureau in Lausanne, together with Mykolas Asmys from Klaipėda. Together they published informational newsletters and the journal *Litauen*. He began to learn Lithuanian from Asmys, and became acquainted with some of Lithuanian students at Freiburg University—K.Pakštas, S. Salkauskis, V. Mykolaitis-Putinas (who later became well-known in Lithuania as professors, philosophers, etc.-rk).

Eretas' work for Lithuania continued, and he was later invited to Kaunas to work as an advisor for the Foreign Affairs Office and to organize information dissemination activities. He established ELTA and served as its director. He taught German, Literature, World Literature and Art History...He worked with others on founding a sports federation, a temperance society, a children's newspaper.

In 1923, Eretas was elected into Lithuania's Seimas. He was a member of the Lithuanian Catholic Academy and headed the Kaunas University's Theology-Philosophy Department's World Literature Department...After he married Ona Jakaitis, he wanted to emphasize his family's Lithuanian roots and he began to sign his works as "Eretas-Jakaitis"—the couple raised a son and three daughters.

In 1940 all of the Kaunas University Theology-Philosophy faculty was let go, and Eretas and his family retreated to the village where relatives of Mrs. Eretas still lived, in order to avoid arrest. By 1941 the family had successfully reached Germany, but they ended up in a German SS camp. Only through the efforts of the Swiss government was the family able to move to Eretas' birthplace in Basel. In 1954, he was elected president of the American Lithuanian Writers' Society, and he travelled to Italy, America, Germany, New York with Lithuanian literary lectures.

Professor Eretas saw the importance of producing books and pamphlets for non-Lithuanian speakers. In 1919 he had published a booklet in German and Grench, and in 1940 a book *The Forgotten Balts*. He spoke at a Baltic conference in 1972 on the topic of how Lithuania could regain its independence. Engineer A. Liepinaitis, who had emigrated from Lithuania as a 14-year old, read Eretas' book *The Forgotten Balts* and was so convinced of its importance that, from 1972-1975, he ensured that the book be published in English, French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese. He presented an album containing his correspondence with Professor Eretas regarding the book to the Vytautas Magnus War Museum in Kaunas. Professor Eretas died in Basel in 1984, but it is hoped that A. Liepinaitis will travel from the United States to Lithuania in October 1996 to help commemorate the birth of the revered Professor.

(DIENOVIDIS, 7/12/96, from an article by Algimantas Zolubas)

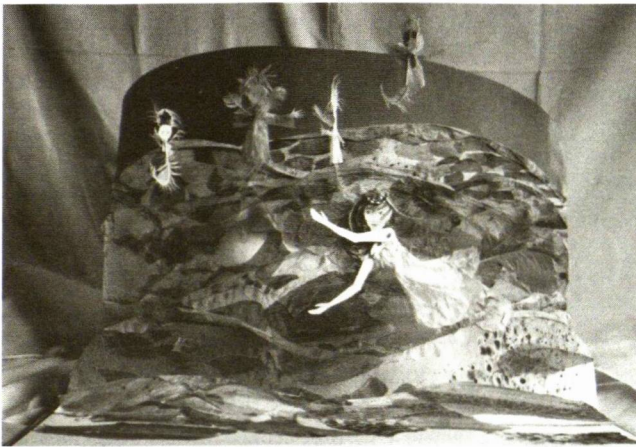


Diana Vidutis

# The Little Mermaid “Undinėlė”

The Lithuanian Puppet Theater rendition of “The Little Mermaid,” to which many were treated at the Tenth Lithuanian Folk Dance Festival in Chicago and at Camp Dainava, comes, quite literally, out of a book. Brought to the U.S. by Ona Pučkoriūtė, a professional puppeteer with “Teatras Lėlė” in Vilnius, the 40-minute performance takes place against elegant scenery bound as an oversized pop-up book.

In her production, Ona Pučkoriūtė chooses to highlight the lessons of self-sacrifice, tragedy and honor that Hans Christian Andersen intended. Children as well as adults in the audience are invariably entranced by the story line and the smooth-flowing action. The scenery changes as pages are turned, and the Little Mermaid travels from her comfortable underwater realm to the risk-filled real world of churning waves, sinking ships and unrequited love.



*The Little Mermaid (Undinėlė) floats through pages of beautiful scenery on her way to becoming a “Daughter of the Air.”*

As she narrates the story, Ona expertly maneuvers the featherweight puppets from scene to scene. The puppets themselves are paper-thin and masterfully executed, as is the scenery, by two artists well-known in Lithuania: Vėga Vaičiūnaitė and Vytautas Pakalnis. Ona invited Faustas Latėnas, who has written music for over 160 theatrical productions in Lithuania, to compose an original score for her “monospektaklis.”

Those familiar with the Walt Disney version of the Little Mermaid know that its ending differs significantly from the Hans Christian Andersen original. After all, if the Little Mermaid had actually gotten the prince in the end, why would the harbor of Copenhagen feature a statue of a doleful Little Mermaid sitting on a rock looking out toward the water?



*Puppeteer Ona Pučkoriūtė flanked by Undinėlė artists Vytautas Pakalnis and Vėga Vaičiūnaitė.*

Puppet theater in Lithuania enjoys a long and proud history. It was first mentioned at the end of the fifteenth century in the account of an assault upon wandering comedian Waszko and the theft of his puppets. The robbers were brought to trial and thus the event was recorded in the chronicles of that time.

The “Lėlė” puppet theater of Vilnius was founded in 1938 and is state-supported. Theater “Lėlė” is located at Arklių 5, 2001 Vilnius (+370-2-62-86-78) and operates Tuesday through Sunday from 10:00 am to 4:00 pm. Performances on Saturdays and Sundays are at 12 noon in the big hall (didžioji salė) and 2:00 pm in the small hall (mažoji salė). The production and travel of “Undinėlė” were funded by “Litma Import-Export.”



Jeanne Dorr

# Children are Reason Enough

Have you ever had a moment when you dreaded turning on the local television news or reading the newspaper? All we seem to hear or read about today are acts of violence committed by young people. In this article you are going to meet a group of students who will erase the stereotype many of us have about today's young people. They are

a copy of a letter CARE sent to Chicago along with a check for \$150 to sponsor a child in Lithuania. It was beautifully written by a student whose name was Amanda. I wrote a thank-you letter to the club and put in a special note to Amanda. I explained my problem to her and put her in charge of "nagging" her moderator. Believe me, it worked.

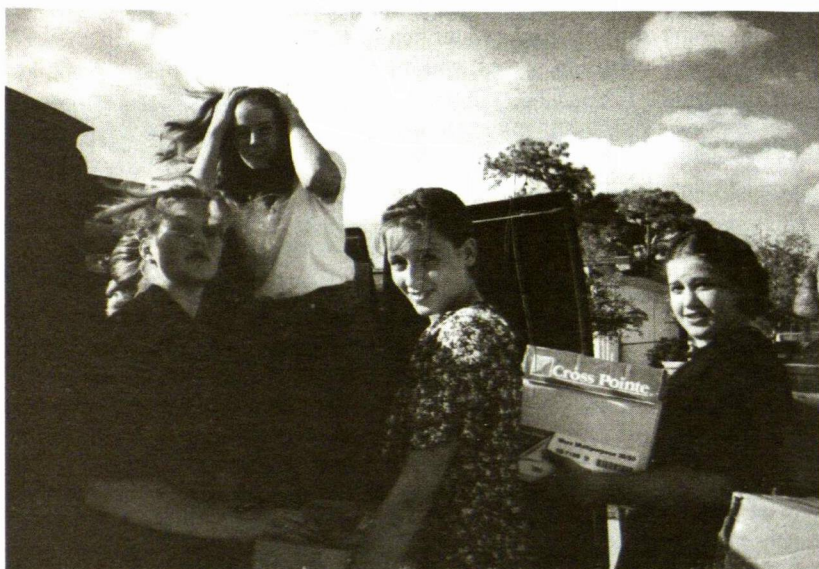
Within a week I had everything I needed from Aldona to write this article, including a tape and local newspaper articles.

My purpose in writing this story is twofold; I believe these students deserve recognition for their work, and I want readers who do not have much personal contact with teens to know there are many fine and decent young people among us.

## Getting Started

This organization was not always known as CARE. They started out as a rather loosely knit small group of students who got together because they wanted to help other people. Their first project was to purchase a Christmas tree for a local senior citizens' home. The following year they heard of a family that was literally going to

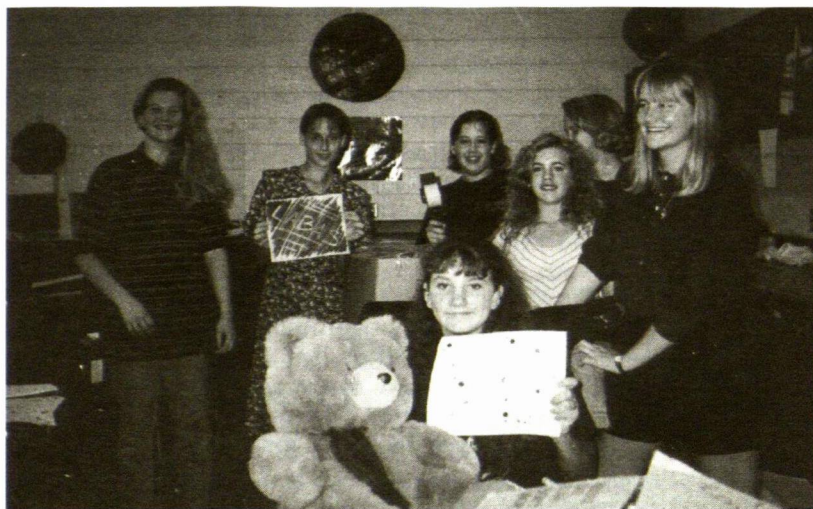
be put on the street within a few days. They needed every-



*Students from Lemon Bay High School in Englewood, Florida, pack a van full of boxes of items donated for an orphanage in Lithuania.*

high school students from Lemon Bay High School in Englewood, Florida who call themselves CARE (CHILDREN ARE REASON ENOUGH).

I first heard of these youngsters through Ariana Kumpis who, along with her friend, Ruth Meyer, do such a marvelous job with SOS, another fine organization which helps children in Lithuania. Ariana told me about the work CARE has done and she put me in touch with the club's moderator, Aldona Stanton. Aldona and I had a wonderful conversation on the phone after which I am sure the phone company's stock rose several points. She promised she would be in touch and send me some information for a BRIDGES article, but quite some time passed and I heard nothing. Then I received



*Lemon Bay High School students show the "Labas" greeting and page of personal signatures that were included in the packages prepared for the children.*





*Lemon Bay High School students wash cars to earn money to cover the cost of shipping their packages to orphans in Lithuania.*

thing — food, clothing, money, some Christmas gifts for their children, but most of all they needed moral support. The students collected clothes, a small amount of money, and gave the children a Christmas party and some toys. The group introduced them to some church organizations which could help them with their most pressing bills until their dispute was settled with Social Security. The family faced a mountain of debt due to tremendous medical bills. The problems were resolved and the family is on its feet now and doing fine.

The moderator of the group, Aldona Stanton, was born in Lithuania and wanted to help Lithuania's children. Her mother gave her the name of a new orphanage which was being started by Father R. Ramasauskas and she spoke to her students about making the orphanage a project. They were delighted and started collecting items they felt would be useful. Just before Christmas they shipped off over 300 pounds of winter items to the children.

### **Aldona's "Warehouse"**

In the meantime, the summer clothing was being stored in Aldona's classroom — perhaps I should say Aldona's "warehouse." Aldona described it as the multiplication of loaves and fishes — the more she packed, the more clothing was donated. When they decided to ship the boxes in June, they had more than 1,000 pounds.

Shipping fees were definitely going to be a problem. She asked the other clubs at Lemon Bay High School for help. Even at charity rates, the cost came to over \$800. The drive continued with students and anyone else who wished to help collecting stuffed animals, toys, toothbrushes and clothing. Things began to change when one of the students came to Aldona and told her she had a lot of ideas about shipping the packages. Aldona listened to her and agreed with the suggestions. Although they were not an official organization, they got a group of students together and

selected a name for themselves, and that was the birth of CHILDREN ARE REASON ENOUGH or CARE.

The boxes continued to be packed but the chipping costs were prohibitive. The students held car washes, bake sales, sold food at school functions and held raffles but it seemed there were always more boxes than money to ship them.

### **SOS to the Rescue**

The Sisters of the Immaculate Conception from Putnam, Connecticut suggested that

Aldona contact Ariana Kumpis but Aldona was hesitant. She felt that SOS was sending huge containers to Lithuania and doing "big time" work and certainly would not want to be bothered with a small group of students. But as the items continued to pour into her classroom, desperation won out and Aldona telephoned Ariana. At the other end of the line she encountered a warm and understanding Ariana who was not only delighted to hear from Aldona and her group but offered to ship their boxes along with the SOS packages for free if CARE could get their shipment to Miami.

Since CARE was taking on such large projects, they asked their school for permission to become an official club. Permission was granted but school officials asked the club not to advertise for members because so many young people would join, some strictly for social reasons, and nothing would get accomplished. CARE has approximately 65 members who participate in the work. They cannot all work on everything but donate their time and efforts whenever time allows. But now that they were official, work began in earnest on their project, and foremost among those were the children of Lithuania.

But it was not only CARE members who were involved. The students and staff of Lemon Bay High School as well as the community pitched in to help Lithuania. The car washes, bake sales, food sales and raffles continued. The group sold greeting cards which featured pictures drawn by children in Lithuania. Lemon Bay High School adopted this card as their "official" Christmas card. The cafeteria workers saved boxes for the shipments. One young lady even designed a logo for the group's T-shirts. But now, instead of using their hard-earned money to pay shipping costs, the group was buying such essential items as soap, toothpaste and toothbrushes. CARE members continued to work, work, and work!





*Lemon Bay High School students wrap small surprises for inclusion in their packages to children in Lithuania.*

The clothing which was donated was not always in perfect condition and students could often be seen dragging bags of clothing home to be laundered and to replace a missing button or two. The clothes were neatly folded and brought back to school. But the love with which these boxes were packed was incredible. Plastic bags were put into the bottoms of the boxes to protect the items from moisture. Then clothes, food, toys, medicine and whatever else they had bought or collected was packed. On the top of each box they placed a fabric softener sheet so that everything would have a fresh smell when the box was opened in Lithuania. The final item in each box was a sheet of paper signed by the students who were working on the project along with a note that said, "Hello, we love you!" in Lithuanian.

Aldona never ceases to be amazed by the goodness and generosity of the CARE members. One morning when she entered her classroom she found new shoes, underwear, aspirin, coffee and hot chocolate left against her wall. The donor was anonymous but she had a good idea who the person is who did the good deed.

## Getting Sophisticated

It sounds like a lot of fun and everything goes off without a hitch but, unfortunately, the group had to learn many things the hard way. After packing the 1,000 boxes for

Lithuania, U.P.S. refused to accept them. The group learned they could not use paper towel boxes — the boxes had to be stronger. Aldona shed a few tears over the lesson and then started repacking. They also learned that clothes "settle" and that they need to pack very tightly.

CARE plans to expand its work to orphanages which desperately need help. They will add even more personal touches by adding photographs of the students who worked on the project as well as a paper with all their signatures. They have also started to solicit some of their local businesses and have received donations of socks and children's outfits. They have been given the opportunity to buy items at very low prices, such as shoes at \$2 a pair. They recently purchased 108 pairs of new shoes. The students do the actual purchasing themselves. Do you realize how many car washes and bake sales it takes to raise that kind of money? This is true dedication on the part of these young people. Another future project is to help the people of Appalachia.

I was overjoyed when the students sponsored a child through Lithuanian Orphan Care. Along with their check they sent a very moving letter explaining their club. Aldona told me they were excited when they received the details of the little girl they are sponsoring. Eleven year old Kristina from Ignalina is now very real to them and they are delighted to be her "foster parents." But how about lucky Kristina who now has so many American "aunts" and "uncles?" What a stroke of good luck for her !

I know CARE will be successful in all their future projects. As Lithuanian-Americans, we owe them a debt of gratitude for all they have done for Lithuania's children. We need to learn from these young people how to give of ourselves in a joyful and cheerful manner.

I would like to thank Ariana Kumpis of SOS in Miami for letting me know about CARE. A special word of thanks to the administration and staff of Lemon Bay High School for their cooperation and help with the CARE projects.

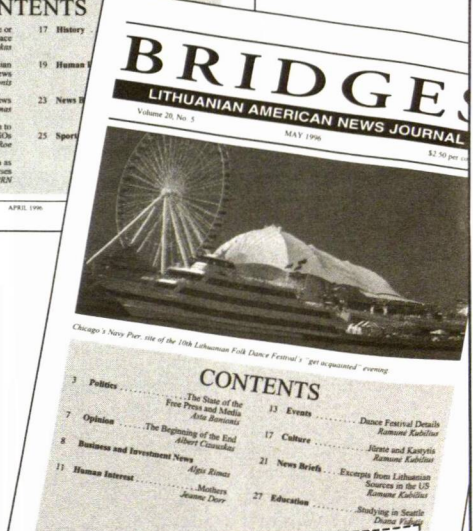
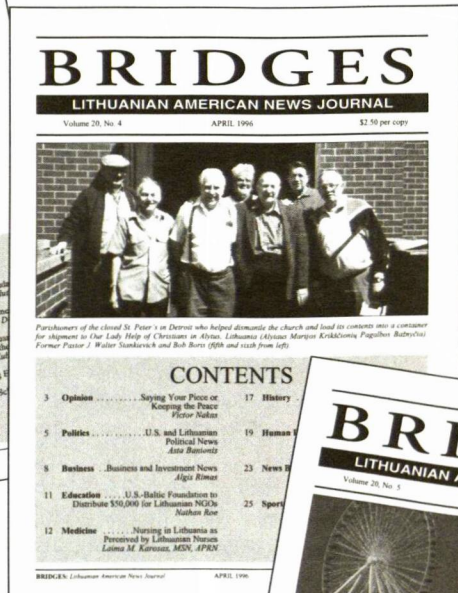
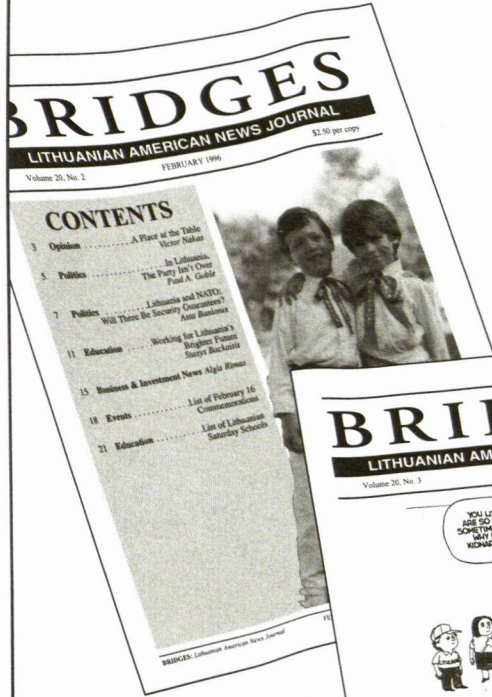
However, I cannot let this article end without a word of praise for the parents of these students who have raised their children to care about others who are less fortunate. You have every right to be proud of these young people. To Aldona Stanton, a million thanks for the guidance and the many hours you have given to your students. You have shown that teachers never know how many lives they touch; your concern and generosity have spanned two continents and have reached hundred of children. Our most profound thanks to the members of CARE for your dedication. Unfortunately, you will never know the full impact of your work or how many young lives you have changed. On behalf of the children of Lithuania — THANK YOU!



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# BRIDGES

LITHUANIAN AMERICAN NEWS JOURNAL

Volume 20, No. 7

AUGUST/SEPTEMBER 1996

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