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*Empowerment Against Adversity: The Obstruction of Lithuanian Women’s Identities,*

*1940-1953*

Over the Autumn of 1939, a suffocating stillness overtakes the old streets of Vilnius. The puppet government in the Seimas (Parliament) was known to be full of phonies whose actions were entirely controlled by the strings held by the Soviets. Bitterness and cynicism show up in the polls, where citizens voted for cartoon characters rather than real people. The stage had been set for the annexation of Lithuania by its eastern neighbor, but no one realized what this truly meant.[[1]](#footnote-1)

This essay will examine one of Lithuania’s most tumultuous decades, the period of 1940-1953. This time span is marked with political turmoil, resentment, and a population divided on religion, ethnicity, and patriotism.[[2]](#footnote-2) The stories of the men of this time are widely known in Lithuania, yet the women of this period and country have remained virtually unknown. This demographic of Stalin’s paranoid deportations, of the Lithuanian Holocaust, and of the partisan movements have been silenced by history.

For women, the destruction of their families, communities, and ultimately their identities by an unforgiving world have gone unexplored for far too long. This essay attempts to prove that the victims of Soviet deportations, the Holocaust, and the participants in the partisan movements had their identities as women obstructed. To begin exploring this topic, one must ask how these women’s identities were obstructed and in what ways did they cope with a loss of identity? Then the question arises of what were the differences between the experiences of men and women and how did traditional gender roles have a hand in this? These questions are carefully examined, and appropriate sources are made use of to describe the experiences of Lithuanian women in this time period.

Section 1: Bandits on Trains to Nowhere

A deep, mournful sadness washed over the occupants of the moving cattle car, dragging them slowly away from the twinkling lights of their city. Wherever this group of unfortunate people was headed, they were likely to never return to the forested lands they were so familiar with. Women, children, and the elderly were crammed into these train cars, headed to an unknown destination with only occasional stops throughout Lithuania. By the time they had passed the final station in Lithuania, many people both inside the cars and outside knew they were being deported, with free countrymen giving them their blessings from either side of the tracks.[[3]](#footnote-3)

Throughout the 1930’s, signs of trouble from the east were imminent. The USSR was a known threat and annexation did not come as a surprise, given that many families had already fled to the west in hopes of immigrating to the United States.[[4]](#footnote-4) For those who decided to stay, the first occupation of their country in 1940 brought about extreme changes to their lives.[[5]](#footnote-5) The June Mass Deportations began in 1941, largely consisting of those from the middle and upper classes being forced into cattle cars in the middle of the night. Those who were clergymen, former government workers, professors, and many more innocents -- along with relatives of such people -- were all liable to be targeted and subsequently deported by the NKVD. These innocents were deemed “enemies of the people” by Stalin, and deportations were justified by labelling them as “bandits.”[[6]](#footnote-6)

Often when these women, children, and elderly arrived in the distant lands of eastern Siberia they found nothing. There was no camp, no restrictive walls or wiring; just themselves, the Soviet officers, and the empty tundra landscape. These women were expected to build the entire camp, from the officers’ quarters to their own, less-insulated yurts. When the adolescent boys attempted to help their mothers and sisters, the officers sent them off to catch fish, driving the message home that this was to be the women’s task alone. Even nearby Russian villages would try to offer assistance in the form of food or supplies, only to be shooed away by Soviet officers. The intention was clear: these women, children, and elderly people were to die.[[7]](#footnote-7)

Word spread, as it always does, and eventually the men of the labor camps in the south caught wind that women were doing a man’s work. Instead of doing simple, domestic tasks, these women were lifting logs, building, and hunting. Not only this, but when extra rations were sent their way by women (an exclusively Lithuanian practice), the men were only given a few potato slices. It was incomprehensible to many of the deported men, who could not fathom why women were doing such laborious tasks, how they could starve themselves to send food to men, and why they dressed so much like men. Rather than becoming angry with the Soviet officers who held the lives of these women in their hands, the ethnic Lithuanian men turned their frustrations on the women. It is a peculiar reaction as this was a stark difference from their neighbors, the Poles, who looked upon their deported women with sympathy. Lithuanian were much more accepting of their new roles – albeit reluctantly – in which they were constantly under Soviet male supervision, even while bathing.[[8]](#footnote-8)

These Lithuanians were not the only men who expressed disdain toward Lithuanian women. Women also faced the ridicule of Soviet officers, who used their pain against them and barely saw them as more than a ticket to escape the heated Eastern Front of World War II. When a young Dalia Grinkevičiūtė finds herself overwhelmed by the sack of flour she is carrying, she is promptly mocked by a Soviet officer:

The Russian supervisor approached and asked: ‘How old are you?’ – ‘Fifteen’ – ‘Strange, fifteen and you can’t lift a sack. Our twelve-year-olds are already able to load up sacks themselves. You rotten lot.’[[9]](#footnote-9)

Women were able to create a safe community among themselves, and even more so if they had been sent to a kolkhoz – a collective farm – where they were able to bond with the pre-existing community there. Through song, story-telling, education, religion, and trading recipes, deported Lithuanian women were able to connect with one another and re-establish some of the humanity that had been stolen from them.[[10]](#footnote-10) The bond forged between these strangers of vastly different backgrounds – of varying wealth and education – grew to be incredibly strong. If a woman fell ill, the rest would flock to her aid. There were also occasions where men and women could write to one another through long-distance mail. Despite resentments men may have held, these letters were usually ones of love, even though neither party had met before. Even ethnic Russian members of the kolkhozes developed fond feelings for the women deported to their large farms. This was especially true for children, who grew to look at these women almost as second mothers and held concern for the deportees’ health.[[11]](#footnote-11) These women managed to form new communities against all odds.[[12]](#footnote-12)

Section 2: The Destruction of a Community

Long had anti-Semitism been a social reality for those living in Lithuania. Litvaks – Lithuanian Jews – could not feign surprise at the ethnic Lithuanians’ attempts to suppress their community.[[13]](#footnote-13) From quotas at universities to establishing laws that limited Jewish participation in business and commerce, Lithuania experienced a rise in anti-Semitism at least a decade before the Nazis arrived in their land.[[14]](#footnote-14) With the first occupation of the Soviet regime came resentment from the ethnic Lithuanian population who immediately blamed the Jews and began churning out propaganda against them.[[15]](#footnote-15)

The invasion of Hitler’s *Einsatzgruppe* forceswas hailed by ethnic Lithuanians as a great event that ended the oppressive rule of the Soviets.[[16]](#footnote-16) For the Litvaks, however, this shift in power spelled disaster. Traditional rural Jewish towns (shtetls) felt the effects first. In shtetls like Molėtai (Yiddish: Malát), the Litvaks residing there were quickly rounded up and locked in their shul without food or water as a pit was being dug in a nearby forest that would later act as a mass grave.[[17]](#footnote-17) Molėtai and other shtetls faced large-scale massacres by the Nazis and their Lithuanian auxiliaries, disrupting the lives of city-dwelling Litvaks who had roots in the countryside.[[18]](#footnote-18)

Gender held a powerful role in the Holocaust but is all too often overlooked. To the Nazis, men were creative, innovative, and dominant, while women were nurturing, family-oriented, and submissive.[[19]](#footnote-19) This view on genders played out negatively for the Jews of Lithuania. Jewish men were immediately seen as suspicious figures and faced unemployment, ridicule, and beatings, leading to severe depression. Where the men were no longer able to navigate the system at all, women had a little power left with which to save their families from starvation. Women had to take the place of men as the breadwinners, maintaining their strength while showing compassion to the men in their lives. Women bore the burden of looking out for their family first, putting their own safety and comfort second, as was expected.[[20]](#footnote-20)

After scores of the Jewish population were slaughtered in the countryside, a swift force of Nazis and Lithuanian collaborators forced city-dwelling Litvaks into overcrowded ghettos, barring them from the outside world with armed guards and barbed wire.[[21]](#footnote-21) One such ghetto that arose was in Kovno (Lithuanian: Kaunas), in which a young woman named Lea and her small family found themselves. Lea, along with her husband, her toddler, and her mother-in-law were forced into the Kovno Ghetto in 1941. Soon afterwards, her husband was taken by Nazis to an unknown forced labor camp with other Jewish men from the ghetto and was never seen nor heard from again.[[22]](#footnote-22) Just as there was a fear of losing full-grown family members, there was also the gut-wrenching terror of losing one’s child. Those that managed to hide their children became much more desperate for someone on the outside to come save the youth left in the ghetto. Occasionally, ethnic Lithuanian women like Bronislava Krištopavičienė could be found to come take children out of the camp and raise them as their own, again proving the connection between women, family, and lack of regard for one’s own well-being. [[23]](#footnote-23)

“Schnell, schnell!” Shouts of “hurry” pierced the air as reality deteriorated into something much more morbid. Young women clung to their children as skeletal men in striped pajamas forced them and other Jews off the train cars they had come in. Quickly noticed by these strange men, their children were yanked from their arms and placed with older women. Unknown to the young mothers, these veterans of the camp processing system had realized how the Nazis used the link between mother and child to send women to their deaths.[[24]](#footnote-24) Women like Lea arrived at camps and had what little there was left of their families ripped from them, with young and old relatives sent to their deaths.[[25]](#footnote-25) Upon entering the camp, women were dealt another blow to their traditional femininity by having their heads forcibly shaved. From this moment forward, women formed a lasting bond and sense of community with one another through their shared pain and desire to survive.[[26]](#footnote-26)

Men in the camps were typically sympathetic to their female counterparts. Just as ethnic Lithuanian men and women traded love letters to boost morale, so too did the Litvaks. Letters would be traded over fences that divided men and women, or sometimes just by passing it to one person who would see to it that the letter was delivered to the one it was meant for.[[27]](#footnote-27) In Auschwitz, men would give women small parcels of food for simply standing at the fence. For them, just seeing a woman helped their will to live. For women, standing there was done out of desperation and was demeaning.[[28]](#footnote-28) More exclusive to women, however, was the ability create makeshift “camp families” to substitute for their lost real ones.[[29]](#footnote-29) Through these acts, a will to live and to keep fighting in any way possible developed.

Section 3: A Rebellion Against Fate

The quick staccato of shouts in various languages as bullets flew through the air and dynamite detonated on railroads, the adrenaline of walking past armed soldiers with a secret package, and the smell of fresh print after laboring over propaganda for hours. These were some of the realities of the partisan movements. Often grassroots organizations started by various people, there were three distinct partisan groups in Lithuania from 1940 until the collapse of the loosely-organized movements in 1953.[[30]](#footnote-30) The first of these were the Jewish partisans, an organization of men and women who had escaped from the ghettos to fight the Nazis.[[31]](#footnote-31) The second were the Soviet partisans, who ended up combining forces with the Jewish partisans in an attempt to rid Lithuania of the Nazis.[[32]](#footnote-32) The third and final group of partisans hiding in the forests were the pro-Lithuanian partisans, sometimes referred to as the “Forest Brothers.”[[33]](#footnote-33)

The Jewish partisan groups often formed in secluded parts of the ghettos established in Lithuania and were supported by the Jewish councils in charge of these communities.[[34]](#footnote-34) These groups formed to seek vengeance on the Nazis that had torn their communities to pieces. One unit was even known as “Revenge,” something that Rachel Margolis – a Jewish partisan – took great pleasure from.[[35]](#footnote-35) Women made up 10% of this force of Jewish partisans, a significant number that was due in part to the desperation of the Soviets and Litvaks.[[36]](#footnote-36)

Joining the Jewish partisans as a woman tended to bring mixed reviews on experiences, but most were positive. On the one hand, there were units that took respecting the women who fought with them incredibly seriously. In one of these units, a partisan man raped a partisan woman and the next day he found himself surrounded by other men in the group who deliberated over what to do with him and, ultimately, decided that the only way to protect the women of their unit was to kill the rapist. On the other hand, some women were not as lucky to have such morals guiding their units. Some women had joined units where they had to sell themselves to men in the group in order to survive. A tough decision was forced upon these young women: sell your body and continue to fight the Nazis or simply leave and go into hiding.[[37]](#footnote-37)

Litvak women found themselves holding various positions within the partisans, depending on which independent group they had joined. A large portion of these women participated in the set up and detonation of dynamite or makeshift bombs.[[38]](#footnote-38) The Jewish partisans were well-known for the considerable devastation they caused to major railway routes.[[39]](#footnote-39) This was but one of the many jobs that Vitka Kempner juggled. Kempner and the Jewish partisan group she joined, led by Abba Kovner, also aided in smuggling weapons and people into and out of Vilna Ghetto.[[40]](#footnote-40) Unlike in other partisan movements, women of the Jewish units were readily found on the frontlines of battle.[[41]](#footnote-41) These women could be found on almost any level of the partisan hierarchy. Women commonly acted as messengers, given their unassuming appearances and their ability to blend in more readily with non-Jews than were the men.[[42]](#footnote-42) Regrettably, women often were not awarded leadership positions unless a group was severely threatened:

The more threatened an underground is, the more receptive it becomes to women and the more likely to offer them at least token leadership roles. Vulnerability tends to make an underground less choosy. But this does not mean that prejudices against women in leadership roles disappear.[[43]](#footnote-43)

Unlike the men of the Jewish partisans, there were still certain restrictive expectations of women who joined. One such expectation was to put family first, which is best exemplified by Margolis, who had quietly escaped from the Vilna Ghetto to join the resistance. She was approached one day by a man who had recently visited the ghetto and tells her of her father’s sadness at her having abandoned her family before liquidation. For a woman to be reminded of the close ties she was supposed to have with her family was nearly unbearable.[[44]](#footnote-44) This is not to say the young men did not also suffer, but none of them were approached in this manner, making these statements targeted and intent on shaming a woman for not staying by her family’s side as many Jewish women did during the Holocaust.[[45]](#footnote-45)

Of course, not everyone was thrilled to have women on the frontlines. Upon officially combining forces with the Soviet partisans, the Litvaks faced a few new problems. First, to even join this new combined force, one needed to prove himself by producing a weapon. Second, the Soviet leadership wanted to bar all-Jewish units entirely.[[46]](#footnote-46) Finally, the merger between Soviet and Jewish groups meant Soviet ideals on a woman’s place in the partisan movement would be presented as law unless fought against. Instead of allowing these new ideals to restrict them, Litvak women fought ferociously to retain their place on the frontlines.[[47]](#footnote-47)

Anti-Semitism was rampant throughout this time period and was especially noticeable in other ethnic groups during World War II. Even those that the Litvaks were fighting with held their anti-Semitic sentiments close, along with ethnic Lithuanian partisan groups and civilians. The trouble of being a Jewish partisan in the dense forests of Lithuania was that movements like the Forest Brothers had made their bases in the same place.[[48]](#footnote-48) Not only were hostile partisan groups a concern, but civilians who sought out escaped or Soviet-supporting Jews became a problem for Litvaks. These civilians would actively support the Holocaust by trapping Jews that came to them for aid and then selling them out to the Nazis.[[49]](#footnote-49) The line between the Litvak population and that of the ethnic Lithuanians becomes that much more strained by these events.

In the pro-Lithuanian partisan movement, women became a powerful tool of persuasion to join the Forest Brothers. Composed mainly of men, a certain level of masculinity was ascribed to this group of freedom fighters.[[50]](#footnote-50) As with any group of fighters, morale had to be maintained and music was viewed as a great way to escape reality. Songs reminded the partisans why they fought: for their homeland and for their families. The latter is especially invoked in the final verses of “Oh, Little Falcon,” in which the singer describes the deaths of his family members, emphasizing his younger sister the most. This shows the popular image of women at the time: sweet, innocent, and in need of the partisans’ protection from the Soviets.[[51]](#footnote-51)

Sweet, innocent, and in need of protection are not descriptors for the average Lithuanian woman living in this time period. Having endured the first wave of terror brought on by the Soviet regime in 1940-1941 and later witnessing the regime’s return in 1944 and subsequent destruction of the Lithuanian nationality, many women dropped their ties to traditional femininity and their idea of self to take to the forests.[[52]](#footnote-52) Unfortunately, betrayal was a common event and the NKVD would pay someone off to infiltrate the ranks of pro-Lithuanian resistances, including groups that were peaceful. It didn’t take long for traitors to be discovered due to the large sum of “dirty money” they would suddenly have, but it was often too late to do something about it by the time they were.[[53]](#footnote-53)

Sadly, no matter how equal to men some women may have felt, both ethnic and Litvak men often regarded these women as burdensome.[[54]](#footnote-54) Women often struggled with the heavy equipment they would have to carry for the partisans, leading to some men taking on even more weight. Of course, women would feel guilty when this would occur, but that did little to change the minds of men who felt women were unfit for the battlefield.[[55]](#footnote-55)

Section 4: Epilogue and Synthesis

The year is 1958, only five years after the death of a bloodthirsty tyrant, and many women are at long last allowed to return to Lithuania.[[56]](#footnote-56) Old friends had been bought out by the Soviets to act as spies, jobs were sparse for those who had been deported, and an unwelcoming atmosphere had upended the tranquil memories that had carried many deportees through their darkest days. For many deportees, living in their hometowns had become impossible, causing them to return to Russia until their home country regained its independence. Only a select few were able to find work with the help of friends and managed to stay.[[57]](#footnote-57)

The division and confusion for the women of Lithuania did not end with Stalin’s death, just as the Litvaks’ inner struggle for a sense of self did not dissolve with Hitler’s blood. Great damage had been dealt to the communities these women were from, and for those who were deported, homecoming often served to further alienate them from the society they once knew. Suddenly, they were outsiders. Friends who had stayed now turned a blind eye to the struggles of these former deportees, casting them off as some form of “others.” Many families that had been deported dreamt of the great return to the land that was so familiar to them, only to be crushed with despair upon realizing what the Soviet Union had molded it into.[[58]](#footnote-58)

The effects of World War II and the USSR is still damaging today as Ethnic Lithuanians and Litvaks continue to dismiss the other group’s suffering, further widening the gap and making it more difficult for the nation to heal. A good example of this is found in their current arguments over the Forest Brothers and Nazi collaborators. Ethnic Lithuanians justify not removing honors awarded to known-Nazi collaborators by claiming that the Jews of Lithuania were traitors for siding with the Soviets during the Second World War, while Litvaks and their allies denounce pro-Lithuanian partisans as simply “nationalist bandits.”[[59]](#footnote-59) This discourse has made navigating this topic challenging, with the two sides constantly promoting their own perspective and various scholars taking one side or the other, occasionally using doctored documents to disparage the other group.[[60]](#footnote-60)

Historians such as Violeta Davoliūtė, Dovilė Budrytė, and Tomas Balkelis have been at the forefront of the conversation about the traumas inflicted by the USSR and Nazi Germany, pushing for an all-encompassing collective memory to include the struggles of Litvaks, ethnic Lithuanians, and women.[[61]](#footnote-61) Dalia Leneirte attempts to bridge the gap between victims of the Holocaust and victims of Stalin’s deportations through gender studies, but in a less tactful way by comparing the casualties and scale of the events.[[62]](#footnote-62) Women interviewed also present an interesting counter-argument to the study of gender during these events by insisting men had it worse or that gender wasn’t thought of or discussed.[[63]](#footnote-63) Gender must be investigated because what one gender may experience, the other may not. In order to gain all perspectives and gather the full story of different events, the unique challenges of women must be researched and documented.[[64]](#footnote-64)

A string of similar reactions to trauma can tie Lithuanian women together. There are strong women on both the side of the ethnic Lithuanians and the Litvaks. There are even women such as Marcelė who connect both sides, having rescued her Jewish neighbors, been a pro-Lithuanian partisan, and a deportee.[[65]](#footnote-65) The Litvaks have people such as Rachel Margolis, Lea Leibowitz, and Vitka Kempner to champion as fighters for the preservation of their wider community. For ethnic Lithuanians, there is Dalia Grinkevičiūtė, Vitalija Kraujelytė, and Natalija Gudonytė to celebrate. If these women, who were true patriots that deeply loved the Lithuanian communities they came from, were triumphed in the place of more controversial figures, there is a chance that some of the tensions between Lithuanian Jews and ethnic Lithuanians may lessen. These women all presented strength and will-power through trying times, as this project has proven.

**Primary Sources**

Budrytė, Dovilė. ““We Didn’t Keep Diaries, You Know”: Memories of Trauma and Violence in the Narratives of Two Former Women Resistance Fighters.” *Lituanas: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 57, vol. 2 (2011): http://www.lituanus.org/2011/11\_2\_05Budryte.html.

This document focuses on interviews with Vitalija Kraujelytė and Natalija Gudonytė, two survivors of the partisan war and deportation who provide interesting perpsectives.

Grinkevičiūtė, Dalia. “Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea: The Siberian Memoirs of Dalia Grinkevičiūtė.” *Lituanas: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 36, vol. 4 (1990) (Original work published 1988): http://www.lituanus.org/1990\_4/90\_4\_05.htm.

This memoir was written by a survivor of Russian deportations in June 1941. Grinkevičiūtė describes her experiences of being exiled to an uninhabited island near the Laptev Sea.

Grinkevičiūtė, Dalia, *Shadows on the Tundra,* trans. Delija Valiukenas. https://www.goodreads.com/work/quotes/61551501-shadows-on-the-tundra.

This source shows the emotions a young girl and her family have as they are taken from their homeland in cattle cars by the Soviets.

Grinkevičiūtė, Dalia. “The Trial,” *Words Without Borders*, trans. Delija Valiukenas (2018): https://www.wordswithoutborders.org/article/march-2018-lithuania-the-tiral-dalia- grinkeviciute-delija-valiukenas.

This source describes a trial for a young woman in front of Soviet officers in detail.

[JewishPartisans]. (2013, July 8). *Every Day The Impossible: Jewish Women In The Partisans*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\_continue=284&v=V9i5Hp2nVb8

This video presents a collection of interviews with various former members of the Jewish partisan movement in Europe, including some narration to give factual data to viewers.

Lithuanian Comenius Group [OWTF Comenius]. (2013, March 20). *Lithuanian Partisans*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5I3EISvgfhw.

At around the 2:50 mark, a girl interviews her grandmother, who was a partisan supporter, deportee, and helped to save five local Jews during the Nazi occupation of Lithuania.

Margolis, R., & Piotrow, F. J. (2010). *A partisan from vilna*. US: Academic Studies Press.

This source details the life of a young Jewish woman who joined the Jewish partisans. It is within this source that it was revealed that there are three distinct groups of partisans: the Jews, who were pro-Communist; the ethnic Lithuanians, who were anti-Soviet, anti- Communist; and the Red Army-controlled pro-Soviet partisans.

The Baltic Initiative and Network Researchers. “Videos: Eyewitness Accounts at Historical Sites.” Accessed November 11, 2018. http://coldwarsites.net/videos/.

This page provides multiple interesting interviews with survivors of Soviet oppression.

**Secondary Sources**

Balčiūnas, Evaldas. “Footprints of Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas in the Mass Murder of the Jews of Druskininkai.” Last modified March 27, 2014. http://defendinghistory.com/footprints-adolfas-ramanauskas-vanagas-mass-murder-jews- druskininkai/65177.

In this source, the author takes a closer look at the famous anti-Soviet partisan, Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas, and his involvement in the Holocaust.

Balkelis, Tomas. “Lithuanian children in the GULAG: Deportations, ethnicity and identity: Memoirs of children deportees, 1941-1952.” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 51, vol. 3 (2005): 40-74.

This source gives a variety of detailed accounts of Lithuanian deportation.

Birmontienė, T. & Jurėnienė, V. “Development of Women’s Rights in Lithuania: Recognition of Women’s Political Rights.” Last modified March 30, 2009. https://www.mruni.eu/upload/iblock/10f/birmontiene.pdf.

This source deals specifically with women’s political rights in Lithuania and allowed for a concentration on the 20th century.

Boom, Dora. “Preface 1.” Last modified 2005. https://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/pakruojis/morkakalnis/morkakalnis1.htm.

This source acts as a means by which to aid in reconstructing the socio-political climate in Lithuania during the 1940s and early 1950s. From here, one can find that the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF) was actively anti-Semitic and held Nazi support given their calls for violence against the Jewish population. Boom includes a group called the “white arm-banders” that supported the LAF. This group would aid the Nazis in rounding up and murdering Jews.

“Bronislava Krištopavičienė.” Yad Vashem. Accessed November 21, 2018. https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/righteous-women/kristopaviciene.asp.

This article describes a Lithuanian nurse who rescued a Jewish woman’s daughter from the Kovno ghetto and claimed her as her own until her mother escaped.

Budrytė, Dovilė. “From Partisan Warfare to Memory Battlefields: Two Women’s Stories about the Second World War and Its Aftermath in Lithuania,” *Gender & History* 28, no. 3 (2016): pp. 754–774.

This source gives key statistics regarding the number of women participants in the partisan movements across Lithuania.

Budrytė, Dovilė. "Gendering “History of Fighting and Suffering”: War and Deportation in the Narratives of Women Resistance Fighters in Lithuania." In *Narratives of Exile and Identity: Soviet Deportation Memoirs from the Baltic States*, edited by Davoliūtė Violeta and Balkelis Tomas, 103-18. Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2018. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7829/j.ctv4cbhvq.11.

This source describes how a woman could suffer simply because of her cultural ties.

[DamnKimPhilby]. (2008, February 21). *Songs of Freedom “Oh, Little Falcon.”* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-ULCDUc\_3s

The video not only includes a traditional pro-Lithuanian partisan song, but it also showcases various pictures of the partisans, men and women alike. What is of most interest, however, is the final verse. In this final verse is where listeners learn why these men partisans are fighting.

Damn Kim Philby. “Juozas Daumantas’ “Fighters For Freedom” pp. 14-19.” *Collateral Damage* (blog), February 13, 2008. http://historyreference.blogspot.com/2008/02/juozas- daumantas-fighters-for-freedom\_13.html.

It offers a different perspective on the Russians, who sympathize with the Lithuanian family in the book while also referring to Lithuania as being its own country. This excerpt shows women in a domestic position, where they do the cooking for the men even though they weren’t the ones to make promises of a meal.

Dauknys, Pranas. “The Resistance of the Catholic Church in Lithuania Against Religious Persecution.” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 31, no. 1 (1985): http://www.lituanus.org/1985/85\_1\_04.htm.

This source includes some background info on the Catholic reaction to the Soviet Union and the reason for the mass deportations of Lithuanian citizens. Beginning with the latter, Dauknys claims that the Soviet Union deported Lithuanians in June of 1941 and the period of 1945-1950 in order to make room for Russian settlers. This claim conflicts with other sources, many of which believe there was no true reason behind the deportations.

David, Jono. “Virtual Jewish World: Vilnius (Vilna), Lithuania.” Accessed November 14, 2018. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/vilnius-vilna-lithuania-jewish-history-tour.

This article gives some background and statistics regarding the Jewish population of Vilnius/Vilna. The author provides a brief history of the Jewish residents in the city and gives readers modern numbers and percentages for those who currently live there.

Davoliūtė, Violeta. “Heroes, Villains and Matters of State: The Partisan and Popular Memory in Lithuania Today.” *Cultures of History Forum*, (2017): 1-12, doi: 10.25626/0078.

The author of this article looks at both the past and present feelings toward the Lithuanian partisans. She also mentions how the memory of the partisans is a complicated topic and misinformation is usually being spread, whether from the Litvak side of things or from that of the ethnic Lithuanian population. This misinformation comes from doctored documents made by the KGB and from people like Vanagaitė, who wrote a book on one of the most famous partisan leaders based on these documents causing a scandal and resentment to surface.

Erudite. (2010, February 21). Amazon customer reviews [Review of the documentary *Partisans of Vilna*]. *Amazon*. Retrieved from https://www.amazon.com/gp/customer- reviews/R36HI6QXTYMRZ2/ref=cm\_cr\_arp\_d\_viewpnt?ie=UTF8&ASIN=B0007GP6Y W#R36HI6QXTYMRZ2

This source sheds some light on modern ethnic Lithuanian feelings toward the different partisan movements of the 1940’s. Not only does it showcase the hard feelings many people still harbor about pro-Soviet partisans, but it also opens a debate among other reviewers of this documentary. This shows the delicate struggle of scholarship on this topic given many ethnic Lithuanians’ tendency to vilify anyone who was not specifically pro-Lithuanian freedom fighters.

Eytan Uliel. “Notes From Lithuania (Part II of III): Lea’s Legacy.” *The Road Warrior* (blog), March 26, 2013. https://www.eytanuliel.com/2013/03/26/notes-from-lithuania-part-ii-of- iii-leas-legacy/.

This article is speckled with details of life in Lithuania for Jewish women, particularly before and during World War II. Before World War II, few women went to university and quotas were placed on how many Jews would be allowed in a program. During the course of World War II, a woman’s identity would be stripped from her – taking her away from her home and destroying her family before her eyes. In the case of Lea, this meant pulling her away from her studies and sending her husband and co-parent to an unknown location from which he never returned.

Facing History and Ourselves Researchers. “Jewish Life in Lithuania Before the Holocaust.” Accessed November 10, 2018. https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/resistance- during-holocaust/jewish-life-lithuania-holocaust.

According to this source, the number of Jews in Vilnius/Vilna was 160,000 before World War II, and the entire population of Jews in Lithuania accounted for 7% of the total population.

Facing History and Ourselves Researchers. “The Holocaust in Lithuania.” Accessed November 10, 2018. https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/resistance-during- holocaust/holocaust-lithuania.

In this article, attention is given to Lithuania’s loss of independence due to the Molotov- Ribbentrop Pact and the onset of the Lithuanian Holocaust. The article points out that in Stalin’s June deportations, 7,000 of those deported were Jews. It also discusses the problems Stalin’s Sovietization created for the Jewish population and how the cooperation between Jewish and Soviet partisan groups was seen as a betrayal in the eyes of the Lithuanian public.

Girnius, Kęstutis K. “Soviet Terror in Lithuania During the Post-War Years.” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 32*,* no. 4 (1986): http://www.lituanus.org/1986/86\_4\_04.htm.

This source offers insight to Lithuania before and after the Great Patriotic War, or World War II. Girnius provides valuable information on the Lithuanian mindset throughout the 1940s-1950s, claiming that there was little Lithuanian support for the Soviets (seen in how few Lithuanians joined the Soviet partisans and the large numbers of deserters from the Red Army) and that Germany was seen as their liberator before being reconquered.

Higgins, Andrew. “Nazi Collaborator or National Hero? A Test for Lithuania.” Last modified September 10, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/10/world/europe/nazi-general- storm-lithuania.html.

This article, written by a New York Times journalist, presents the compelling argument that the fake Russian partisans might not have existed at all. By using the example of General Storm, or Jonas Noreika, the author makes the case that many celebrated Lithuanian partisans were heavily involved in the Holocaust.

Hignett, Kelly, Ilic, Melanie, Leinarte, Dalia, & Snitar, Corina. (2018). *Women’s Experiences of Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. New York, NY: Routledge.

In this book, various comparisons are made between different groups of deportees, along with in-depth discussions on how gender played a role in the lives of those deported. For example, the author of the third chapter mentioned how Lithuanian men were more disgruntled over women doing “men’s” work than the women were.

“Jewish Women in the Partisans.” Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation. Accessed November 14, 2018. http://www.jewishpartisans.org/content/jewish-women-partisans.

This article deals specifically with the topic being discussed. A list of various female members of the Jewish partisan groups are listed on the page, as well as pictures of the women. Some important statistics are also displayed here, including the fact the women made up 10% of these partisan groups.

Kaszeta, Daniel J. “Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation 1940-1952.” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 34*,* no. 3 (1988): http://www.lituanus.org/1988/88\_3\_01.htm.

This source provides many valuable background details to this research. Kaszeta provides readers with the list NKVD officers would use to find Lithuanians to arrest and/or deport to Siberia.

“Kovno.” The Holocaust Encyclopedia. Accessed November 22, 2018. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/kovno.

This source discusses life in the Kovno ghetto and how the Jewish population there fared before and during the Holocaust.

Kuodyte, Dalia. “The tragic story of how one third of Lithuania’s population became victims of soviet terror.” Accessed September 24, 2018. http://vilnews.com/2010-12-the-tragic- story-of-how-one-third-of-lithuania%E2%80%99s-population-became-victims-of-soviet- terror.

This source is an overview of the various experiences of Lithuanians under the Soviet regime and the events that led up to these traumas.

Kurvet-Käosaar, Leena. “’Is That Hunger Haunting the Stove?’ Thematization of Food in the Deportation Narratives of Baltic Women.” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 46, no. 3 (2015): pp. 337-353.

This source details how deported women attempted to hold to their identities in respect to gender roles by trying to recreate a feeling of “home” in their concentration camps. For Baltic women especially, this meant preparing food for their families even when food was scarce. This attachment to culinary habits and traditions from back home shows how integral food was to a woman’s identity during this time, and often helped women build up a community among themselves for the duration of their deportation.

“Lithuania.” The Holocaust Encyclopedia. Accessed November 18, 2018. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/lithuania.

This article explains the atmosphere toward the Jewish population before and during the Nazi occupation of Lithuania. Two short stories of and from women are presented in the article.

“Lithuanian Partisan Antanas Kraujelis-Siaubunas.” Center for Genocide and Resistance of the Lithuanian Population. Accessed October 7, 2018. http://genocid.lt/centras/lt/2398/a/.

In this source, one can discover that an entire family could sponsor the partisans, opening up their homes to the volunteer fighters and creating bunkers for them inside barns. In the KGB’s searches for partisan members, it appears family members of the partisan are often involved, as one can see from my other searches.

Liulevicius, V. (Director). (2015). Forest Brothers: Baltic Partisan Warfare [Video file]. The Great Courses. Retrieved September 14, 2018, from Kanopy.

This source gives a broad overview of the partisan war and who the Forest Brothers were. This source also makes mention of the dubious “fake partisans” besmirching the real partisans’ names. Yet no proof of these fake partisans is given, and with the strong arguments provided by other sources on this topic these “fake partisans” may have been a rumor that caught fire.

Longerich, Peter. *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

This book goes into great detail on the Nazi group *Einsatzgruppen* and how they infiltrated the Soviet frontier. Specifically, pages 193-196 describe the section of the group (*Einsatzgruppe A*) that was placed in charge of Lithuania and the other Baltic states. The sub-section of this group was known as *Einsatzkommando 3*, and these men organized the Kovno/Kaunas pogrom as the Lithuanian population generally refused to organize one themselves.

Mackevičius, Mečialovas. “Lithuanian Resistance to German Mobilization Attempts 1941- 1944.” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 32*,* vol. 4 (1986): http://www.lituanus.org/1986/86\_4\_02.htm.

The author specifically points out how the Lithuanians managed to keep the Germans from forming a Lithuanian Schutz-Staffel (SS) legion. This source is both of interest and of value to this research. Instead of simply claiming how Lithuanians only desired sovereignty and vehemently opposed the Nazi regime, Mackevičius provides multiple examples and citations on how and why the Nazis were opposed.

Nadler, Allan. “Litvak.” Last modified March 14, 2011. http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Litvak.

The author of this article gives an overview of the Litvaks, or Lithuanian Jews. This overview includes some of the beliefs Litvaks’ hold, how the interwar period affected them, some of their history, and how other Eastern European Jewish groups view them.

“No Home To Go To: The Story of Baltic Displaced Persons, 1944-1952.” Balzekas Museum. Accessed September 14, 2018. https://balzekasmuseum.org/displacedpersons/introduction.

This group of pages explains the struggle of those who decided to leave behind their homelands in order to go West. These people wanted to escape the oppressive regime of Stalin and the forced conscription into the Red Army. Already prepared with the knowledge of what a second Soviet occupation would bring, between forced deportation to Gulags/concentration camps and death, a substantial group finally came to the decision to leave.

Norwilla, Julius. “My Take on Malát.” Last modified September 9, 2016. http://defendinghistory.com/julius-norwilla-my-take-on-malat83733-2/83733.

This source describes the treatment of one community of Jews at the hands of the Nazis and white arm-banders. The Jews in the community of Malát (the Yiddish name for Molėtai) faced persecution from their neighbors and were locked in their shul without food or water before being shot in front of a large pit. Not one Jew was saved from this fate by one of their neighbors, who definitely would have known what was happening.

“Partisans & Countries: Lithuania.” Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation. Accessed November 15, 2018. http://www.jewishpartisans.org/countries/lithuania.

This source provides valuable statistics on the Jewish partisan movement specifically, giving the number of those involved, where units were located, and how much damage they did to their foes. This article also gives insight to the struggles these partisans faced at the time, including feelings of anti-Semitism, civilians, and non-Jewish partisans.

“Partisans & Countries: Soviet Union.” Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation. Accessed November 15, 2018. http://www.jewishpartisans.org/countries/soviet-union.

The Jews, faced with adversaries such as the Nazis and nationalist partisan groups, desperately wanted to fight back and decided to throw their lot in with the Soviets. In order to join the Soviet partisans, however, one had to acquire a weapon, and many had to hide their Jewish identity to escape anti-Semitic feelings within the partisan group. Even though making all-Jewish units was forbidden, it was often done as a way to avoid anti-Semitism.

“Partisans & Countries: Vitka Kempner.” Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation. Accessed November 15, 2018. http://www.jewishpartisans.org/partisans/vitka-kempner.

This article gives details on the life and partisan activity of a Jewish woman who lived in Vilna. She was one of the chief lieutenants in the faction and aided in blowing up Nazi train lines, smuggling weapons, evacuating ghettos, and destroying power plants.

Researchers of The Museum of The Jewish People at Beit Hatfutsot. “Moletai.” Last modified 1996. https://dbs.bh.org.il/place/moletai.

This article gives some background into the Lithuanian town of Molėtai, where none of the Jewish residents were saved from the wrath of the Nazis. In this article, it is abundantly apparent that the Jews of Molėtai were highly active in their community and were not unfriendly with their ethnic Lithuanian neighbors. Jewish shops were in the center of town and the Litvaks residing there specialized in many different trades. While no Jew was actually saved from the Nazis, two ethnic Lithuanian physicians stood up for them against their persecutors.

Ruin, Păul. “The Forest Brothers – Heroes & Villains.” *Baltic Worlds BW,* 3:2016. http://balticworlds.com/the-forest-brothers-heroes-villains/.

This source shows that while there was some Soviet propaganda and false misdeeds by the partisans propagated by Soviet media, there were definitely atrocities committed by the Lithuanian freedom fighters. What was interesting was the fact that mini courts would be held against those within the Forest Brothers’ ranks for acts of violence on civilians. However, given the number of crimes that were seen as acceptable, one must wonder where the line was drawn.

Sambrooke, Jerilyn. “Narratives of Identity: A Postcolonial Rereading of Dalia Grinkevičiūtė’s *Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea*.” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 54, vol. 4 (2008): http://www.lituanus.org/2008/08\_4\_02%20Sambrooke.html.

This source dissects one of the primary sources (*Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea*) and puts it into a broader context of what was occurring in Lithuania at the time. The island that Grinkevičiūtė and her mother and brother were kept at was used as a concentration camp from 1941 to 1949. This article also provides insight on how those who had been exiled were alienated upon their return to their homeland.

Sergei Rzhevsky. “The image of a woman in Soviet propaganda.” *Russia travel blog*, April 1, 2017. http://russiatrek.org/blog/art/the-image-of-a-woman-in-soviet-propaganda/.

This blog post provides some insight into how the Soviet’s perceived women over a series of different years. The images are predominantly depictions of women rearing children and working on collective farms. The translations to English aid in understanding that women were meant to be both motherly and strong.

Sužiedėlis, Saulius. “The Historical Sources for Antisemitism in Lithuania and Jewish- Lithuanian Relations During the 1930s.” Accessed November 18, 2018. https://yivo.org/cimages/historical\_sources\_of\_antisemitism.pdf.

This article provides an interesting background on the decade before Lithuania’s Holocaust began. By looking at a wide time frame and various perspectives, the author examines the growing anti-Semitism in Lithuania as the 1930’s rolled on. Although there were prominent vocal opponents to violence in the form of pogroms, many of the youth toward the latter half of the decade spewed hatred and targeted stores with Yiddish signs, painting over them.

Tec, Nechama. *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

This source includes stories from multiple Holocaust survivors on gender roles throughout the Holocaust. The author specifically interviews female Jewish partisans on their roles in the partisan groups (mainly as messengers for a host of different reasons) and finds that many of them considered themselves to be equals with the men despite not holding many leadership positions. Instead, these women felt empowered just by being involved in the effort to save their lives.

The Baltic Initiative and Network Researchers. Lithuania. “Some Historical Remarks, Historical Sites, and Museums.” Accessed November 11, 2018. http://coldwarsites.net/country/lithuania/.

This article gives political background for the reconstruction of Lithuanian society during this time period. From mentioning the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (Nazi-Soviet Non- Aggression Pact) to listing those liable for deportation and what they would be labelled as for justification, the article covers a wide berth of information briefly.

Vardys, V. S. *Lithuania under the soviets: Portrait of a nation, 1940-65*. New York: Praeger, 1965.

This source offers a wealth of information on the partisan movement, underground anti- Soviet propaganda, and the reactions of the Lithuanian population to its three occupations.

Žemaitis, A. “Partisan leader Ramanauskas-Vanagas buried amidst fanfare.” Last modified October 6, 2018. http://www.truelithuania.com/partisan-leader-ramanauskas-vanagas- buried-amidst-fanfare-9789.

In this source, the reader is given more insight on the anti-Soviet partisan leader Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas. This article presents the other side of the argument – the one defending the Lithuanian freedom fighters as a third party that was against both the Nazis and the Soviets. However, this is wholly incorrect, along with the statement that the NKVD posed as partisans and committed atrocities. While not all anti-Soviet partisan factions had ties to the Nazis or anti-Semitism, one cannot deny that some groups (including those of famed partisans) held these sentiments.

1. *Lithuania is the southernmost Baltic state and is surrounded by Poland, Latvia, Belarus, and Russia.*

   Daniel J. Kaszeta. “Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation1940-1952,” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journals* 34, no. 3 (1988): http://www.lituanus.org/1988/88\_3\_01.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. *The advent of the Second World War and the secretive Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) of 1939 – which had promised to the Soviets spheres of influence in Lithuania and its Baltic neighbors – only capitalized on the struggles of a newly-reborn country. 1940-1941 was marked by Soviet control, which was then replaced by the Nazis from 1941-1944 when the Soviets returned until 1991.*

   Dalia Kuodyte, “The tragic story of how one third of Lithuania’s population became victims of soviet terror,” accessed September 24, 2018. http://vilnews.com/2010-12-the-tragic- story-of-how-one-third-of-lithuania%E2%80%99s-population-became-victims-of-soviet-terror. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Dalia Grinkevičiūtė, *Shadows on the Tundra,* trans. Delija Valiukenas. https://www.goodreads.com/work/quotes/61551501-shadows-on-the-tundra. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. “No Home To Go To: The Story of Baltic Displaced Persons, 1944-1952,” Balzekas Museum, accessed September 14, 2018. https://balzekasmuseum.org/displacedpersons/introduction. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. *Government employees lost their jobs, paranoia overtook civilian life, and state-imposed atheism hampered the majority-Roman Catholic nation from attending church.*

   Dalia Grinkevičiūtė, “Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea: The Siberian Memoirs of Dalia Grinkevičiūtė,” *Lituanas: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 36, vol. 4 (1990) (Original work published 1988): http://www.lituanus.org/1990\_4/90\_4\_05.htm.

   Dovilė Budrytė. "Gendering “History of Fighting and Suffering”: War and Deportation in the Narratives of Women Resistance Fighters in Lithuania." In *Narratives of Exile and Identity: Soviet Deportation Memoirs from the Baltic States*, edited by Davoliūtė Violeta and Balkelis Tomas, 103-18. (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2018). http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7829/j.ctv4cbhvq.11. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Daniel J. Kaszeta. “Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation1940-1952,” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journals* 34, no. 3 (1988): http://www.lituanus.org/1988/88\_3\_01.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Dalia Grinkevičiūtė, “Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea: The Siberian Memoirs of Dalia Grinkevičiūtė.” http://www.lituanus.org/1990\_4/90\_4\_05.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Kelly Hignett, Melanie Ilic, Dalia Leinarte, & Corina Snitar, *Women’s Experiences of Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), https://books.google.com/books?id=nuI2DwAAQBAJ&pg=PT85&lpg=PT85&dq=memoir+of+lithuanian+female+deportee&source=bl&ots=IAYhMghEVh&sig=urjrtT00La753nYuGD5-S1olP\_c&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiPpdXR\_rvdAhUHVN8KHWedAIsQ6AEwBXoECAIQAQ#v=onepage&q=memoir%20of%20lithuanian%20female%20deportee&f=false. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Dovilė Budrytė. ““We Didn’t Keep Diaries, You Know”: Memories of Trauma and Violence in the Narratives of Two Former Women Resistance Fighters,” *Lituanas: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 57, vol. 2 (2011): http://www.lituanus.org/2011/11\_2\_05Budryte.html.

    Leena Kurvet-Käosaar, “’Is That Hunger Haunting the Stove?’ Thematization of Food in the Deportation Narratives of Baltic Women,” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 46, no. 3 (2015): pp. 337-353. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Dovilė Budrytė. ““We Didn’t Keep Diaries, You Know”: Memories of Trauma and Violence in the Narratives of Two Former Women Resistance Fighters.” http://www.lituanus.org/2011/11\_2\_05Budryte.html. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Dalia Grinkevičiūtė, “Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea: The Siberian Memoirs of Dalia Grinkevičiūtė.” http://www.lituanus.org/1990\_4/90\_4\_05.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Allan Nadler, “Litvak,” last modified March 14, 2011. http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Litvak. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Eytan Uliel, “Notes From Lithuania (Part II of III): Lea’s Legacy,” *The Road Warrior* (blog), March 26, 2013. https://www.eytanuliel.com/2013/03/26/notes-from-lithuania-part-ii-of-iii-leas-legacy/.

    Saulius Sužiedėlis, “The Historical Sources for Antisemitism in Lithuania and Jewish-Lithuanian Relations During the 1930s,” accessed November 18, 2018. https://yivo.org/cimages/historical\_sources\_of\_antisemitism.pdf. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. “Kovno,” The Holocaust Encyclopedia, accessed November 22, 2018. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/kovno.

    *It was a well-known fact that the Litvaks had felt a sort of kinship with their Russian neighbors, unlike ethnic Lithuanians who felt more at home with their western neighbors, the Poles. Possible reasons for this include the fact that many Litvaks desired autonomy within Russia and favored Soviet policies, while ethnic Lithuanians had positive history with Poland and one of discrimination with Russia.*

    Saulius Sužiedėlis, “The Historical Sources for Antisemitism in Lithuania and Jewish-Lithuanian Relations During the 1930s,” accessed November 18, 2018. https://yivo.org/cimages/historical\_sources\_of\_antisemitism.pdf. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Peter Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 193-196.

    Kęstutis K. Girnius, “Soviet Terror in Lithuania During the Post-War Years,” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 32*,* no. 4 (1986): http://www.lituanus.org/1986/86\_4\_04.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Researchers of The Museum of The Jewish People at Beit Hatfutsot, “Moletai,” last modified 1996. https://dbs.bh.org.il/place/moletai.

    Julius Norwilla, “My Take on Malát,” last modified September 9, 2016. http://defendinghistory.com/julius-norwilla-my-take-on-malat83733-2/83733. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. *Lithuanian auxiliaries were pro-Lithuanian partisans called “white arm-banders.”*

    Julius Norwilla, “My Take on Malát,” last modified September 9, 2016. http://defendinghistory.com/julius-norwilla-my-take-on-malat83733-2/83733.

    Eytan Uliel, “Notes From Lithuania (Part II of III): Lea’s Legacy.” https://www.eytanuliel.com/2013/03/26/notes-from-lithuania-part-ii-of-iii-leas-legacy/. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Men, Women, and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Ibid., 11-12, 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. “Kovno,” The Holocaust Encyclopedia, accessed November 22, 2018. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/kovno. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Eytan Uliel, “Notes From Lithuania (Part II of III): Lea’s Legacy.” https://www.eytanuliel.com/2013/03/26/notes-from-lithuania-part-ii-of-iii-leas-legacy/.

    *This was a common occurrence within the ghettos, with many thousands of men and women either being shot or deported to concentration camps in Estonia or Germany.*

    “Kovno,” The Holocaust Encyclopedia, accessed November 22, 2018. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/kovno. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. *Parents hid their small children from the Nazis as events such as “Children’s Aktion” transpired.*

    “Bronislava Krištopavičienė,” Yad Vashem, accessed November 21, 2018. https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/righteous-women/kristopaviciene.asp. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Men, Women, and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 119-121, 161-162. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Eytan Uliel, “Notes From Lithuania (Part II of III): Lea’s Legacy.” https://www.eytanuliel.com/2013/03/26/notes-from-lithuania-part-ii-of-iii-leas-legacy/. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. *Forcibly being shaved was much more traumatic and harmful to a woman’s sense of self than a man’s.*

    Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Men, Women, and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 125-126. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Ibid., 128-129. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Ibid., 143-144. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Ibid., 177 186. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Liulevicius, V. (Director). (2015). Forest Brothers: Baltic Partisan Warfare [Video file]. The Great Courses. Retrieved September 14, 2018, from Kanopy. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Rachel Margolis & F. Jackson Piotrow, *A partisan from vilna*, ed. Antony Polonsky (US: Academic Studies Press, 2010), 377-378. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. “Partisans & Countries: Soviet Union,” Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation, accessed November 15, 2018. http://www.jewishpartisans.org/countries/soviet-union. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Daniel J. Kaszeta. “Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation1940-1952,” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journals* 34, no. 3 (1988): http://www.lituanus.org/1988/88\_3\_01.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. “Kovno,” The Holocaust Encyclopedia, accessed November 22, 2018. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/kovno. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Rachel Margolis & F. Jackson Piotrow, *A partisan from vilna*, 377. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. “Jewish Women in the Partisans,” Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation, accessed November 14, 2018. http://www.jewishpartisans.org/content/jewish-women-partisans.

    Rachel Margolis & F. Jackson Piotrow, *A partisan from vilna*, 380. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. [JewishPartisans]. (2013, July 8). *Every Day The Impossible: Jewish Women In The Partisans*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\_continue=284&v=V9i5Hp2nVb8. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. *These bombs would target important railroads to slow troop and supply movement or transmitters to take out electricity to major Nazi strongholds in Lithuania.*

    Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. *They accounted for 79% of all train derailments and 72% of all destruction caused to locomotives.*

    “Partisans & Countries: Lithuania,” Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation, accessed November 15, 2018. http://www.jewishpartisans.org/countries/lithuania. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. *Kempner was a Polish Jew who had fled east and joined Litvak partisans.*

    “Partisans & Countries: Vitka Kempner,” Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation, accessed November 15, 2018. http://www.jewishpartisans.org/partisans/vitka-kempner. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. [JewishPartisans]. (2013, July 8). *Every Day The Impossible: Jewish Women In The Partisans*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\_continue=284&v=V9i5Hp2nVb8. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Men, Women, and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 264-265 [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Ibid., 266. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Rachel Margolis & F. Jackson Piotrow, *A partisan from vilna*, 381. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Men, Women, and the Holocaust*, 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. *Weapons were not easy for ghetto escapees to obtain and mixed religious units often led to Jews hiding their religion and ethnicity as a safety precaution.*

    “Partisans & Countries: Soviet Union,” Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation, accessed November 15, 2018. http://www.jewishpartisans.org/countries/soviet-union. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. *Exceptions were often made to the Soviet rule against all-Jewish units, and Jews often argued their need for exclusively Jewish units. Soviets also carried with them the idea of women serving domestic positions in camps.*

    Rachel Margolis & F. Jackson Piotrow, *A partisan from vilna*, 383-385. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. *The Forest Brothers were not a group to be trusted by the Jewish partisans, both for the anti-Semitic feelings of their leaders who had participated in the Holocaust and for the vehement disdain the ethnic Lithuanians held toward Jewish allies like the Soviets.*

    Andrew Higgins, “Nazi Collaborator or National Hero? A Test for Lithuania,” last modified September 10, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/10/world/europe/nazi-general-storm-lithuania.html.

    Evaldas Balčiūnas, “Footprints of Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas in the Mass Murder of the Jews of Druskininkai,” last modified March 27, 2014. http://defendinghistory.com/footprints-adolfas-ramanauskas-vanagas-mass-murder-jews-druskininkai/65177. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Rachel Margolis & F. Jackson Piotrow, *A partisan from vilna*, 380.

    Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Men, Women, and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 258-259. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. *Only 250 of the Forest Brothers were women.*

    Dovilė Budrytė, “From Partisan Warfare to Memory Battlefields: Two Women’s Stories about the Second World War and Its Aftermath in Lithuania,” *Gender & History* 28, no. 3 (2016): pp. 759–760.

    *This group became more popular with the return of the Soviets in 1944, and many young Lithuanian men deserted the Red Army and headed to the forests to fight. Much of the population had considered the Communists to be the true enemy even during Nazi occupation.*

    Kęstutis K*.* Girnius, “Soviet Terror in Lithuania During the Post-War Years,” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal* 32*,* no. 4 (1986): http://www.lituanus.org/1986/86\_4\_04.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. [DamnKimPhilby]. (2008, February 21). *Songs of Freedom “Oh, Little Falcon.”* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-ULCDUc\_3s. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. *A split can be seen here based on socio-economic class. For the wealthy woman, a non-violent movement would be found creating propaganda against the Soviets. For a poor woman, taking up arms appeared to be the only way to go about bringing meaningful change.* *This was the same for men, though more seemed to have been involved in the violent movements than in the peaceful ones, bringing their families with them.*

    Dovilė Budrytė. ““We Didn’t Keep Diaries, You Know”: Memories of Trauma and Violence in the Narratives of Two Former Women Resistance Fighters.” http://www.lituanus.org/2011/11\_2\_05Budryte.html. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Men, Women, and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. [JewishPartisans]. (2013, July 8). *Every Day The Impossible: Jewish Women In The Partisans*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\_continue=284&v=V9i5Hp2nVb8. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Dalia Kuodyte. “The tragic story of how one third of Lithuania’s population became victims of soviet terror,” accessed September 24, 2018. http://vilnews.com/2010-12-the-tragic- story-of-how-one-third-of-lithuania%E2%80%99s-population-became-victims-of-soviet-terror. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Dovilė Budrytė. ““We Didn’t Keep Diaries, You Know”: Memories of Trauma and Violence in the Narratives of Two Former Women Resistance Fighters.” http://www.lituanus.org/2011/11\_2\_05Budryte.html. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Erudite. (2010, February 21). Amazon customer reviews [Review of the documentary *Partisans of Vilna*]. *Amazon*. Retrieved from https://www.amazon.com/gp/customer-reviews/R36HI6QXTYMRZ2/ref=cm\_cr\_arp\_d\_viewpnt?ie=UTF8&ASIN=B0007GP6YW#R36HI6QXTYMRZ2.

    “Bronislava Krištopavičienė,” Yad Vashem, accessed November 21, 2018. https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/righteous-women/kristopaviciene.asp. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Violeta Davoliūtė, “Heroes, Villains and Matters of State: The Partisan and Popular Memory in Lithuania Today,” *Cultures of History Forum*, (2017): 1-12, doi: 10.25626/0078. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Dovilė Budrytė. "Gendering “History of Fighting and Suffering”: War and Deportation in the Narratives of Women Resistance Fighters in Lithuania." [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. *The actual experiences of those attacked during the Holocaust and the events that led up to the mass murder of nearly 90% of Lithuania’s Jewish population cannot be compared to Stalin’s genocide of ethnic Lithuanians.*

    “Lithuania.,” The Holocaust Encyclopedia, accessed November 18, 2018. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/lithuania.

    *While both experiences were traumatic for all victims involved, men and women alike, the Holocaust focused on the extermination of Jews whereas the deportations acted as a way to Sovietize Lithuania and get rid of educated and political opponents.*

    Daniel J. Kaszeta. “Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation1940-1952,” *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journals* 34, no. 3 (1988): http://www.lituanus.org/1988/88\_3\_01.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Men, Women, and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Dovilė Budrytė. ““We Didn’t Keep Diaries, You Know”: Memories of Trauma and Violence in the Narratives of Two Former Women Resistance Fighters.” http://www.lituanus.org/2011/11\_2\_05Budryte.html. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Lithuanian Comenius Group [OWTF Comenius]. (2013, March 20). *Lithuanian Partisans*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5I3EISvgfhw. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)