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Status and Prospects for Research on Policial-administrative Activities of Lithuanian Authorities with Regard to Poland and Polish Population since Mid-October 1938 till December 1939

Stan i perspektywy badań nad policyjno-administracyjnymi działaniami władz Litwy wobec Polski od połowy października 1938 do grudnia 1939 r.

ABSTRACT

The article presents the status of research on the activities of Lithuanian civilian authorities and the Lithuanian police with regard to Polish-Lithuanian relations, in the period of diplomatic contacts stabilisation since 1938 till the end of 1939. Analysis of available Polish and Lithuanian historiography shows that this specific area was only superficially treated by researchers, unlike diplomatic and military issues. As for times

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on the eve of WWII, civilian authorities and national policing issues had been explored only if related with the fact of establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and Lithuania. As for the period after September 1939, the article focuses on elements related with extending the Lithuanian administration onto the Vilnius Region.

Key words: Lithuania, Poland, administration, Polish Military September Campaign 1939

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł przedstawia stan badań nad działalnością litewskich władz cywilnych oraz policyjnych na kierunku polskim w okresie od ustabilizowania się stosunków dyplomatycznych między Rzeczpospolitą Polską a Republiką Litewską w 1938 r. po koniec roku 1939. Analiza dotychczasowego dorobku historiografii polskiej i litewskiej wykazała, że badania nad poszczególnymi dziedzinami administracji państwowej są znacznie zróżnicowane, i w przeciwieństwie do stosunków dyplomatycznych oraz wojskowych są zbadać dość powierzchownie. W okresie poprzedzającym Kampanię Polską 1939 r. traktują one dość powierzchownie o kwestiach wynikających bezpośrednio z umów międzypaństwowych wynikających z faktu nawiązania stosunków dyplomatycznych. W okresie po wrześniu 1939 r. koncentrują się praktycznie wyłącznie na kwestiach związanych rozciągnięciem administracji litewskiej na Wileńszczyznę.

Słowa kluczowe: Litwa, Polska, administracja, Kampania Polska, 1939

Relations of the Republic of Lithuania with Poland in 1938–1940 have been quite extensively covered on both sides of the ‘Foch Line’. The specificity of and problems with these contacts in 1920–1938, especially due to lack of official diplomatic relations, resulted in big interest of researchers interested in history and international relations during the time between two world wars. It is to note, that the situation between Lithuania and Poland was very unusual among European States in this period. Relations with Poland had been the central element of not only Lithuanian foreign policy but they also had an impact on the Lithuanian administration and the situation at the local level, especially at the border areas and in districts with the big Polish population.

The Republic of Lithuania did not recognize the fact of Vilnius Region incorporation to Poland in 1922. As a result, the 521 kilometres long Polish-Lithuanian border (the second longest border of Lithuania with another country, just after the border with Latvia) was described consistently by the Lithuanian official language as a ‘Administration Line’. Areas between this line and the line determined by the Lithuanian-Soviet Treaty of 12 July 1920 were regularly called “Part of Lithuania Occupied by Poland”. The situation had not changed after March 1938 and the establishment of diplomatic relations. It resulted in the situation that the main questions in Lithuania–Poland relations were of foreign policy nature. In case of the Vilnius Region, the situation had a direct impact

on the situation on the local level. For example, the “Society for the Support of Lithuanians Abroad” that operated in 1932–1940 was not used to help Lithuanians living in Poland.

Therefore, the main area of research interest had been diplomatic Polish-Lithuanian relations and at the administrative level – regular and permanent cooperation on the introduction of Agreement on Local Border Traffic signed in Königsberg in 1928 and ratified in 1929.

During the 1920s, the only one category of people allowed to cross the border/Administration Line were farms owners, who had their properties and fields on both sides of the border or crossed by the border. This agreement was to regulate the border traffic. The authority of issuing permits for border crossing was at the Head of County level (Lit. *apskritis*). They delegated such powers to local Border Guard commanders, who were responsible for the areas with such properties and farms. Practical problems with the Agreement implementation were to be solved by heads of local administration on both sides.

Such officials were supervised, in case of Lithuania, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Interior (Department of Citizens’ Security, since 1935 – the Department for Administration). As indicated by one of the young researchers, Leonas Nekrašas, who examined and evaluated the situation on the Polish-Lithuanian border, the establishment of diplomatic relations and signing a number of agreements, had small or almost no impact on the border traffic regulated by the 1928 Agreement. It was being regulated at the local administration level, up to Head of County¹.

The case of the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1938 by Poland and Lithuania is relatively well studied and evaluated². However, it should also be noted that this development resulted in a number of administrative regulations and legal provisions. At the end of March, first rounds of technical negotiations started and agreement was concluded on Postal Services, on economy, maritime, road, and railway transport. On the Lithuanian side, the Head of Delegation was Leonas Tuskenis,

¹ L. Nekrašas, *Tarp Lietuvos ir Lenkijos padalyti ūkiai: Lietuvos ūkininkų problemos ir jų interesų gynimas 1923–1939 metais*, “Lietuvos istorijos studijos” 2020, 46, p. 80.

² P. Łossowski, *Ultimatum polskie do Litwy 17 marca 1938 roku: studium z dziejów dyplomacji*. Warszawa 2010; idem, *Stosunki polsko-litewskie 1921–1939*, Warszawa 1997; A.A. Žulyš, *Polska w polityce zagranicznej Litwy w latach 1938–1939*. Gdańsk 2015, pp. 119–176; idem, *Dar kartą 1938 m. kovo mėn. Lenkijos ultimatumo Lietuvai klausimu*, in: *Lietuva ir Lenkija XX amžiaus geopolitinėje vaizduotėje*, eds. A. Pukšto, G. Milerytė, Kaunas 2012, pp. 99–112; G. Jauskas, *Jėga nėra teisė: 1938 metų Lenkijos ultimatumas ir Lietuvos visuomenė*, “Darbai ir dienos” 2002, 30, pp. 93–120; A. Gumuliauskas, *Dar kartą Vilniaus klausimu*, “Istorija” 2008, 70, pp. 53–59.

Ministry of Communication official, at that time the Director of the Road Transport Department. The technical character of agreements allowed engagement of Polish Administration. In practical terms, they were in line with the concept of the Lithuanian Ambassador in Paris, Petras Klimas: 'The whole of the Lithuanian relations with Poland have to be streamlined to the technical dimension, with no principles and aspirations. We would stay at the technical side as it would not endanger our national ideology and political programme'³.

Above-mentioned agreements allowed more negotiations and signing further conventions and agreements: on postal services and telecommunication (2 May 1938), on shipping and rafting on the Nieman River (14 May 1938), on rail traffic (25 May 1938), on international land connection for vehicle traffic (23 July 1938), on visa issues (16 June 1938) and commerce (22 December 1938). Unfortunately, most of the authors working on problems of Polish-Lithuanian relations only noted the fact of concluding such agreements without going into practicalities related to these documents. The similar circumstances exist in other areas, which is mainly the result of unsatisfactory status of the research due to the situation that modern work on such topics had mostly the fragmentary character⁴.

There is no credible monographs on the history of the postal services, railway or transport system during the interwar period⁵. There was also operational, since March 1939, the agreement for a tourism, but scientists have not paid too much attention to it.

One of the important elements of Polish-Lithuanian relations after 1938 was the question of mitigation of anti-Polish Lithuanian propaganda that had been supported and financed by the State apparatus. The key issue had been the problem of regaining 'lost Vilnius', Lithuanian historic capital that had been seized by Poland 'in an insidious way'. Gradually, this motive had become the main element of Lithuanian nationalistic ideology at the State level. Actions using such a narrative had been conducted by the "Union for the Liberation of Vilnius", established in 1925. Formally, this organization had been a non-Governmental organization but with the passage of time, it became a mass society. Both Polish and Lithuanian authors agreed that it was Polish diplomatic actions resulted

³ See: A.A. Žulys. *Polska*, p. 185.

⁴ R. Juzefovičius, *Tarptautinio susisiekimo geležinkeliais organizavimas Lietuvoje (1919–1940)*, "Istorija" 2008, 69, pp. 22–32; A. Pakštelis, B. Tranavičiūtė, *Lietuvos ryšiai 1918–2018 m.*, Kaunas 2018; A.A. Basevičius, *Jie kūrė Lietuvos ryšius*, Vilnius 2008.

⁵ A certain exception is the PhD dissertation of Iveta Dabašinskienė on railway architecture elements: I. Dabašinskienė, *Lietuvos geležinkeliai (1858–1990 m.): raida, architektūra ir urbanistiniai ypatumai: daktaro disertacija*, Kaunas 2018.

in disbandment of the “Union for the Liberation of Vilnius”. The whole negotiation process was described in detail by A.A. Žulys⁶. As for other Polish–Lithuanian agreements, the role of administration and police authorities in their disbandment remain unclear as well as further fates of such deals⁷.

Despite the obvious diplomatic breakthrough in March 1938, processes, procedures and the way Lithuanian institutions operated had not changed fundamentally. Establishment of diplomatic relations had not changed the main, although unwritten rule of the Lithuanian administration and its attitude towards ethnic minorities on both sides of the border – i.e. the principle of symmetry (or rather ‘eye for an eye’).

Some researchers point out that the attitude of Polish citizens towards Lithuanians had changed from hostile to moderately friendly. The same could not be said on Lithuanians. In practice, the agreement on ethnic minorities had not been reached and implemented on both sides of the border. What was really achieved by the bilateral agreements, it had been adoption, in December 1938, of the Lithuanian Law on Names that authorized writing non-Lithuanian names in passports in accordance with the native language. This was an important legal step⁸ but still we do not have works on how, when and where such regulations were implemented by the local administration and by what means it worked in practice.

One of the most developed subdisciplines of history in Lithuania is the military history, with many Polish elements, due to long and well-established contact between two nations. Recently, a number of works on issues related to Poles and Poland was published.

The most important publication has been the release of the Lithuanian military operational plans from 1937, which were still valid before September 1939⁹. Three scenarios for the defence of the Country had been

⁶ A.A. Žulys, *Polska*, pp. 227–238.

⁷ See: N. Kairiūkštytė, *Vilniaus vadavimo sąjunga 1925 04 26–1938 11 25. Istorinė apybraiža*, Vilnius 2001.

⁸ A.A. Žulys, *Polska*, p. 284.

⁹ V. Jokubauskas, *Lietuvos kariuomenės kariniai planai ir ištekliai eventualaus karo su Lenkija atveju 1938–1939 m.*, “Karo archyvas” 2011, 26, pp. 272–313; V. Jokubauskas, T. Tamkvaitytis, *Du karo istorijos šaltiniai iš Lietuvos tarpukariu*, in: *In The Unending War? The Baltic States after 1918 = Nesibaigiantis karas? Baltijos šalys po 1918 metų* (“Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis”, vol. 36), eds. V. Jokubauskas, V. Safronovas, Klaipėda 2018, pp. 177–242; V. Jokubauskas; S. Zuberniūtė. *Vokietijos pavojus ir karo dviem frontais katastrofa (Lietuvos kariuomenės 1936–1937 m. operacijų planai nr. 1 “V” ir nr. 2 „V+L“)*, in: *Creating Modern Nation-States in the Eastern Baltic = Šiuolaikinių tautinių valstybių kūrimas rytiniame Baltijos jūros regione* (“Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis”, vol. 38), eds. V. Vareikis, S. Pocyūtė, Klaipėda 2019, pp. 189–234; pp. i–xxii.

developed: 'V' (Lit. Vokietija – Germany), 'L' (Lit. Lenkija – Poland) and 'V+L'.

In the context of 1939 developments, such documents were thoroughly analysed by the University of Klaipeda researcher – Vytautas Jokubauskas. In his work, he confronted plans with the Lithuanian actions during seizing Klaipeda by Germany in March 1939. He is also a well-known author of comprehensive works on the Lithuanian military doctrine and its development during the interwar period and on Lithuania paramilitarism.

The practical side of putting operational plans into action in September 1939 was also presented by Rytis Struckus, who described activities of one of the Border Guard battalions and studied practical implementation of mobilisation plans of this unit during the times of the Polish Campaign¹⁰.

Intelligence operations of both countries were carefully analysed by Arvydas Anušauskas and Tomasz Gajownik. However, reading of these interesting and honest studies still does not allow statement that the period 1938–1939(40) has been fully described¹¹.

If research on military factors in Poland is quite well advanced, in Lithuania the situation is not so well developed, especially with regard to studies on paramilitary formations and especially on Lithuanian Riflemen's Union (Lit. *Lietuvos šaulių sąjunga*), also referred to as *Šauliai*. It is to note that most of recently published works and articles were prepared by Lithuanian young historians, who were active members of the organization themselves.

Unfortunately, Lithuanian researchers paid only insubstantial focus to attitudes of members of such organizations to the Polish question. The author of the comprehensive monograph on the ideology of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union, Mindaugas Nefas, only three pages were written in his book on Polish-related issues and problems¹².

The topic of Lithuanian police formations was only partially covered. While the subject of organization and operations of such units during

¹⁰ R. Struckus, *Atskirieji pasienio apsaugos batalionai Lietuvos ginkluotosios gynybos sistemoje: V bataliono 1939 m. atvejo analizė*, "Karo archyvas" 2021, 36, pp. 94–132.

¹¹ A. Anušauskas, *Lietuvos slaptosios tarnybos 1918–1940*, Vilnius 1998; idem, *Lietuvos žvalgyba 1918–1940*. Vilnius 2014; T. Gajownik, *Tajny front niewypowiedzianej wojny. Działalność polskiego wywiadu wojskowego na Litwie w latach 1921–1939*, Warszawa 2010.

¹² M. Nefas, *Dvasios aristokratai: Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos siekiai ir realybė 1919–1940 m.*, Vilnius 2019. These problems were indicated in the review of the article by V. Jokubauskas, *Nauja knyga Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos šimtmečiui istoriografijos kontekste: recenzija*, "Acta historica universitatis Klaipedensis" 2019, 38, pp. 243–253.

WWII had been well described and analysed, they were not continued beyond the period of 1941–1944.

As for the research on the years 1918–1940, the time of independence for Lithuania, it is still rather fragmentary and incomplete. On one hand, it is kind of a surprise, on the other – this could be easily explained as there is no academic centre in this country that would specialise in research on police and policing. As the result, the number of research project and publication on this specific issue is far from being adequate¹³. The same explanation could be used to describe the disparities between the status of research on Lithuanian Armed Forces and on the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union. This should be complemented by additional remarks on specific and difficult relations, even mistrust between those two elements, during the interwar period. It is to note that even now, this legacy still has an impact on relations between the structures.

In Lithuania, there are two important military history research centres within the Ministry of Defence: the Vytautas the Great War Museum (Lit. *Vytauto Didžiojo karo muziejus*) in Kaunas and the General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania (Lit. *Generolo Jono Žemaičio Lietuvos karo akademija*).

As a result, as for law enforcement entities, the best scientifically developed formation is the Gendarmerie/Military Police of the Lithuanian Armed Forces¹⁴. As for the Border Guard elements, a number of works had been prepared on the border security with regard to Poland. However, they covered only the period till 1938¹⁵.

The last meaningful episode of the Polish–Lithuanian relations before September 1939 was the decision to open the Lithuanian Consulate General in Vilnius. Recently, its history aroused the interest of not only historians, but also of journalists¹⁶.

The formal establishment of the Consulate generated great emotions related as it could have been considered as recognition of the fact of Vilnius being a part of the Second Polish Republic. Such conclusion was

¹³ The exception that proves the rule: Č. Mančinskas, *Policija Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais*, Vilnius 1998.

¹⁴ L. Kasparaitė-Balaišė, *Lietuvos kariuomenės Karo policija 1919–1940 metais*, “Karo archyvas” 2014, 1 (29), pp. 241–307; N. Černius, *Lietuvos Kariuomenės Karo Policija*, Vilnius 2021, pp. 29–90.

¹⁵ G. Ereminas, *Lietuvos sienos su Lenkija apsauga 1920–1938 metais*, “Genocidas ir rezistencija” 2020, 1(47), pp. 132–150.

¹⁶ It was possible thanks to the very long life of Mme. Birutė Verkelytė-Fedaravičienė (1915–2017), who worked in the Consulate as an Administrative Assistant. She gave a number of interviews, also on life and work in the prewar and wartime Vilnius.

originally presented by Arūnas Gumuliauskas¹⁷. This gave an impetus to in-depth research on the history of this ephemeral institution and resulted in the work delivered by Sandra Grigaravičiūtė, working for the Šiauliai subsidiary of the University of Vilnius¹⁸ and Vitalija Stravinskiene from the Lithuanian Institute of History (Lit. *Lietuvos istorijos institutas*)¹⁹.

The status of research of the Lithuanian historiography on the 1938–1939 period is quite well presented in the voluminous synthesis titled “The History of Lithuania”, the project that has been launched several years ago by the Lithuanian Institute of History and still is in progress²⁰. The interwar period is covered by two-parts Volume X²¹.

From reading of these two parts, it is possible to draw a conclusion that for most of the problems described and evaluated in the publication, the year of 1939 is the general turning point, an important historical caesura. Most of authors involved in the project do not include in their analyses questions of the impact of 1939 events on specific historical elements. For example, in the Subchapter 2.3 (Society. Ethnic Minorities), the post-September 1939 situation is presented only on the occasion of the general evaluation of the Polish minority status. Issues related to other nationalities, Jews, Russian and Belarussians, were almost omitted and practically not evaluated. The exception that confirms the representativeness of this synthesis is the issue of the economy. The economy chapter author, Gediminas Vaskela, presented comprehensively and extensively the status of the economic development of Lithuania in 1939. He also precisely analysed the impact of the loss of Klaipeda and effect of the Vilnius Region status.

He is also the author of the important monograph on the economy of Lithuania in 1939–1940²² and the monograph on ethnic aspects of the Lithuanian economic policy²³. One of the chapters of said book was

¹⁷ A. Gumuliauskas. *Dar kartą Vilniaus klausimu*, “Istorija” 2008, 70, pp. 53–59.

¹⁸ S. Grigaravičiūtė, *Lietuvos konsulato Vilniuje steigimo aplinkybės (1938–1939 m.)*, “Lituania” 2011, 57, 3(85), pp. 262–275; eadem, *The consulate of Lithuania in Vilnius (1939): New sources and Conceptions*. “Vėsture: avoti un cilvēki” 2013, 16, pp. 112–121; eadem, *Lietuvos generalinis konsulatas Vilniuje (1939 m. rugsėjis–spalis)*, “Lituania” 2013, 3, pp. 158–175.

¹⁹ V. Stravinskiene, *Lietuvos Respublikos generalinis konsulatas Vilniuje (1939 m. rugsėjis–spalis): veikia, darbuotojai ir jų likimai*, “Lietuvos istorijos metraštis” 2020, 1, pp. 119–140.

²⁰ Till 2022, nine of planned twelve volumes were published. Some volumes were divided into parts.

²¹ *Lietuvos istorija*, vol. 10, part 2, *Nepriklausomybė (1918–1940)*, ed. Č. Laurinavičius, Vilnius 2015.

²² G. Vaskela. *Lietuva 1939–1940 metais. Kursas į valstybės reguliuojamą ekonomiką*, Vilnius 2002.

²³ Idem, *Tautiniai aspektai Lietuvos ūkio politikoje 1919–1940 metais*, Vilnius 2014.

dedicated to the Polish ethnic minority, but his scientific reflection was limited just to problems related to the agrarian reform of the 1920s of the 20th century. It is to note that his another, earlier, work of 2002 has been an important, fundamental monograph that analysed the economy of Lithuania after taking Klaipeda by Germany and annexation of the Vilnius Region in 1939.

Integration of the Vilnius Region, due to its low industrialisation, only partially compensated losses caused by taking Klaipeda by Germany. In addition, the area required additional efforts related to implementing provisions of the agrarian reform. It had been a vivid discussion on that undertaking, to extend the reform to the Vilnius Region, that resulted in a more comprehensive debate on direction of the reform at the national level²⁴.

A little space in the Lithuanian historiography was dedicated to the issue to extend competences and powers of the Bank of Lithuania to areas incorporated to the Republic of Lithuania in autumn 1939 and Bank activities and finance operations. V. Terleckas in his history of Lithuanian Banking only mentioned opening of new Bank of Lithuania offices in Trakai, Švenčionėliai and Vilnius on 2 November 1939²⁵. More information on those topics was included to the earlier 1997 edition of his Bank of Lithuania monograph²⁶.

We owe the first important works on the attitude of the Republic of Lithuania authorities towards Poland and September 1939 Campaign to Lithuanian émigré historiography²⁷. The next important publications were printed at the end of the era of so-called 'real socialism'.

On the Polish side, in 1985, the monograph of Piotr Łossowski entered the publishing market²⁸. As if in response (this was clearly indicated in the foreword by the author), in 1990, the work of Regina Žepkaitė on the same topic was published in Vilnius²⁹. Few years ago, Šarūnas Liekis, in his monograph published in English, made another attempt to look again at the 1939 and its importance to Lithuania³⁰. This work could be seen as an important effort to look into issues that had not been present

²⁴ Idem, *Lietuva*, pp. 85–116

²⁵ V. Terleckas, *Lietuvos bankininkystės istorija 1918–1941*, Vilnius 2000.

²⁶ Idem, *Lietuvos Bankas 1922–1943 metais. Kūrimo ir veiklos studija*, Vilnius 1997.

²⁷ L. Sabaliūnas, *Lithuania in crisis: nationalism to communism, 1939–1940*, Bloomington 1972.

²⁸ P. Łossowski, *Litwa a sprawy polskie, 1939–1940*, Warszawa 1985.

²⁹ R. Žepkaitė, *Vilniaus istorijos atkarpa: 1939 m. spalio 27 d.–1940 m. birželio 15 d.*, Vilnius 1990.

³⁰ Š. Liekis, *1939: the year that changed everything in Lithuania's history*, Amsterdam 2010.

in the historiography before – to the problem of so-called ‘Suwalki Triangle’ and Polish-Jewish relations under the Lithuanian rule³¹. Prints of P. Łossowski and R. Žepkaitė still remain a valid reference point with regard to above-mentioned problems, despite limited access of authors to source materials.

After 1990, more works were published on the Polish-Lithuanian relations in the first part of WWII, on attitude of the Republic of Lithuania towards Poland and the Vilnius Region, on Soviet–Lithuanian ‘negotiations’ that ended with signing the 10 October 1939 agreement, on incorporation of and efforts aimed at integration of the Vilnius Region to Lithuania, as well as on Polish population reaction to such developments³².

However, no author has so far made an effort to prepare, from the administrative perspective, a comprehensive analysis of the Vilnius Region integration with Lithuania. The process of building the Lithuanian administration on the incorporated areas, that started in October 1939, is also presented relatively selectively. Of course, most of the attention was dedicated to Vilnius.

The rest of the Vilnius Region was divided into three districts: the Vilnius District, Švenčionėliai District and Valkininkai District. It should be emphasized that the activity of the Lithuanian public administration and other Lithuanian offices in these areas has not been described and evaluated. In practical terms, such topics simply do not exist in the subject literature.

In the incorporated areas, establishment of the Lithuanian administration had multi-dimensional character. At first, local authorities were created at the district and commune levels. For the Vilnius Region, a special official was assigned, “The Plenipotentiary of the Government for the Vilnius Region”. In addition, extraordinary measures were introduced as the State of Emergency had given special administrative powers to military authorities³³.

On 27 October, the Lithuanian Government adopted the Special Resolution on establishment of Lithuanian administration in Vilnius and the Vilnius Region. It resulted in extending the Lithuanian legal system to incorporated areas. It resulted in disbandment of all organizations

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 200–212, 256–286.

³² Due to sheer size of such a list, it was a deliberate decision not to include here the detailed breakdown of publications. They were put to the Bibliography part. First of all, it is necessary to pay attention to works of K. Buchowski, S. Grigarvičiūtė, A. Kasparavičius, Č. Laurinavičius, W.K. Roman and J. Wołkonowski.

³³ See: M. Kuodys, *Karo padėties režimas Lietuvos Respublikoje 1919–1940 m: disertacija*, Kaunas 2009, pp. 14–152.

in the area. More precisely, they had been considered by the new law as non-existent. Disbanded and banned entities could have legalised their activities by submitting required documents to local Press and Local Organizations Departments.

One of the most important measures of the new Lithuanian administration had been so-called passporting and granting the Lithuanian citizenship to the Vilnius Region population. These issues have been meticulously examined by Vitalija Stravinskienė, who confronted earlier discoveries with source materials. Through such activity, she was able to revise earlier findings, correct statistics, describe and assess procedures of awarding the new citizenship³⁴.

Despite the formal incorporation of the Vilnius Region to Lithuania and symbolic liquidation of fences and border crossing points, still a special pass and permits to cross the 'Administration Line' were necessary. This restriction was lifted only in May 1940³⁵. Just to mention here that the issue of functioning of the pass and permits system is not present in the subject literature.

Another important problem that still requires further research is the question of communication and transport in the incorporated areas. To date, such elements were described and evaluated only with the use of newspapers and journals texts and articles.

Similarly, as in the case of the agrarian reform, incorporation of the Vilnius Region had also an impact on another dimension – on the Lithuanian state education system. At the beginning of November, a new law was adopted in grammar schools. Its provisions referred mainly to the area in and around Vilnius.

In practical terms, reform was introduced at the turn of November and December by taking over schools by new directors, who were sent mainly from the Lithuania proper. The Lithuanian language and courses on history and geography of Lithuania were introduced. It immediately provoked the conflict with the Polish population that was climaxed by the several weeks strike. This topic was examined and described by Dalia Bukelevičiūtė³⁶.

The culmination of the educational system Lithuanisation process was the closure of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius on 15 December 1939. This specific problem was one of the most important issues

³⁴ V. Stravinskienė, *Lietuvos Respublikos pilietybės suteikimas Vilniaus krašte (1939–1940 m.)*, "Lietuvos istorijos metraštis" 2016, 1, pp. 71–89.

³⁵ R. Žepkaitė, *Vilniaus istorijos atkarpa*, p. 90.

³⁶ D. Bukelevičiūtė, *Švietimo problemos netekus Klaipėdos ir prisijungus Vilnių 1939–1940*, in: *Socialiniai pokyčiai Lietuvos valstybėje 1918–1940*, Vilnius 2016, pp. 286–301.

in Polish-Lithuanian relations and its impact extended beyond Vilnius. Lithuanian authorities claimed that they were not able to afford to finance two state universities.

As a result, in place of closed Vilnius University, some faculties and departments of the Vytautas Magnus University (Lit. *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas*) were relocated from Kaunas. The topic and related scientific discussions had been thoroughly described and assessed in the subject literature³⁷.

Above-mentioned Lithuanian policies met with the natural resistance of the Polish population, which started to consider Lithuania as the third occupier of Poland. It also perceived the situation after October 1939 as a transient and temporary phenomenon³⁸. Such position was strongly supported by the Bishop of Vilnius, Romuald Jałbrzykowski. This hierarch defended Church structures against influences and actions of new Government quite effectively. In addition, he was not hiding his aversion to Lithuanians. It is to note that ethnic relations within the Church and its relations with the Lithuanian authorities are very well present in the subject literature but they do not touch the framework of administrative and national policing issues.

During the first days of the Soviet invasion of Poland, many civilian and military refugees found their shelter in Lithuania. They were interned and placed in special camps. It is quite possible that this specific problem is definitely the best researched question from the area of Lithuanian policies towards Poland and Polish citizens during the September 1939 Campaign and the time just after October 1939. This research area was intensively explored already in the beginning of the 1990s of the 20th century. It resulted in the works of Wanda Krystyna Roman and Maciej Szczurowski³⁹. Such problems are also very much present in memoir literature.

³⁷ See: P. Łossowski. *Likwidacja Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego przez władze litewskie w grudniu 1939 roku*, Warszawa 1991. In the Lithuanian literature this problem was extensively covered in a few synthetic works on the history of both universities.

³⁸ The history of the Polish population under the Lithuanian rule was relatively extensively covered by the subject literature. A sizeable bibliography on the topic was included to K. Buchowski, *Stosunki polsko-litewskie na Wileńszczyźnie (1939–1940) w świetle historiografii obu krajów*, in: *Wyzwolenie czy okupacja? Stosunek społeczności zamieszkujących pogranicze polsko-litewsko-białoruskie do zmieniających się w XX wieku systemów państwowych*, eds. M. Kietliński, W. Śleszyński, Białystok 2006, pp. 129–139.

³⁹ An extensive bibliography was included in the review of the book of G. Surgailis by W.K. Roman, *Polacy internowani na Litwie w oczach historyka litewskiego*, "Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy" 2015, 16 (67), 1 (251), pp. 208–217.

On the Lithuanian side, the military dimension of questions of internment and internees was extensively covered by Gintautas Sургailis⁴⁰. The holistic approach to support and assistance provided by authorities to civilian and military refugees was presented by Simonas Strelcovas, who also, in his recent work, widely covered the problem of Jewish population in Lithuania⁴¹. The status of research on activities of Lithuanian civilian authorities and police towards Poland and the Polish population is diverse and varies from one area to another. To complete the task and properly cover the period just before WWII, September 1939 and after the campaign in Poland, firstly and foremostly it is necessary to launch next research in the Lithuanian Central State Archives (Lit. *Lietuvos centrinių valstybės archyvas*). This should be done by research in fonds generated by institutions responsible for implementation of Polish–Lithuanian agreements, in fonds of the Ministry of Interior and its departments responsible for specific state administration areas.

Researches launched by Lithuanian historians after 1990 were mostly fragmentary and they have not covered the full spectrum of Lithuanian administration policies before WWII. On the basis of works by V. Stravinskienė, S. Strelcovas, and initial analysis of archives' inventories and catalogues it is right to assume that there are broad prospects to deal effectively with many administration policy issues. This could be done not only with regard to the Polish Military September 1939 Campaign but also for the period since the establishment of the Polish-Lithuanian diplomatic relations, in March 1938, till the incorporation of Lithuania to the Soviet Union on 15 June 1940.

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⁴⁰ G. Sургailis, *Antrojo pasaulinio karo pabėgėliai ir internuoti tieji Lenkijos kariai Lietuvoje (1939 09–1940)*, Vilnius 2005. Polish edition: idem, *Uchodźcy wojenni i polscy żołnierze internowani na Litwie w czasie II wojny światowej*, Warszawa 2013.

⁴¹ S. Strelcovas, *Antrojo pasaulinio karo pabėgėliai Lietuvoje 1939–1940 metais*, Šiauliai 2010; idem. *Geris, blogis, vargdieniai. Č. Sugihara ir Antrojo pasaulinio karo pabėgėliai Lietuvoje*, Vilnius 2018.

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