

Vilnius University
INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Eastern European and Russian Studies
Master's Programme

BENAS GERDŽIŪNAS
2nd year

**Occupied or colonised? Looking for signs of Lithuania's postcolonial
condition**

MASTER'S THESIS

Tutor: Dr. Vilius Mačkinis

January 2022
Vilnius

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ENTRY

Gerdžiūnas, Benas: “Occupied or colonised? Looking for signs of Lithuania's postcolonial condition”: Master in Eastern Europe and Russian studies programme, Master thesis / Vilnius University Institute of International Relations and Political Science; tutor: Dr. Vilius Mačkinis, Vilnius, 2022. – 70 pages.

Key words: Postcolonialism, Lithuania, ontological security, historical memory, collective trauma, Soviet and Holocaust heritage, places of memory.

Summary:

This thesis highlights signs of Lithuania’s postcolonial condition by analysing discourse in the media. Through two case studies of places of memory dedicated to Petras Cvirka, and Jonas Noreika-Vėtra and Kazys Škirpa, this work shows postcoloniality to be at the core of ontological insecurity, which stems from traumatic Soviet and Holocaust heritage and results in clashes over collective memory.

Confirmation

I confirm that I am the author of submitted Master Thesis: "*Occupied or colonised? Looking for signs of Lithuania's postcolonial condition?*", which has been prepared independently and has never been presented for any other course or used in another educational institution, neither in Lithuania, nor abroad. I also provide a full bibliographical list, which indicates all the sources that were used to prepare this assignment and contains no un-used sources.

Benas Gerdžiūnas

Table of Contents

0.0 Introduction	6
1.0 Literature review	9
1.1 Orientalism, Colonialism and Postcolonialism	9
1.2 Ontological security, collective memory and trauma	15
1.3 Summary	19
2.0 Methodology	20
2.1 Places of memory and why Cvirka and Noreika/Škirpa	20
2.2 Discourse analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in postcolonialism	21
2.2 Methodological framework	23
2.3. Key pillars	26
2.3.1 Desire for a mythic set of heroes	26
2.3.2 Mimicry, tensions between the desire for autonomy and a history of dependence	27
2.3.3 The myth of silent or passive resistance	27
2.3.4 Images of disease, body, and violence	28
2.3.5 Other	28
3.0 Memorial to Cvirka: overview of findings	28
3.1 The myth of silent or passive resistance	29
3.2 Mimicry, tensions between the desire for autonomy and a history of dependence	31
3.3 Collective trauma and ontological security	34
3.4 Images of disease, body, and violence	37
3.5 Minor discourse strands	38
3.5.1 Nesting orientalism	38
3.5.2 Decommunisation or decolonisation?	38
4.0 Memorials to Škirpa and Noreika: overview of findings	39
4.1 Desire for a mythic set of heroes and ontological security	40
4.1.1 Russia as external threat to ontological security	43
4.2 Mimicry, tensions between the desire for autonomy and a history of dependence	45
4.2.1 Decolonising West-centric European history	46
4.2.2 Internalising West-centric European history	49
4.2.3 Fear of repeat behaviour of Soviets and/or Russia	51
4.3 Silent resistance and 'good versus bad' collaboration	52
4.4 Minor strands	54
4.4.1 Self-orientalism	54
5.0 Conclusion	55
5.1 Recommendations	57
6.0 List of literature	58
7.0 Summary	68

0.0 Introduction

On the eve of Lithuania's 30th independence anniversary, the country's top-level politicians and cultural figures gathered in a conference to address a question – “what is wrong with us?”¹ The March 2020 conference at the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry was largely overshadowed by the onset of the coronavirus pandemic. Regardless, it confirmed the problematic historical legacy, ignored elements of complicity in atrocities, and undigested” trauma driving a wedge into the country's domestic politics and international relations².

The aptly titled event, *Dealing with the trauma of an undigested past*, took a step in moving the discussion surrounding historical memory from the civil society to the political level. It also acknowledged that “the trauma of colonialism is a thing rather new to Lithuania” and the phenomena itself is able “to reincarnate itself in various types of paternalism, which many societies even fail to recognise”, Laimonas Talat-Kelpša, the then State Secretary at the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry, said at the conference.³

Only recently, the postcolonial lens begin to expand to include the post-Soviet space. I argue that a crucial factor on why it has largely been missing in and about the Baltic states is external (Western monopoly of the postcolonial critique), but also internal (the difficulty of internalising colonialism in Lithuania itself).

The adoption of this postcolonial lens may present more insights into the roots of ontological insecurity, which stems from traumatic Soviet and Holocaust heritage and results in clashes over collective memory. So far, only few authors in Lithuania have explored the theory in the local context, while also employing limited methodological tools (mainly by looking at literature). This is where this work aims to push forward the discourse surrounding postcolonialism in Lithuania. Thus, this thesis poses a question: how do signs of the country's postcolonial condition manifest through collective memory discourses?

Literature drawing from other formerly colonised lands have described how the darkness of the past, the brutal violence and subjugation have torn across layers and generations of society, breaking apart communal bonds, creating new boundaries, divisions, and ongoing conflicts – both

¹ Laimonas Talat-Kelpša, “What is wrong with us – opinion?” *LRT English*, March 4, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1148089/what-is-wrong-with-us-opinion>

² Gabija Dalekaitė, Samanta Galinaitytė, Evaldas Ignatavičius (eds.), “Dealing with the Trauma of an Undigested Past: International Conference Overview.” *Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, March 2020, Vilnius:Petro Ofsetas, 2020. https://issuu.com/lmf/docs/dealing_with_the_trauma_of_undigested_past_confere

³ Laimonas Talat-Kelpša, “Dealing with trauma of an undigested past.” Presentation in a conference “Dealing with the trauma of an undigested past”, Vilnius, Lithuania, March 5-6, 2020.

physical and geographical, as well as in the body and psyche, whereby the “protracted processes of colonisation are treated as the fatal, irreversible deformations of man’s body/soul”⁴. This then leads to the postcolonial condition, including in the Baltic states, which Tiina Kirss describes as “an emptiness in which a festering oppositionality no longer has any place to go, and in which the former colonial subject is forced to confront his internalisation of prevailing power relations, the lingering inferiority complexes of the subaltern”⁵. The formerly colonised “subalterns”⁶ are thus forced to overcome alien rule not only over their territory, but also over their own minds and body⁷, in what Karl E. Jirgens calls “psychic colonisation, a colonisation of the mind”⁸. Ultimately, the societies that survived these ruptures are marked by unsteady footings, both on a personal, but also on a collective level. This shaky ground and ontological insecurity then continues to torment the development of the individual, community, society, and the state itself. The collective psyche of the survivors is deeply marked, with the organic thought process itself being compromised by the legacy of language and thought acts that were used as violence. These scars have been theorised by different writers, but it is the seminal work of David Chioni Moore that sets the background for the postcolonial condition in Lithuania. This is also the starting point of this paper.

To look for signs of how this postcoloniality manifests itself, I propose using the following pillars by Moore as the primary examples that help define postcolonialism in Lithuania:

Tensions between the “desire for autonomy and a history of dependence, [...] between resistance and complicity, and between imitation (or mimicry) and originality, [...] an exaggerated desire for authentic sources, generally a mythic set of heroic [figures], purer ancestors who once controlled a greater zone than the people now possess”⁹.

By using these pillars, as well as adding theorisations by other authors to be explored below, I will use the postcolonial theory to zoom in onto the recent collective memory clashes surrounding the country’s traumatic 20th century heritage, namely that of Communism and the Holocaust. To do

⁴ Almantas Samalavičius, “Lithuanian Prose and Decolonization: Rediscovery of the Body.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 409–428.

⁵ Tiina Kirss, “Viivi Luik’s The Beauty of History: Aestheticized Violence and the Postcolonial in the Contemporary Estonian Novel.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 271–289.

⁶ Leon de Kock, “Interview With Gayatri Chakrovorty Spivak: New Nation Writers Conference in South Africa.” 1992. <http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~sj6/Spivak%20Interview%20DeKock.pdf>

⁷ Duncan Ivison, “Postcolonialism”. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, November 10, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/postcolonialism>

⁸ Karl E. Jirgens, “Labyrinths of Meaning in Aleksandrs Pelēcis’ Siberia Book and Agate Nesaule’s Woman in Amber: A Postmodern/Postcolonial Reading.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 359–385.

⁹ David Chioni Moore, “Is the Post- in Postcolonial the Post- in Post-Soviet? Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique.” *Special Topic: Globalizing Literary Studies*, PMLA, Vol. 116, No. 1, January 2001, 111-128.

that, I will employ Critical Discourse Analysis to explore two case studies, which I believe are best suited to show postcoloniality embedded in the public discourse.

First, I will first look into **the monument to Petras Cvirka** in central Vilnius, where the discourse presents a dichotomy. On the one hand, he is viewed as having collaborated with the Soviet regime, which also led to repressions against other Lithuanian authors¹⁰¹¹. On the other, the country's cultural figures claim his writings, even while under Soviet collaboration, are valuable additions to the country's literature and memory. Characterising the Cvirka controversy is the myth of the "silent resistance"¹², which is invoked to claim there were no 'bad' collaborators, but merely those who acted for the sake of Lithuania from within the Soviet apparatus. With Cvirka, the concept of silent resistance is invoked to 'forget' the collaboration context in favour of his contributions to *Lithuanian* culture.

Secondly, I will analyse the joint controversy in Vilnius surrounding **the renaming of Kazys Škirpa Street and the removal of a plaque dedicated to Jonas Noreika-Vėtra**, which culminated in summer 2019 with rarely seen protests attracting hundreds of people in the Lithuanian capital. During the post-Soviet transition, Lithuania opted to lionise historical figures that fought or acted against the Soviets despite their controversial backgrounds. Noreika is accused of Holocaust complicity for signing an order establishing a Jewish ghetto in northern Lithuania in 1941 when the country was under Nazi occupation¹³. Meanwhile, Škirpa is controversial due to "anti-Semitism" in his 1940-41 activities¹⁴. While used to solidify national narratives during the rebirth of the Lithuanian state, the problematic legacy of Holocaust complicity stalks the country's ongoing development – both when utilised to target Lithuania by outside forces, but also, as claimed in the March 2020 conference, in the country's international relations and domestic politics.

Thus, by employing Critical Discourse Analysis in the media, **the goal of this thesis is to look for signs of Lithuania's postcolonial condition** that lies at the core of ontological insecurity, which stems from traumatic Soviet and Holocaust heritage and results in clashes over collective

¹⁰ Mindaugas Klusas, "When poem could land you in prison: Soviet Lithuanian author implicated in fellow writer's persecution." LRT, November 10, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1114187/when-poem-could-land-you-in-prison-soviet-lithuanian-author-implicated-in-fellow-writer-s-persecution>

¹¹ Ignas Jačauskas, BNS. "Rašytojai: griaudami Cvirkos paminklą, dramatiškų istorijos puslapių neišbrauksime". LRT. May 24, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1062510/rasytojai-griaudami-cvirkos-paminkla-dramatisku-istorijos-puslapiu-neisbrauksime>

¹² Vytautas Rubavičius, "A Soviet Experience of Our Own: Comprehension and the Surrounding Silence." Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 83-104.

¹³ Teresė Birutė Burauskaitė, "JONO NOREIKOS (GENEROLO VĖTROS) VEIKLA NACIŲ OKUPUOTOJE LIETUVOJE." *Lietuvos gyventojų genocido ir rezistencijos tyrimo centras*. http://genocid.lt/UserFiles/File/Pazymos/201510_noreika_pazyma01.pdf

¹⁴ Teresė Birutė Burauskaitė, "DĖL KAZIO ŠKIRPOS VEIKLOS ANTROJO PASAULINIO KARO METAIS." *Lietuvos gyventojų genocido ir rezistencijos tyrimo centras*. http://genocid.lt/UserFiles/File/Pazymos/201510_Škirpa_pazyma01.pdf

memory. **The aim is to show:**

- a) how postcolonialism manifests itself in public discourse via the media;
- b) the postcolonial lens being a valid tool in analysing issues surrounding ontological security, as well as collective memory and trauma.

I will now proceed by analysing literature, with a particular focus on how it applies to postcolonialism discourse in the post-Soviet space, including in Lithuania, thus setting the foundations for the validity of using the theory in this context. Then, I will delve into issues surrounding ontological security, collective trauma and memory, before proceeding to this paper's methodological framework. There, I will begin by briefly laying out the context to places of memory in Lithuania following independence, before looking over discussions surrounding discourse analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis. The section will then conclude with the explanation of the theoretical framework to be used in this thesis, as well as establishing the key pillars that will serve as reference points in the case studies to look for postcolonial signs in the discourse.

1.0 Literature review

1.1 Orientalism, Colonialism and Postcolonialism

The biggest hurdle to clear is whether the Baltic states had been *colonised* in the first place, which informs whether discussions on postcolonialism are at all valid. I argue that by establishing the *postcolonial* condition in Lithuania at the present, it therefore vis-a-vis reinforces the claim of the Baltics being *colonised* in the first place.

In Lithuania, only several authors have explored the postcolonial condition in the country. The most prominent ones, including Vytautas Rubavičius and Almantas Samalavičius, have contributed to the collective work, *Baltic Postcolonialism*¹⁵, edited by Violeta Kelertas. There, they have focused on literature to show postcoloniality in the Baltic states, including using as case studies contemporary books like *Vilnius Poker* by Ričardas Gavelis, as well as Siberia deportation testimonies like *Lietuviai prie Laptevų jūros* by Dalia Grinkevičiūtė. However, few works have looked at postcoloniality in the Baltic states other than through literature¹⁶.

As briefly laid out in the introduction, external and internal factors have contributed to the difficulty in adopting the postcolonial lens in Lithuania. I will now proceed to look at both.

¹⁵ Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006.

¹⁶ Dalia Cidzikaitė. "Postcolonialism in Lithuania: suspicious or acceptable?" *Kultūros barai*. Nr. 2, 2008, 7-11.

In studies of Western empires, “colonialism is by definition the institutional form whereby a nation exploits the riches and the labour of the people of another nation, holding back the social, economic and cultural progress of the latter for its own benefit”, according to Gita Itonwana Welch.¹⁷ This “may be a problematic definition” when discussing colonialism in the post-Soviet Baltics, according to Neringa Klumbyte.¹⁸ In her review of Violeta Kelertas’s *Baltic Postcolonialism*, she goes as far to say that the classical exploitative metropole-periphery relationship was “inverted” as the Baltics modernised and industrialised under the Soviet rule, hinting at a Baltic ‘exceptionalism’ in the postcolonial critique. Moore reinforces this exceptionalism by suggesting that the colonialism in the Baltics is from a fourth, distinct type, “where the colonised countries were culturally superior to the colonisers”.¹⁹ In Lithuania, as well as Central Europe, the recurring narrative of Russia being ‘Mongol’, ‘Asiatic’, ie more ‘barbarian’ and backward – which has its own roots in British orientalism towards Russia²⁰ – is what Milica Bakić-Hayden called “nesting orientalisms”, where every country sees cultures east and south of it as “more primitive”²¹. This also links with Edward’s Said’s description of dogmatic orientalism, which also depicts the Orient, ie the East, as something “to be feared” like “the Mongol hordes”²². Thereby, these perceptions may highlight the difficulty in internalising the memory of Soviet rule as colonisation by a ‘less civilised’ eastern neighbour. Thus, this ‘barbarian East’ narrative also reinforces Moore’s “fourth type” exceptionalism applied to the Baltics, or the “inner colonies” of the “European republics” category defined by Henry F. Carey and Rafal Raciborski.²³

Meanwhile, the authors in Kelertas’ *Baltic Postcolonialism* attempt to connect a direct line in a comparative approach by outlining the same, key definitions of “Western post-colonies” that they say apply to the Baltic states: “Dislocation of local inhabitants, assimilationist policies, the higher status of the Russian nation and Russian language, suppression of human rights, and political, economic, and cultural approach.”²⁴

But this introduces another complexity. Some 25 million²⁵ ethnic Russians lived outside of the Russian territory, the metropole, at the time of the breakup of the USSR. This did show the

¹⁷ Gita Itonwana Welch, “Mozambique: Pluralism, Colonialism and the Law,” cited from Henry F. Carey and Rafal Raciborski, “Postcolonialism: A Valid Paradigm for the Former Sovietized States and Yugoslavia?” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2004, 191–235.

¹⁸ Neringa Klumbyte, “Review of Kelertas’s: *Baltic Postcolonialism* Edited by Violeta Kelertas. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006. Pp. 464.” *East European Politics and Societies*, 21, no. 2, May 2007, 382–91.

¹⁹ Moore.

²⁰ Moore.

²¹ Tanja Petrović, Heinz Fassman (eds.), *Kulturen der Differenz – Transformationsprozesse in Zentraleuropa nach 1989 transdisziplinäre Perspektiven*. Vienna University Press, Vienna, 2012, cited from Kristina Andělová, “Reinventing Central Europe and the Decline of Marxism: Czech ‘Orientalism’ through the Lens of Intellectual History.” *IWM Junior Visiting Fellows’ Conferences*, vol. 35, Vienna, 2016.

²² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

²³ Carey and Raciborski

²⁴ Klumbyte

²⁵ Geoffrey Hosking, *Rulers and Victims: The Russians in the Soviet Union*. Belknap Press, 2009.

colonising practises of the Soviet regime which attempted to homogenise the Soviet people by using Russia as the dominant culture, ethnicity, and ultimately, language²⁶. However, at the same time, the ethnic Russians were not a privileged social class²⁷ and many of the republics – including Lithuania – were seen as wealthier, more cultured, and ‘European’²⁸ by themselves and, crucially, the Russians.

Thus, both the exceptionalism as well as the global definitions of colonialism find common ground on the Baltic soil. Discussing this exceptionalism, Carey and Raciborski write, “we must acknowledge that there were some positive effects in most colonies, just as most authoritarian regimes have supporters because of stability and growth.”²⁹ Ultimately, Moore has summarised the dichotomy of the colonial experience in the Baltics, which deserves to be quoted at length:

“Those who would characterise the Soviet experiment as noncolonial can point, inter alia, to the Soviet Union's wish to liberate its toiling masses; its dismantling of many ethnic-Russian privileges in its east and south; its support of many Union languages; its development of factories, hospitals, and schools; its liberation of women from the harem and the veil; its support of Third World anticolonial struggles, [...] Those who would argue that the Soviets were simply differently configured colonists could point, again inter alia, to the mass and arbitrary relocation of entire non-Russian peoples; the ironic Soviet national fixing of countless formerly less defined identities [...]; the Soviet reconquest of the once independent Baltic states in 1941; the invariable Russian ethnicity of the number-two man in each republic; the inevitable direction of Russia's Third World policy from its Moscow center; and tanks in 1956 and 1968 in Budapest and Prague.”³⁰

Complicating the discussions on Soviet colonialism is the fact that the post-Soviet space has been largely blindsided in the postcolonial discourse. The reasons stem from the beginning of postcolonialism scholarship itself – Edward Said and his seminal 1978 book, *Orientalism*. He focuses solely on Western colonialism, as it was initially “a critique of Western power”³¹, without giving much space to the Soviet colonial polity. Said “excused’ [Soviet] brutality” by claiming Russia acquired its territories by adjacency and, in the process, granting an “odd primacy to water”

²⁶ John B. Dunlop, "Russia: Confronting a Loss of Empire, 1987-1991." *Political Science Quarterly*, 108, no. 4, 1993, 603-634.

²⁷ Hosking

²⁸ Moore

²⁹ Carey and Raciborski

³⁰ Moore

³¹ Ibid.

thus excluding the landborne Soviet empire from the discourse³². Said also attached Russia to the Orient as seen from the point of view of the Western gaze, in one example writing that the “‘East’ has always signified danger and threat [...] even as it has meant the traditional Orient as well as Russia”.³³

Written close to the twilight years of the Soviet Union, Said could be forgiven for not focusing on Soviet colonialism – there are a mere five references to the keyword “Sovet” in the book *Orientalism*. The Kremlin’s narrative alleged it was fighting colonialism in the third world, and with “many postcolonialist scholars having been Marxist or strongly left”, meant that the scholars may “have been reluctant to make the Soviet Union a French- or British- style villain”.³⁴

Another layer to the colonialism discourse in the Baltic states is in the definition of whether the Soviet Union was the continuation of the Russian Empire – in deeds if not in rhetoric – and whether it was a *Russian* empire. According to Moore, Lithuania (alongside other countries) was “subject to often brutal Russian domination (styled as Soviet from the 1920s on) for anywhere from forty to two hundred years”³⁵. But, in the Soviet Union, the ordinary Russians bore a heavy burden of the empire – which was as lethal to them as to non-Russians³⁶ – “without sharing its blessing”, Milovan Djilas wrote in 1988³⁷, explaining the paradoxical relationship between the metropole and the periphery. Yet, true to the perceived colonialist nature of the centre, “almost every Russian [...] embraces the idea of Russian aggrandisement and takes for granted that he has to make sacrifices for it”, according to Djilas, and indulges in “imperial pride”, according to Dunlop,³⁸ which can be seen closely associated with colonialism. Further still, “Russian imperial nationalism” was used “to prop up a decaying Marxism-Leninism” during various stages of Soviet Union³⁹, especially during the rule of Leonid Brezhnev⁴⁰.

Russian nationalism is also closely linked to messianism as a stepping stone for expansionism, and subsequently colonialism. As a sign of Russia’s colonial condition, the racism of excusing colonisation of Kipling’s *White Man’s Burden* has attracted a “broad Russian support for Zhirinovskiy’s 1990s call to reacquire the ‘near abroad’ and can be found in the remarks frequently made by Russians today about Chechens”⁴¹. The messianism, drawing from the enlightenment-era justification of expansionism, can be traced to Catherine the Great and the partitions of the Polish-

³² Ibid.

³³ Said

³⁴ Moore

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Dunlop

³⁸ Dunlop

³⁹ Hosking

⁴⁰ Dunlop

⁴¹ Carey and Raciborski.

Lithuanian Commonwealth. In her correspondence with Voltaire, Catherine involved the burden of bringing civilisation to the lands between ‘civilised’ West and Russia.⁴² This view of a civilising mission to mask exploitation was common among colonial empires of the West. Subsequently, the same rhetorical self-affirming elements can be later found in more clear-cut colonialist practises, defined as “classical colonies” by Carey and Raciborski, by the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union in the Asian east.

But Valery Tishkov argues that, before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the empirical definitions “were more political metaphors than analytical assessments” and the colonial lens applied to the Soviet “nation-state” was “an ex post facto rationalisation”.⁴³ Tishkov invokes the nature of internal colonisation in Western Europe found during the process of building nation states to ground his argument that an imperial, and subsequently colonial, lens is now being applied retrospectively to the process of Russia’s nation building. Contemporary, it would not have been seen as such. Ironically, his use of Western Europe to explain Russian imperial and colonial dilemmas hints of the West homogenising the colonial discourse.

According to Tishov, the Soviet Union itself structured nations, linking territory with ethnicity through its affirmative action policy, which affirmed “ethnic psychology” and “nation as an ethnic whole” in its occupied regions⁴⁴. He goes as far as to say that “Soviet nationalities policy was modernising and anticolonial in nature and represented a radical break with the policy of the Romanov empire”, identifying the split from the colonialism of the Romanov Russian Empire from the Bolshevik nationalism of the Soviets. According to Dunlop, the Tsarist empire was not a ‘Russian’ Empire – it was made up of “subjects who answered to Tsar who only answered to God”.⁴⁵ That changed to some degree in the late 19th century when the Tsarist administration adopted a Russification policy that reverberated across the western borderlands, including Lithuania, and “assumed that Russians were superior to the other subjects”, according to Dunlop⁴⁶. Meanwhile, the “Soviet party-state [was] the revolutionary replacement of the Russian nation-state, not its continuation”, according to Carl Linden⁴⁷ quoted by Dunlop.

The view of the Soviet Union in the “postcolonial paradigm” therefore projects into the past from the perspectives of the “recently acquired states” to give a context “in which a given nation ‘awakened,’ matured, and struggled for independence”, wrote Tishkov⁴⁸. Thus owing to the “mental

⁴² Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford University Press, 1994.

⁴³ Valery Tishkov. “What Are Russia and the Russian People?” *Russian Politics & Law*, 47:2, 2009, 30-59.

⁴⁴ Tishkov

⁴⁵ Dunlop

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Tishkov

inertia and influence of ethnic nationalism” stemming from the Soviet affirmative policy, post-communist countries “found it difficult to move from an ethnic-nation concept to the concept of civil nation”, he added.

Going back to Said’s findings, his discussions on orientalism may also present a clue as to why the Lithuanian society may find it difficult to internalise the colonial discourse. After analysing multiple European authors, he concluded that the West depicts the East as “childlike”, “irrational” and “feminine”, ie weak, opposite to the West’s self-representation as a masculine polity that is “rational”, “mature”, “developed”, “humane”, “superior”⁴⁹. In other words, “Asia has its prophets [and] Europe its doctors.” To this mix, one might add the paternal power relations of children needing nurturing, a depiction that dominated the colonial thought of European empires. Multiple examples exist, not least the parting words of a Belgian king in 1960 as he oversaw Congo’s independence ceremony, billowing for the new leaders to show that “that we were right in trusting you”⁵⁰. Similar paternalistic condescension also characterised the Russian Tsarist rule, with one of the main narratives depicting Tsar as a father looking out for his children; an image that crumbled with atrocities such as the Black Sunday in 1905. The image of Joseph Stalin as the ‘father’ of the Soviet nation is another case in point. Similarly, the infamous words of “bringing back the sun” from Moscow when pro-Communist elements in Lithuania travelled to Russia to sign Lithuania’s annexation into ‘law’, may also invoke such sentiments. In the official propaganda newsreel about the event, Moscow is named as “a good mother” that has “warmly welcomed the Nemunas’ country [sic] delegates”⁵¹. Thus, the perceived weakness embedded in the ‘feminine’ representation of the colonised, as well as paternalism, may contribute toward preventing the Lithuanian society from accepting the postcolonial discourse. The post-independence patriotic depictions of a masculine, patriotic, narrative (that includes motifs of “victimhood” and “fight for independence”⁵²) using the anti-Soviet partisan narrative⁵³ – which also largely neglects the role of females in the resistance⁵⁴ – as well as the “return to Westernness”⁵⁵ paradigm, is a case in point.

⁴⁹ Said

⁵⁰ Special Correspondent. “Marred. M. Lumumba's offensive speech in King's presence”, *The Guardian*, July 1, 1960. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/1960/jul/01/congo>

⁵¹ LietuviškosTVArchyvas. “Kremliuje Lietuva priimama i Tarybų Sąjungą 1940 08 03.” *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Xh37-GjaF4&ab_channel=Lietuvi%C5%A1kosTVArchyvas

⁵² Rasa Goštautaitė. “Dissonant Soviet monuments in post-Soviet Lithuania: the application of artistic practices.” *Baltic Worlds*. February 12, 2021. <https://balticworlds.com/dissonant-soviet-monuments-in-post-soviet-lithuania/>

⁵³ Alvydas Nikzentaitis, “Atminties ir atminimo kulturu modeliai: Lietuva, Lenkija, Rusija, Vokietija, in Nuo Basanaviciaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribentropo: atminties ir atminimo kulturu transformacijos XX-XXI amžiuje,” Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2011, cited from Rasa Goštautaitė, “Dissonant Soviet monuments in post-Soviet Lithuania: the application of artistic practices.” *Baltic Worlds*. February 12, 2021. <https://balticworlds.com/dissonant-soviet-monuments-in-post-soviet-lithuania/>.

⁵⁴ Domantė Platūkytė, “Women partisans among Lithuania’s Forest Brothers: from lovers to fighters.” *LRT English*, September 12, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1227079/women-partisans-among-lithuania-s-forest-brothers-from-lovers-to-fighters>

⁵⁵ Moore

1.2 Ontological security, collective memory and trauma

Together with the examples discussed above, the other elements defined by Moore – the tensions between resistance and complicity, mythic set of heroes and purer ancestors, and imitation and originality – manifest most vividly in ontological insecurity stemming from traumatic heritage.

Ontological security describes the embedded, “basic need”⁵⁶ perception of safety in people’s understanding of both individual one selves, but at times, also the collective self – either a national community, as part of the state. The need to have a consistent sense of self was then applied to states⁵⁷, which “care about their ontological security and act in ways in order to maintain a stable sense of ‘self’”⁵⁸. Ontological security thus embodies answers to “existential”⁵⁹ questions – the understanding of past and future and one’s place in it, giving a sense of continuity and stability. These questions, subsequently, may be considered beyond the politicised and securitised realms. This bringing down of security issues to the ‘human’ level in ontological security stems from critical theory, which differs from the traditional IR approaches mainly in how it treats the state. Traditionally, “human agency [is] marginalised or rendered invisible” with the lens poised on the role of the state “as dominant agent and referent”.⁶⁰ The concept of security is thus expanded to include identity that enables political agency of social actors, according to Mälksoo⁶¹, as well as the security of the state as “an idea”, ie “the biographical self-narrative of a state, including its historical memory, and the recognition of other states to its being as such”⁶².

If we accept that communities that make up a nation state want to have stability the same way each member does in its own personal life, then the foundations of the collective past occupy the same level of importance as does one’s own memories and family tree. However, the state, I’d argue, still plays a large role in building the collective ‘self’ of the “imagined political community”⁶³, even if its ability to ensure this collective ontology security may be limited – as we will subsequently explore.

When the foundation of ontological security has, colloquially speaking, skeletons in the closet, or what Jelena Subotić calls “unresolved identities”, any moves to answer these ‘existential’ questions of whether what we know is true, what really happened, and who and what are we *really*,

⁵⁶ Ayşe Zarakol, “States and ontological security: A historical rethinking.” *Cooperation and Conflict*, 2017, 52(1), pp. 48-68.

⁵⁷ Jennifer Mitzen. “Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma.” *European Journal of International Relations*, 2006, 341-370.

⁵⁸ Zarakol

⁵⁹ Zarakol

⁶⁰ Pinar Bilgin, *Security Studies*, Routledge, 2018.

⁶¹ Maria Mälksoo, “‘Memory Must Be Defended’: Beyond the Politics of Mnemonical Security.” *Security Dialogue*, 46, no. 3, June 2015, 221–37.

⁶² Mälksoo, *Memory Must Be Defended*

⁶³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 1991.

are met by “actors acting out”⁶⁴. According to Subotić, post-communist states today are dealing with conflicting sources of ontological insecurity due to the shaken ontological foundations, which rest on collective memory split between two extremely traumatic events – Communism and the Holocaust. Due to the entangled web of many historical figures, lionised for their anti-Soviet resistance but overlooked for their – among other reasons – opportunist, genuine, or *realpolitik* collaboration with the Nazis, attempts to come to grips with Holocaust complicity from the Adriatic to the Baltic and the Black seas strike at the foundation stones of the communities’ collective memory.

Crucially, the collective memory in Lithuania, as well as other Baltic states and the post-Soviet region as a whole, is saturated with trauma, much of it repressed and unprocessed⁶⁵. Lithuania lost some 33 percent of its population between 1940-53 due to the occupations⁶⁶, leading to the country displaying a “post-traumatic” global psyche⁶⁷. Danute Gailienė⁶⁸ explored the post-traumatic effects and how they manifest in the present-day societal issues prevalent in Lithuania by looking at them via the historical memory and collective trauma angles. I believe the same approach could be combined with postcoloniality, which would form an additional research thread in linking ontological insecurity, psychological problems in the society, and their postcolonial link.

Collective trauma, when repressed, may be one of the underlying conditions that manifests in the postcolonial condition, as all previously colonised lands are marked by a period of violence and exploitation. Without internalising and processing the trauma, the postcolonial condition can be locked through generations, as “the trauma is inherited not as an actual recollection but rather as an ‘imaginative investment and projection’ that is passed down”.⁶⁹ Subsequently, the postcolonial condition can entrench in subsequent generations, thus in “people who have never experienced the catastrophe themselves remember it through the narratives, stories and images”⁷⁰. This has long-term, detrimental societal cohesion effects as witnessed in postcolonial societies. “Collective trauma is about the damaged tissue of social life. It undermines the ties between people and weakens the general sense of belonging to a community,” according to Marianne Hirsch⁷¹, which is also one of

⁶⁴ Jelena Subotić, “Political memory, ontological security, and Holocaust remembrance in post-communist Europe.” *European Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 2018, 296–313

⁶⁵ Danutė Gailienė. *Ką jie mums padarė. Lietuvos gyvenimas traumų psichologijos žvilgsniu*. Tyto alba, 2021.

⁶⁶ Gailienė

⁶⁷ Jirgens

⁶⁸ Gailienė

⁶⁹ Elisabeth Kovtiak, “Bringing Back the silenced memories: (un)official commemorations of the Holocaust in Belarus.” *Baltic Worlds*. February 15, 2021. <https://balticworlds.com/bringing-back-the-silenced-memories/>

⁷⁰ Kovtiak

⁷¹ [Marianne Hirsch, “The Generation of Postmemory: writing and visual culture after the Holocaust.” Columbia University Press, 2012 in Elisabeth Kovtiak, “Bringing Back the silenced memories: (un)official commemorations of the Holocaust in Belarus.” *Baltic Worlds*. February 15, 2021. <https://balticworlds.com/bringing-back-the-silenced-memories/>

the tools of a colonising regime and a sign of colonial violence. Trauma, thus, is intrinsically linked with power and domination.

“Trauma is the destruction of the fragile layers of civilisation covering a human being or a nation. Power can raze to the ground the symbolic status and powers of a subject as quickly as bombs can a city. Stripped of the symbolic and imaginary identifications that are our support against dissolution – such as our name, nation, citizenship, language, gender, profession, our constitutional and legal rights, our beliefs and families – we encounter the voided self, or the nothingness that we are.”⁷²

Collective trauma, according to Gailienė, can also lead to the traumatic reaction being "contagious", ie passed down from one person to the next. It thus “breaks apart the protective social and cultural ties”, including the handing over of historical memory between generations and societal continuity⁷³, ie ontological security. According to Gailienė, collective trauma also damages the “cultural ego”, which manifests itself in “irrational feelings” influencing how a person views their collective self. I’d add this can be yet another sign of postcolonial condition that is displayed in the tensions discussed by Moore.

In Lithuania, the autobiographical narrative of the post-Soviet nation state is largely built on the memory of the partisans and anti-Soviet resistance. Questions that challenge “unresolved identities” surrounding Holocaust complicity *within* the anti-Soviet legacy is perceived as an external threat, mostly stemming from Russia⁷⁴. The latter in itself can be seen as a key threat to ontological security, leading to a forceful response and difficulties in absorbing shocks to the understanding of ‘self’ – of the state itself as well as the community within it.

The inability to untangle and process the trauma and controversies of Holocaust complicity within the anti-Soviet resistance has a knock-on effect for countries, including the Baltic states, where the mantra of “never alone, never again” rests on international cooperation⁷⁵, especially within NATO and the European Union. To be part of this security and political umbrella, named as “return to Westernness”⁷⁶, meant Lithuania and other post-Soviet states having to adopt “the cosmopolitan European narratives of the twentieth century”, namely, surrounding the Holocaust.⁷⁷

⁷² Maire Jaanus, “Estonia’s Time and Monumental Time.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 203–232.

⁷³ Gailienė

⁷⁴ Fabio Belafatti, “Lithuanian far-right walking into Putin's trap – opinion.” *LRT English*, February 23, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1142075/lithuanian-far-right-walking-into-putin-s-trap-opinion>

⁷⁵ Tomas Jermalavičius, “Lessons for Baltics after Soviet aggression thirty years ago.” *LRT English*, January 30, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1328787/lessons-for-baltics-after-soviet-aggression-thirty-years-ago>

⁷⁶ Moore

⁷⁷ Jelena Subotić. *Political memory, ontological security*

Thus, the question of Holocaust became a litmus test for the ethical compatibility between East and West Europe. The European Union that spawned from the ruins of the Second World War attempted to form a “peace”⁷⁸ identity, which meant internalising Holocaust as a joint tragedy, where the victims, perpetrators, and lessons are known, commemorated, remembered, and ‘put to bed’, solidifying the ‘self’ image of the political project. To become part of that project – the ‘West’ – post-Soviet Europe had to accept the Holocaust as its own tragedy. But once firmly part of the bloc, the narrative was challenged. Instead, Eastern European states lobbies Brussels to have ‘its’ genocide recognised on par with the Holocaust tragedy of Europe. “After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the use of the term “genocide” to describe the crimes of Communist regimes has been embraced not only by Lithuania [...] but also by other post-Soviet states,” according to Dovilė Budrytė⁷⁹. But that’s when contradictions began to emerge among the hastily elevated anti-Soviet movements and heroes who had a hand in the Holocaust, leading to international rebukes, embarrassments, or outright memory clashes⁸⁰ amid protests on the streets⁸¹.

This resulted in a significant crack in the collective ‘self’ of many post-Soviet countries, including Lithuania, which had to adopt the “good versus evil”⁸² narrative of the Holocaust, which was then perceived by the post-Soviet states as superseding its own, dominant collective trauma – that of Communism. Furthermore, this not only had the effect on the local communities, according to Subotić, but also to the less-than-stable joint memory project of the European Union itself. Therefore, post-Soviet states today are dealing with shaken perceptions of ontological security.

Although this paper mostly focuses on postcolonial influence and condition arising from the Soviet occupation period, a neocolonial aspect – or what Carey and Raciborski⁸³ call “positive-sum” neocolonialism of the West that replaced Soviet colonialism – is an important element when discussing the postcolonial tensions in the context of ontological security and historical memory. This manifests in “new variety of cultural imperialism in which the theories produced in the West and offered to the East interpret the problems of these countries according to Western theoretical clichés”⁸⁴. Such neocolonialism, or even orientalism, pushing in from the West against the local assessments of the region’s historical trauma and memory, has been explored by Maria Mälksoo. “The ‘memory war’ led by the Latvian ex-president marks the beginning of an extensive ideological

⁷⁸ Jelena Subotić. *Political memory, ontological security*

⁷⁹ Dovilė Budrytė, “Decolonization of Trauma and Memory Politics: Insights from Eastern Europe.” *Humanities*. 5(1):7, 2016.

⁸⁰ Rūta Miškinytė, “Petro Cvirkos paminklo epopeja (II): 2019 m. diskusijos įkaito iki raudonumo.” *15min*. November 12, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/ar-zinai/naujiena/idomi-lietuva/petro-cvirkos-paminklo-epopeja-ii-2019-m-diskusijos-ikaito-iki-raudonumo-1162-1229036?copied>

⁸¹ BNS, LRT.lt, “Political fallout continues after protesters reinstall Noreika plaque.” *LRT English*, September 6, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1095278/political-fallout-continues-after-protesters-reinstall-noreika-plaque>

⁸² Jelena Subotić. *Political memory, ontological security*

⁸³ Carey and Raciborski

⁸⁴ Samalavičius

decolonisation of Eastern Europe in the post-enlargement phase of the European structures,”⁸⁵ writes Mälksoo, thus forming another, neocolonial, angle to the ongoing search for ontological security, one that is “a phenomenon typical of the current stage of the postcolonial identity construction process of the Baltic countries and Eastern Europe as a whole”⁸⁶. Namely, one where (neo)colonising influences from the West, alongside Russia, have also been challenged and resisted. “Poland and the Baltics challenge Western Europe’s intention to act as the model for the whole of Europe, by which Western Europe sets the rules of remembrance to the ‘new Europeans’ even after their formal acceptance into the EU”, leading to Lithuania attempting to “insert a moment of radical heterogeneity into the historically largely Western European construction of ‘Europe’ – its history, memory and identity – and to consequently pluralise the ways of being European.”⁸⁷

Clashes resulting from ontological insecurity over collective memory manifest themselves most visibly – and, sometimes, violently – over monuments and statues. The embedded insecurity in these memorials, described as “dissonant heritage” by John E. Tunbridge and Gregory J. Ashworth⁸⁸, results from a lack of “agreement and consistency”⁸⁹ in how society treats these objects or, rather, their memory. The inability to form a consensus, I would add, stems from the postcolonial tensions in battles over ‘official’ versions of memory or history, which continue despite the withdrawal of Soviet military force from the Baltics marking the end of the occupation⁹⁰ – “silence and fear prevails in the society. Sometimes it is broken up by outbursts of anger or annoyed calls to finally stop digging in the past.”⁹¹ The dissonance resulting over ontological insecurity thus leads to real and physical, not imaginary, clashes over political monuments and statues, for example, over the Bronze Soldier statue in Tallinn or, later, the removal and reinstatement of the Noreika plaque in Vilnius in 2019. Subotić links the higher intensity of reaction to challenges, which she calls “acting out”, with states that have “unresolved or uncertain identities” or “internalised feelings of stigmatisation and peripheral status”⁹². Lithuania may very well be such an example.

1.3 Summary

⁸⁵ Maria Mälksoo, “The First Lady of the Baltic ‘Memory Offensive’.” *The International Centre for Defence and Security (ICDS)*. August 1, 2007. <https://icds.ee/en/the-first-lady-of-the-baltic-memory-offensive-2/>

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Maria Mälksoo, “The Memory Politics of Becoming European: The East European Subalterns and the Collective Memory of Europe.” *European Journal of International Relations* 15, no. December 4, 2009: 653–80.

⁸⁸ John E. Tunbridge and Gregory J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1996.

⁸⁹ Goštautaitė

⁹⁰ Jürgens

⁹¹ Gailienė

⁹² Subotić

The sections 1.1 and 1.2 above have included discussions on postcolonialism, collective trauma, historical memory, and ontological security. All of these elements are closely interrelated and the background of postcolonialism, I would argue, is the core element linking all the elements together.

The processing of violence stemming from colonisation has been suppressed during the 50-year Soviet rule, as explored by Gailienė's. But, following independence in the 90s, Lithuania has found itself in a postcolonial state. This condition manifests in factors discussed by Moore et al – desire for a mythic set of heroes, mimicry, tensions between the desire for autonomy and a history of dependence, the myth of silent or passive resistance, and invocations of disease, body, and violence to describe non-physical processes (such as memory). These manifestations of postcolonialism, in turn, have further prevented the country from processing and dealing with the traumatic history, leading to ontological insecurity, as any moves to challenge the postcolonial effects on Lithuania's collective memory is seen as destructive to the society's image of 'self', leading to "actors acting out"⁹³. This 'acting out' is then seen visibly in subsequent street protests and discursive clashes in the media. The latter point will be further analysed in the following sections.

2.0 Methodology

In this section, I will proceed to discuss discourse and critical discourse analysis, as well as its relevance and reference to postcolonial literature. Finally, I will lay out the methodological framework of this thesis.

2.1 Places of memory and why Cvirka and Noreika/Škirpa

Following independence, Lithuania began to reshape its memory according to the autobiographical narrative that was brought out from under Soviet domination. Similarly as in other post-Soviet states and in Russia itself, "places of memory" (ie, statues, squares, etc) were co-opted or glorified, contested, or disavowed⁹⁴. In Lithuania, Soviet Russian elements were completely unplugged, or "disavowed". The anti-Soviet partisan legacy was glorified, while some figures who had collaborated with the Nazis and the Soviets remained contested. Memory over them remains fought over today, as evidenced by the street protests. The most poignant examples of the clashes

⁹³ Subotic

⁹⁴ Benjamin Forest and Juliet Johnson, "Unraveling the Threads of History: Soviet-Era Monuments and Post-Soviet National Identity in Moscow." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 92, no. 3. 2002, 524–47.

over memory on both the Holocaust and Soviet spectrum are the memorials to Cvirka, Noreika and Škirpa. The latter two case studies are also linked, as they both fall under the Holocaust complicity, collective memory umbrella. Their places of memory were removed at around the same time in summer 2019. Crucially, the protests over the actions of the Vilnius Municipality were also focused on both places of memory. The demonstrations were at the centre of an extensive politicisation process, and the memorials stood in contrast and almost always in reference to one another in the public discourse. For example, actors have claimed that these monuments should be treated the same, or completely different, or were used as examples to discuss the ‘good versus bad’ collaboration argument (at the core of the silent resistant myth), saying that Nazi-collaborating Lithuanians were not “the real”⁹⁵ collaborators, as they were aiming to build a *Lithuanian* state. Others, however, say celebrating Cvirka, in this line of logic, was encouraged by Soviet (read, not Lithuanian) authorities, while memorials to ‘national heroes’ who may have been complicit in the Holocaust is much more problematic, as the places of memory dedicated to them were built by independent Lithuania, and not the Soviets.⁹⁶

Thus, they are the quintessential case studies that include all elements explored in this paper: postcolonialism, collective trauma, and ontological insecurity stemming from Holocaust and Soviet historical memory.

2.2 Discourse analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in postcolonialism

Jäger and Maier boil down discourse to being equitable to knowledge itself by basing their argument on Foucault’s Archaeology of Knowledge⁹⁷. “People derive this knowledge from the discursive surroundings into which they are born: what other people tell them, what they read or hear via the media, what treatments they experience, what material objects they are in contact with, etc. Thereby they learn the conventions of assigned meanings, which helps them to interpret reality in the way it has previously been *interpreted by others* [emphasis added].”⁹⁸ Thus, this forms a key link as to why, arguably, postcolonial thought transgresses generations and entrenches in psyche even after the end of the colonised period. “Knowledge is therefore conditional, ie its validity depends on people’s location in history, geography, class relations etc.”⁹⁹ Therefore, this has a

⁹⁵ ELTA, “Grupė Seimo narių ragina nekeisti Škirpos alėjos pavadinimo.” *DELFI*, July 4, 2019.

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/grupe-seimo-nariu-ragina-nekeisti-skirpos-alejos-pavadinimo.d?id=81638455>

⁹⁶ Marius Ivaškevičius, “Marius Ivaškevičius. Škirpa ar Cvirka?” *DELFI*, July 15, 2019.

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/marius-ivaskevicius-skirpa-ar-cvirka.d?id=81708625>

⁹⁷ Michel Foucault. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1972.

⁹⁸ Siegfried Jäger and Florentine Maier, “Analysing discourses and dispositives: a Foucauldian approach to theory and methodology.” Book: Wodak Ruth and Michael Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*. London: Sage Publications, 2016.

⁹⁹ Jäger and Maier

direct relevance to postcolonialism as a condition, where the native thought process has been compromised by a period of colonisation and violence.

Discourse is constructed, according to Norman Fairclough, in three different stages: description (formal properties), interpretation (the relationship between text or speech and the issue discussed), and explanation (relationship between the interaction and social context, ie, the signs of colonised thought).¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) “constructs social identities, social relations and the knowledge and meaning systems”¹⁰¹. Therefore, he argues, discourse “reflects and produces social relations and knowledge systems”, which as in the case of this research, may highlight postcolonial thought or processes prevalent in the dominant knowledge-production environments, including the media, and how “dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”¹⁰². The main element of CDA explores social power structures within discourse itself, namely the dominance and inequality that may be countered or reproduced through discourse¹⁰³. Meanwhile, “many CDA scholars reject the idea that CDA is an established ‘school’ or ‘paradigm’”, saying that the main objective is to understand how language is used in social and political fields.¹⁰⁴ As CDA focuses on the power relations and their intertwining with politics and socioeconomics, I believe this is the method best suited together with discourse analysis to seek links to postcolonial cognition. Fairclough also defines discourse not merely in speech and written acts, but also in relation to other events that form social relationships. Therefore, elements such as protests, physical removals or enactments of memory policies play a role in this discourse.¹⁰⁵ Alongside Fairclough, the works of Teun van Dijk and Paul Chilton are critical in this field due to their work linking knowledge production (ie via discourse) and the reproduction of ideologies.

Analysis of postcolonial discourses borrows heavily from Michel Foucault and his theorisation of discourse and violent subjugation that helps form the basis for CDA. Similar to the role of Said on postcolonialism, it would not be an exaggeration to state that most postcolonialism literature builds part of its methodological foundations on Foucault, whether on his exploration of discourse and knowledge or power and subjugation. According to Phillip Darby and A. J. Paolini, “the discourse of postcolonialism had its origins in the study of the fiction of excolonial countries

¹⁰⁰ Ikenna Kamalu and Ayo Osisanwo, “Discourse Analysis.” Book: Ikenna Kamalu and Isaac Tamunobelema (ed.), *Issues in the study of language and literature* Ibadan: Kraft Books Limited, 2015.

¹⁰¹ Anne Ellerup Nielsen and Hanne Nørreklit, "A discourse analysis of the disciplinary power of management coaching." *Society and Business Review*, Vol. 4 No. 3, 2016, 202-214.

¹⁰² Teun A. van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Analysis.” Book: Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton (eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2001. Cited from Ikenna Kamalu and Ayo Osisanwo, “Discourse Analysis.” Book: Ikenna Kamalu and Isaac Tamunobelema (ed.), *Issues in the study of language and literature* Ibadan: Kraft Books Limited, 2015.

¹⁰³ Teun A. van Dijk.

¹⁰⁴ Lisa M. Given, *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. Los Angeles, Calif: Sage Publications, 2008.

¹⁰⁵ Lisa M. Given

and in the push to discern commonalities both in content and in form.”¹⁰⁶ Similarly, the existing scholarly research of postcolonialism in Lithuania is mostly focused on literary fields, possible because, as in other countries, “postcolonialism has elevated culture, which was ‘grounded in the literary context’”, to “an extraordinary degree”¹⁰⁷. It also stems largely from the fact that, according to Tanmay Chatterjee, that postcolonialism is an integral part of literary discussions bringing together literature from the formerly colonised peripheries and colonial discourse analysis¹⁰⁸. Arguably, this includes Kelerta’s *Baltic Postcolonialism*¹⁰⁹, which features the most expansive collection of postcolonialism analysis on Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, with a focus on literature. Although applying CDA in literature would plug into the existing scholarship, I believe analysing non-fiction discourses is important to show how the public discourse – that is not solely based on literature – is permeated with the postcoloniality.

2.2 Methodological framework

In the postcolonial scholarship, CDA is important when analysing discourse due to the inherent power relations that are reproduced, especially in media coverage, as it may be used to continue or entrench colonial psyche and power relations. Therefore, the act of analysing postcoloniality has to be mindful of the fact that the coloniality is reproduced in the analysed subject, thus imposing the inevitable limits of exploring postcoloniality through a subject that perpetuates the colonial psyche itself. According to Lisa M. Given, “many scholars have engaged in researching and critiquing media texts from a CDA perspective, pointing to systematic biases and discriminatory tendencies in news reporting.”¹¹⁰ Therefore, when analysing discourse in the media, we have to be extremely mindful as per CDA’s logic of the media enabling only certain actors to have a platform – “we can argue that there is a strong relationship of dependency between the news media and official sources, such as the government”¹¹¹, leading to the media “reflecting the interests of those in power”¹¹². Through privileged access to “outlets of public discourse, elites play an instrumental role in the shaping of public opinion and the production and maintenance of

¹⁰⁶ Phillip Darby and A. J. Paolini, “Bridging International Relations - and Postcolonialism.” *Alternatives*, 19, 1994, 371-397.

¹⁰⁷ Phillip Darby and A. J. Paolini, pp. 371-397

¹⁰⁸ Tanmay Chatterjee, “Colonial Discourse Analysis: Foucault’s Power/Knowledge Nexus and Said’s Orientalism.” *Pratidhwani the Echo*, Volume-VII, Issue-I, July 2018, 199-208.

¹⁰⁹ Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006.

¹¹⁰ Lisa M. Given

¹¹¹ Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time (Medill Visions Of The American Press)*. Northwestern University Press, 2004. Book: Ruth Sanz Sabido, *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in the British Press*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

¹¹² Ruth Sanz Sabido, *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in the British Press*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

discriminatory and biased beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies”¹¹³. Milliken also defines this as the repeat of the ‘common sense’ argument: “A recurrent theme in the discourse literature is that discourse produces (reproduce) the common sense(s) of societies, limiting the possible resistance among a broader public to a given course of action.”¹¹⁴ This, he argues, carries a particular danger of repeating foreign policy direction or political action. I believe this again reflects in the reproduction of colonised thought.

In the analysis, I will draw upon a theoretical framework proposed by Siegfried Jäger and Florentine Maier, who use CDA based on Foucault, thus providing a good fit for discourse analysis that goes beyond linguistic scholarship analysing characteristics that make up language. Similarly, Deborah Schiffrin recognises that the analysis of discourse is the least defined areas in linguistics¹¹⁵, suggesting that it is widely adopted as a method of analysis in other disciplines, including social sciences and international relations. Therefore, the adoption of CDA is important due to its advocacy of breaking away from explaining what is written or said, but how language is “a form of social practice”¹¹⁶. Jäger and Maier propose to conduct discourse analysis using discourse strands and fragments. For the purpose of this research, I will discard discursive events, collective symbols, and discourse positions, due to space constraints and the scope of this particular work. Jäger and Maier suggest that the completeness of discourse analysis indicates when “further analysis leads to no further new findings”¹¹⁷, which I believe can be displayed via strands and fragments alone. The strands and fragments are not used to define what a postcolonial condition is, but, rather, to highlight signs of the ongoing postcolonial condition.

In the following sections, I will identify the dominant discourse strands, which are defined by Jäger and Maier as “flows of discourse that centre on a common topic”. These strands will then incorporate various texts, acts of speech that Jäger and Maier call “fragments”¹¹⁸. The findings will then be referenced against the key pillars established by Moore et al to examine postcoloniality in the post-Soviet space, including the tensions between the “desire for autonomy and a history of dependence” and tensions “between resistance and complicity, and between imitation (or mimicry) and originality”, and “an exaggerated desire for authentic sources, generally a mythic set of heroic [figures], purer ancestors who once controlled a greater zone than the people now possess”¹¹⁹.

¹¹³ Lisa M. Given

¹¹⁴ Jennifer Milliken, “The Study of Discourse in International Relations:: A Critique of Research and Methods.” *European Journal of International Relations*, 5, no. 2, June 1999, 225–54.

¹¹⁵ Kamalu and Osisanwo

¹¹⁶ Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992, cited from Ikenna Kamalu and Ayo Osisanwo

¹¹⁷ Jäger and Maier

¹¹⁸ Jäger and Maier

¹¹⁹ Moore

I will find texts – ie discourse fragments – by focusing on the three main news websites in Lithuania, according to the number of unique users they attracted in 2021 – Lithuanian National Radio and Television (LRT.lt), DELFI.lt, and 15min.lt¹²⁰. Although the top three spot of the LRT fluctuates, the news website remains important due to it being split between being a national, thus reflecting at least partially the national line, and public (ie the society) broadcaster. Using the parameter of most unique visitors is an integral part in establishing dominant discourses, both being amplified by the media outlets as well as being accessed by the readers. On each platform, I will use their internal search engines to look up Cvirka, Noreika, and Škirpa. I will open each article and identify fragments, selectively, that show signs of postcolonial condition. I will analyse direct quotes, statements, and op-eds. However, it should be noted that this paper does not analyse media coverage itself, the historical figures or their actions, as well as whether the statements made about the historical figures are true and valid, or not. I will also refrain from detailing the political context and backgrounds of each actor, but will only name their respective backgrounds in neutral terminology (writer, politician, publicist, etc), mirroring their titles presented by the media outlets to the public. Then, I will aggregate the information to establish the discourse strands and fragments. I will then analyse the main discourse strands by applying the postcolonial theory, based on the definition by Moore et al, to show how the statements, op-eds, and quotes show, through clashes over collective memory, that Lithuania is in a postcolonial condition.

Meanwhile, it would be unrealistic to aim for a complete portrayal of the discourse surrounding Cvirka or Noreika and Škirpa. Furthermore, it would be important to analyse the changes surrounding discourse in the various stages of the USSR (in the case of Cvirka) and in the three decades of Lithuania's post-Soviet independence. Instead, due to the scope of this work, a five-year period will be used. In the case of Cvirka, the most important segment is focused on 2019–2021, due to the amplification of the discourse running up to the eventual removal of the statue from the pedestal. The timeframe also covers the 2017–2018 period when a commission at the Vilnius City Council analysed what to do with the statue. In the case of Noreika and Škirpa, the same time period covers discussion that took place within the Vilnius City Council, as well as the key events – protests and the amplification of the discourse surrounding the two individuals – in 2019.

¹²⁰ LRT.lt, “LRT.lt – tarp trijų skaitomiausių lietuviškų interneto svetainių.” *LRT*, January 8, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/tavo-lrt/15/1315765/lrt-lt-tarp-triju-skaitomiausiu-lietuvisku-interneto-svetainiu>

2.3. Key pillars

According to Moore¹²¹, “one result of extended subjugation is compensatory behaviour by the subject peoples”, which manifests itself in the following conditions that form the basis of this research paper and his own explanation of postcoloniality in the post-Soviet space. Together with definitions by Rubavičius and other authors who define postcoloniality in Lithuania, the theorisations by Moore are the main reference points, ie the key pillars, that are used when analysing discourse fragments and strands to look for signs of postcoloniality.

2.3.1 Desire for a mythic set of heroes

This key pillar is based on Moore’s definition as one of the postcolonial conditions in the post-Soviet space: “[The] exaggerated desire for authentic sources, generally a mythic set of heroic, purer ancestors who once controlled a greater zone than the people now possess”. This pillar is mostly linked with ontological security and collective memory. In the Noreika and Škirpa case study, this mostly manifests itself in the desire to preserve the heroised memory of the Lithuanian anti-Soviet resistance figures, even if they are alleged to have taken part in the Holocaust. According to Benita Parry, “one of the common features of colonial/postcolonial discourse is nativism – when native people are granted superior rights”, while Elleke Boehmer also observes that such discourses “have considerable investment in nationalist concepts of ‘selving’ and of retrieving history”¹²². This also connects with other signs of postcolonial identity, also consisting of “narcissism and aggressivity”.¹²³ According to Karl E. Jirgens, “in considering the Baltics [...] it can be demonstrated that a mythic truth is of greater significance than any forensic arguments over “factual” evidence.”¹²⁴ This also masks the insecurity embedded in the ontological foundations when heroising controversial figures. This, according to Kelertas, also manifests in elevating heroes and their deeds in front of the former colonisers – “that feelings of superiority vis-à-vis the coloniser often masked an inferiority complex”.¹²⁵

¹²¹ Moore

¹²² Dalia Cidzikaitė, “Searching for National Allegories in Lithuanian Prose: Saulius Tomas Kondrotas’s “The Slow Birth of Nation.”” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 291–307.

¹²³ Homi K. **Bhabha**, *Nation and Narration*, London and New York: Routledge, cited from Dalia Cidzikaitė, “Searching for National Allegories in Lithuanian Prose: Saulius Tomas Kondrotas’s “The Slow Birth of Nation.”” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 291–307.

¹²⁴ Jirgens

¹²⁵ Violeta Kelertas, “Perceptions of the Self and the Other in Lithuanian Postcolonial Fiction.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 251–269.

2.3.2 Mimicry, tensions between the desire for autonomy and a history of dependence

“Mimicry occurs when subjugated people come to crave the dominating cultural form,” according to Moore¹²⁶. However, after a process of decolonisation, in the post-Soviet space it also manifested in the desire for the “Euramerican MTV-and-Coca-Cola beast” that broke the USSR, ie other dominating influences (this time from the West), which formed as a basis of “a return to Westernness that was once theirs”, according to Moore. This mimicry manifests itself in multiple layers, as well as tensions between autonomy and history of dependence, whereby critics say that removing the statues

- a) mimicks the behaviour of Soviets, Bolsheviks, or;
- b) the country is merely mimicking the ideals and narratives of the West instead of threading its own historical path.

According to Maria Mälksoo, this has already been challenged by Baltic and Polish officials in what she deems as a decolonising process following the countries’ incorporation into the EU and NATO, which necessitated the unchallenged adoption of Orientalist memory policies of the West¹²⁷. Thus, the ongoing colonisation of the psyche, and the subsequent postcolonial condition, can also be shown in the “desire to replace one homogenising view of the world with another”¹²⁸. In other words, mimicry.

2.3.3 The myth of silent or passive resistance

The repressed trauma and postcoloniality merges into the phenomenon of the “silent resistance”, put forth by Vytautas Rubavičius¹²⁹ as a sign of postcoloniality, whereby people who were politically active with the Soviet regime attempt to portray themselves as covert fosterers of Lithuanian independence. Gailienė recalls how a number of memoirs written by former Soviet “nomenclature” were published in recent years, aiming to form “positive memory about themselves and life in Soviet Lithuania”¹³⁰. Rubavičius has described this as a myth of the “silent resistance” – “it is claimed that [...] almost all the members of the state and cultural elite [...] were in one way or another in their actions opposed to the regime or at least disapproved of it in their hearts”¹³¹. Gailienė presents the “silent resistance” myths in its psychological context of dealing with trauma,

¹²⁶ Moore

¹²⁷ Maria Mälksoo. *The First Lady of the Baltic 'Memory Offensive'*

¹²⁸ Thomas Salumets, “Conflicted Consciousness: Jaan Kaplinski and the Legacy of Intra-European Postcolonialism in Estonia.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 429–450.

¹²⁹ Rubavičius. *A Soviet Experience of Our Own*.

¹³⁰ Gailienė

¹³¹ Rubavičius

when the alleged perpetrators opt for defensive posture and avoidance of the “full truth”.¹³² The same silent resistance myth is, to an extent, transferred to discussions over figures who have collaborated with the Nazi regime. This leads to discussions which collaboration was ‘good’ or ‘bad’, which had worked for *Lithuania* and not the occupation(s).

2.3.4 Images of disease, body, and violence

One prominent and recurring image when discussing the Holocaust and Soviet heritage revolve around disease or a ‘foreign object’ in the body of the city, the society, needing removal. This imagery of violence, prominent in postcolonial literature throughout the world, has also found vivid ground in Lithuania. In Kalerta’s *Baltic Postcolonialism*, various authors break down the image of sickness, lifeless or damaged body to show the postcolonial reading of Lithuania’s post-Soviet society, including in *Vilnius Poker* by Ričardas Gavelis. There, he turns the former symbol of Vilnius’ “manhood” (the Gediminas Tower) into ““short, blunt, helplessly protruding phallus”, in what becomes a symbolic reference to the impotence of the colonised”¹³³ and its subsequent femininity. In this research, we can see that the same is repeated not only in literature, but also in public and political discourse found in the media.

2.3.5 Other

The main pillars established by Moore et al and used as a reference point are supplemented by other discourse strands based on postcolonialism literature explored in sections 1.1 and 1.2.

3.0 Memorial to Cvirka: overview of findings

I have used the keyword “Cvirka” in the search engine on LRT.lt, which gave 573 hits (more than keywords “Cvirkos” and “Cvirka”, due to grammatical nuances). On DELFI.lt, the keyword “Cvirka”, gave 239 hits, while 302 hits were displayed on the 15min.lt news website.

The discourse analysis showed that, at the centre of the Cvirka statue controversy, lies the “silent resistance” myth as the dominant strand of postcoloniality. Namely, two main questions emerge in the discourse: was Cvirka a collaborator? If so, was he collaborating for the Soviet Union, or in the name of *his version* of Lithuania? Hence the silent resistance. Or, if he was indeed collaborating to deport thousands to Siberia (as vividly put by opponents by linking the argument

¹³² Gailienė

¹³³ Almantas Samalavičius, “Lithuanian Prose and Decolonization: Rediscovery of the Body.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 409–428.

with ontological security and collective trauma), then was his literature ‘worthy’ enough to be considered as key, *Lithuanian* literature heritage?

The following strands, including the key one centred on the silent resistance myth, will be explored below.

3.1 The myth of silent or passive resistance

Publicist Tomas Daugirdas writes that “collaboration and the protection of Lithuanian [statehood] and the symbolism of the silent, passive resistance of the public are closely interlinked”¹³⁴. This stems from the fact that the erection of the statue in 1959 dedicated to a “national writer” was seen as enshrining Vilnius as belonging to Lithuania and a “sign of thaw” from the Soviet regime¹³⁵. Daugirdas, however, claims that the passive resistance is ingrained into the national, biographical narrative, whereby “almost everyone” had to collaborate in order to bring about independence and did so “in the name of the nation”. Collaborating, he writes, is “somewhat agreed upon in society as inevitable”¹³⁶. Seemingly, the silent, or passive, resistance myth surrounding the Cvirka statue pervades the discourse to this day. Loosely connecting with the passive resistance myth are claims that Cvirka was one of many cultural figures “seduced by the enemy”¹³⁷, thus largely releasing them from responsibility for their actions. Vidmantas Martikonis from the Vilnius City Council poses a question whether Cvirka, “as an intellectual, seeing the problems of the time, looking for a better [political] life order, was [committing] a betrayal?”¹³⁸ Martikonis adds Cvirka could not foresee that the Soviets would be “disastrous”, and therefore, it would be unfair to remove the statue of a man whose books were in the hands of several generations of Lithuanians. Another discourse fragment details how Cvirka will be part of an exhibition at the National Museum exploring how “authors were forced [abused] to create art”¹³⁹, according to Valdas Benkuskas from the Vilnius City Municipality, thus making the silent resistance myth part

¹³⁴ Tomas Daugirdas, “Tomas Daugirdas: Bėda su sąvokomis: kolaboravimas nacistinis ar sovietinis.” *15min*. August 27, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/istorija/tomas-daugirdas-beda-su-savokomis-kolaboravimas-nacistinis-ar-sovietinis-582-1193850?copied&copied>

¹³⁵ Daugirdas

¹³⁶ Daugirdas

¹³⁷ Audrys Antanaitis, “Audrys Antanaitis. Atviras laiškas Rimvydui Valatkai.” *DELFI*, June 30, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/audrys-antanaitis-atviras-laiskas-rimvydui-valatkai.d?id=84656877>

¹³⁸ Vidmantas Martikonis, “Vidmantas Martikonis. Vilnius griaua...Kas kitas?” *DELFI*, May 16, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/vidmantas-martikonis-vilnius-griaunakas-kitas.d?id=77861371>

¹³⁹ Leonardas Marcinkevičius, ELTA, “Dėl Cvirkos paminklo išsiskiria ir Vilniaus valdančiųjų politikų nuomonės.” *DELFI*, September 2, 2021. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/del-cvirkos-paminklo-issiskiria-ir-vilniaus-valdanciuju-politiku-nuomones.d?id=88096019>

of a state-level exhibition. In a fragment within the same silent resistance strand, professor Vytautas Ališauskas says Cvirka represented Lithuania's "part of culture that was led by the left ideology"¹⁴⁰.

Tomas Venclova, a poet, writes that "all noticeable cultural actors who lived during the Soviet era had their hands dirty with collaboration", indicating that Cvirka was no different. He adds, however, that there are different "degrees" of collaboration, but not enough to distinguish "heroes and martyrs" from "traitors"¹⁴¹.

In another discourse fragment, Venclova shows that collective legacy issues are linked to previously colonised thought, whereby in the postcolonial period, alongside the so-called silent resistance, a different view proliferates that directly favours the former oppressors, a so-called Stockholm syndrome of sorts. It's paradoxical, according to Venclova, that the "fragments" written by collaborators "worse than Cvirka" are still being taught in Lithuania's schools today. This stems from the cultural figures of more advanced age who still live in "national communism" epoch, or even because they fail to notice the root of the fragments due to a lack of education¹⁴² (postcolonial discourse, arguably, may highlight these issues). This has been detailed in Kelerta's *Baltic Postcolonialism*, exploring how colonised psyche transgresses generations (see section 1.1 and 1.2).

According to Darius Pocevičius, who is introduced as an explorer of Vilnius' history, Lithuania faces the issue of distinguishing which "collaborator" is not worthy of memory – "there were tens, if not hundreds, of collaborators similar like Cvirka, [including] writers, artists, and theatre artists."¹⁴³ I believe this highlights the problem faced by a plethora of postcolonial countries, including in the post-Soviet realm, of deciding who was a collaborator and who was a 'fighter for freedom', giving rise to the "silent resistance" myth. Another fragment weaving into the same discourse strand is that the sculpture itself was made by a seminal, *Lithuanian* author, even if dedicated to a 'less-than-worthy' individual – "we still have to pay attention that this is a monument created by *our* [emphasis added] classicist Juozas Mikėnas, who can be said is the father of Lithuanian school of sculpture."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Monika Bertašiūtė-Čiužienė, "Filologai aistroms dėl P.Cvirkos verdant: literatūra čia beveik nedalyvauja." *15min*, June 1, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/literatura/dar-vienas-p-cvirkos-epopejos-puslapis-filologu-komentarai-286-1512988?copied&copied>

¹⁴¹ Mindaugas Jackevičius, "Pratrūko net Venclova: nenoriu, kad tai būtų siejama su mano vardu." *DELFI*, April 26, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/pratruko-net-venclova-nenoriu-kad-tai-butu-siejama-su-mano-vardu.d?id=77804097>

¹⁴² Jackevičius

¹⁴³ Ignas Jačauskas, BNS, LRT.lt, "Cvirkos paminklo nukėlimą stebėjo ir priešininkai, ir palaikantieji: bus švariau, bet ne taip gražu?" *LRT*, November 19, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1546530/cvirkos-paminklo-nukelima-stebėjo-ir-priesininkai-ir-palaikantieji-bus-svariau-bet-ne-taip-grazu>

¹⁴⁴ Mindaugas Jackevičius, "Ministrui užsimojus išbraukti Cvirkos paminklą iš Kultūros vertybių registro, menotyrininkė išvelgia ir interesus dėl nekilnojamojo turto." *LRT*, May 31, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1422007/ministrui-uzsimojus-isbraukti-cvirkos-paminkla-is-kulturos-vertybiu-registro-menotyrininke-izvelgia-ir-interesus-del-nekilnojamojo-turto>

The prevalence of the silent resistance myth was highlighted in the research by several authors, including historian Darius Indrišionis. He says it is directly related to normalising repressions, which I would add opens the path to the postcolonial condition in the society – claiming Cvirka was “a good author and also a Lithuanian” allows us “to look at the Soviet era as not a bad period in Lithuania’s history, when factories were built, people had jobs, everyone was equal, and the Lithuania’s nationality [*tautiškumas*] was even fostered”¹⁴⁵. Algimantas Čekuolis, an intellectual, digs a level deeper, by saying that one of Cvirka’s book heroes was a “Lithuanian volunteer who fought against the Bolsheviks”, adding that it is impossible to understand the actions of some people without context¹⁴⁶.

Publicist Virginijus Savukynas says the silent resistance myth – “the argument that [Cvirka] was ours, a Lithuanian, talented, and did something good for Lithuanian culture” – is dangerous, because “the same logic can be used to also justify those who killed Jews”¹⁴⁷.

3.2 Mimicry, tensions between the desire for autonomy and a history of dependence

Another element that featured prominently in the discourse surrounding Cvirka monument displayed the tensions between “the desire of authenticity”, but a history of dependency, as defined by Moore¹⁴⁸, as well as signs of mimicry in Lithuania’s stated aim to ‘return to Europe’. This feeds back into the ongoing colonisation of the psyche, and the subsequent postcolonial state, which is shown in the “desire to replace one homogenising view of the world with another”¹⁴⁹. However, some fragments also display the decolonising push from West-centric memory¹⁵⁰, as defined by Mälksoo.

In one rare vox pop story, a reader describes how he would be ashamed in front of his foreign friends¹⁵¹. This line of thought was repeated at multiple different fragments, including by Culture Minister Simonas Kairys, who implies that discussions surrounding Cvirka monument removal are preventing Lithuania “from telling something more to the world than discussing about

¹⁴⁵ Darius Indrišionis, “Darius Indrišionis. Paslėpkite nuo tėvukų Šapokos „Istoriją“. Bent prieš rinkimus.” *LRT*, February 26, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1146325/darius-indrisionis-paslepkite-nuo-tevuku-sapokos-istorija-bent-pries-rinkimus>

¹⁴⁶ Algimantas Čekuolis, “Algimantas Čekuolis. Dar ne visi liudininkai mire.” *LRT*, October 4, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1101249/algimantas-cekuolis-dar-ne-visi-liudininkai-mire>

¹⁴⁷ Virginijus Savukynas, “Virginijus Savukynas. Kodėl Komunizmą Vertiname Atlaidžiau Nei Nacizmą?” *LRT*, September 3, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1094140/virginijus-savukynas-kodel-komunizma-vertiname-atlaidziau-nei-nacizma>.

¹⁴⁸ Moore

¹⁴⁹ Salumets

¹⁵⁰ Mälksoo

¹⁵¹ Zenonas Mačiulaitis, “Vyras pasakė, kas jam daro gėdą Lietuvoje: užsieniečiai tokio mūsų užsispyrimo nesupras.” *DELFI*, January 12, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/pilietis/voxpopuli/vyras-pasake-kas-jam-daro-geda-lietuvoje-uzsienieciai-tokio-musu-uzsispyrimo-nesupras.d?id=83212311>

one or another Soviet element in public space”¹⁵², further appealing to ‘Western’ values by saying that, “in a civilised country. decision have to be taken in a civilised manner”¹⁵³. He adds that Lithuania “has not learned the lessons that took place in the world after the Second World War”, implying that the Soviet occupation was to blame for the country continuing to “heroise” historical figures¹⁵⁴. Some allege that Lithuania is unable to solve problems in civilised, ie European, ways, because “our [society] is bent on various extremes” either by “discussing until death” or “deciding without thinking it through”¹⁵⁵. The same discourse expands more into Soviet heritage as infringing on Lithuania’s image to the outside: “the Soviet Vilnius Airport building [...] is much more of a Sovietisation display” than Cvirka, according to former Vilnius mayor Artūras Zuokas¹⁵⁶. Historian Darius Indrišionis even lays out a fictional scenario in mind, asking to “imagine yourself with a friend from abroad” and having to explain why the country has built a statue to Cvirka¹⁵⁷. “Other countries show national and state self-respect” as opposed to the “cult”¹⁵⁸ of excusing crimes of artists and other cultural figures, writes professor Kęstutis Girnius, rhetorically putting Lithuania as the aspiring, yet the not-quite-there European. This trumpeting of what essentially is a feeling of inferiority in front of the European peers is what may stretch back to Said’s Orientalism, of being perceived to be the feminine, irrational, and child-like Orient (in this case, *another* postcolonial country). It may also indicate self-orientalism: the understanding and judging of one selves through Western gaze¹⁵⁹ as well as the internalisation of the orientalist point of view by individuals or institutions¹⁶⁰. Philosopher Aušra Kaziliūnaitė says that the wish to remove the statue and to ‘hide’

¹⁵² Rita Miliūtė, “Kairys apie Cvirkos paminklo nukėlimą: turime ką daugiau pasakyti pasauliui, ne tik diskutuoti apie vieną ar kitą sovietinį elementą.” *LRT*, November 19, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1546692/kairys-apie-cvirkos-paminklo-nukelima-turime-ka-daugiau-pasakyti-pasauliui-ne-tik-diskutuoti-apie-viena-ar-kita-sovietini-elementa>

¹⁵³ Mindaugas Klusas, Rugilė Augustaitytė, ELTA, “Istorinė akimirka: nukeltas sovietinio veikėjo ir rašytojo Petro Cvirkos paminklas.” *LRT*, November 19, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1545956/istorine-akimirka-nukeltas-sovietinio-veikejo-ir-rasytojo-petro-cvirkos-paminklas>

¹⁵⁴ Mindaugas Jackevičius, “Ministrui užsimojus išbraukti Cvirkos paminklą iš Kultūros vertybių registro, menotyrininkė įžvelgia ir interesus dėl nekilnojamojo turto.” *LRT*, May 31, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1422007/ministru-uzsimojus-isbraukti-cvirkos-paminkla-is-kulturos-vertybiu-registro-menotyrininke-izvelgia-ir-interesus-del-nekilnojamojo-turto>

¹⁵⁵ Darius Indrišionis. “Darius Indrišionis. Lietuvos, kurios (ne)diskutuoja.” *LRT*, September 1, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1220433/darius-indrisionis-lietuvos-kurios-ne-diskutuoja>

¹⁵⁶ Artūras Zuokas, “Artūras Zuokas. Vilniaus oro uosto plėtra – pasaka be galo.” *LRT*, October 1, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1509648/arturas-zuokas-vilniaus-oro-uosto-pletra-pasaka-be-galo>

¹⁵⁷ Darius Indrišionis. “Darius Indrišionis. Istorijos teismas neturi aukščiausios instancijos.” *LRT*, September 27, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1503397/darius-indrisionis-istorijos-teismas-neturi-auksciausios-instancijos>

¹⁵⁸ Kęstutis Girnius, “Kęstutis Girnius. Pagaliau, nors pavėluotai, nukeltas išdaviko paminklas.” *DELFI*, September 20, 2021. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/kestutis-girnius-pagaliau-nors-paveluotai-nukeltas-isdaviko-paminklas.d?id=88212393>

¹⁵⁹ Cudi Kaan Okmeydan, "Orientalism in Turkish Political Election Campaigns." Book: Işıl Tombul and Sarı Gülşah (eds.), *Handbook of Research on Contemporary Approaches to Orientalism in Media and Beyond*. Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2021, 470-485.

¹⁶⁰ Murat Özdemir, "The West-East From Two Children's Points of View: The Example of BBC-TRT." Book: Işıl Tombul and Sarı Gülşah (eds.), *Handbook of Research on Contemporary Approaches to Orientalism in Media and Beyond*. Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2021, 470-485.

away from the country's history "reflects the Lithuanian lack of confidence" by "changing difficult historical memory to cheap cultural semi-finished products"¹⁶¹. I'd add that this implies mimicry as defined by Moore¹⁶².

Politician Remigijus Žemaitaitis invokes "friends who come from the European Commission, Parliament"¹⁶³ and their interest in Lithuania's collective memory as to why it is necessary to preserve the statue vis-a-vis 'the European family', inverting the previous argument and saying it showcases legacy, instead of being 'shameful'. Žemaitaitis adds that the ability to internalise "different thinking and history", ie to decolonise, is "a problem of mentality and self-liberation". Mindaugas Kvietkauskas, a former minister of culture, claims the removal of the Cvirka statue makes "the society and urban space more free, and more Western"¹⁶⁴. He raises the further question whether the removal of the monument shows "an advancement of Western demarcation in Lithuania". However, he adds that the removal of the statue revealed "the current government's lack of trust in [Lithuania's] own creativity and varied, adequately mature society"¹⁶⁵. In other words, this defines a postcolonial society in the process of decolonisation. The above-explained anxieties, including of being perceived as Europe's "toilet cleaners"¹⁶⁶, as painted by Russian propaganda, cuts deep into Lithuania's ontological security fears.

The yearning to find approval and recognition, something that crops up repeatedly in postcolonial societies in tension between originality and mimicry¹⁶⁷, is evoked by historian Zigmąs Vitkus, who writes that appropriating the statue in a creative way will lead "to the BBC writing about" Lithuania¹⁶⁸. In opposition, publicist Vidas Rachlevičius visualises a 'monument' mocking the present state of Lithuania, one that reflects the post-soviet, postcolonial condition that truly makes it unique European (as a reference to the perpetual seeking of being admitted into the elusive European family) – the unfinished national stadium, "a monument to the abilities of the state, [...]"

¹⁶¹ LRT.lt, "Dėl Cvirkos paminklo: Literatūros tarybos nariai reiškia nepasitenkinimą, kad kultūros ministras juos ignoravo." *LRT*, August 31, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1482195/del-cvirkos-paminklo-literaturos-tarybos-nariai-reiskia-nepasitenkinima-kad-kulturos-ministras-juos-ignoravo>

¹⁶² Moore

¹⁶³ Paulina Levickytė, ELTA, "Žemaitaitis: koaliciją su „valstiečiais“ įsivaizduotume tik be Verygos." *LRT*, September 14, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1231824/zemaitaitis-koalicija-su-valstieciais-isivaizduotume-tik-be-verygos>

¹⁶⁴ Mindaugas Kvietkauskas, "Mindaugas Kvietkauskas. Ar nugriautas tik Cvirka?" *15min*, November 20, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/asmenybe/mindaugas-kvietkauskas-ar-nugriautas-tik-cvirka-285-1600784?copied>

¹⁶⁵ Kvietkauskas

¹⁶⁶ BBC, "I, Russian Occupier: The hit propaganda film." *BBC*, March 5, 2015. <https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-31715389>

¹⁶⁷ Moore

¹⁶⁸ Zigmąs Vitkus, "Zigmąs Vitkus. Turbūt šaukštai po pietų, bet gal dar pavyks: apie Petro Cvirkos skulptūrą ir skverą." *LRT*, September 30, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1505491/zigmas-vitkus-turbut-saukstai-po-pietu-bet-gal-dar-pavyks-apie-petro-cvirkos-skulptura-ir-skvera>

our ambitions, corruption, ignorance, the public's mentality" that say "everything about us"¹⁶⁹. Sadauskas also claims the inability to remove the Cvirka statue would play into the path of continued dependency¹⁷⁰.

The mimicry in aiming to live up to the West, defined as orientalism or neocolonialism by authors including Maria Mälksoo, is also inverted to say that removing statues mimics the behaviour of the oppressors, whereby "a monument replaced a monument" after Lithuania's independence in 1990¹⁷¹ and "if the monument will be taken down, this will mean that we have not yet shed the Bolshevik mentality, [which] has only been inverted¹⁷²". During the "rooting out signs" of Soviet era, "we are becoming ourselves horribly Soviet", making the "fight against Soviet heritage more Soviet than the heritage itself"¹⁷³, which, writer Andrius Jakučiūnas alleges, perpetrates the current post-Soviet condition of, I would add, postcoloniality. The neocolonialism, meanwhile, is reflected by politician Kamilė Šeraitė who calls to replace Cvirka's statue with one dedicated to former US president Ronald Reagan, as he "fought against the communist ideology that had ruled over Lithuania"¹⁷⁴.

3.3 Collective trauma and ontological security

Another key discourse strand centres on collective trauma and ontological security, and their subsequent links to postcoloniality. Almantas Samalavičius, who is one of the few scholars exploring Lithuania's postcolonial condition – ("the postcolonial Lithuanian society" is pressed down by "problems connected to historical memory of the recent path"¹⁷⁵) – links the removal of Lenin's statue in the immediate aftermath of the independence to a feeling of "emotional relief"¹⁷⁶, showing a direct link between decolonisation and ontological security. Others even argue that

¹⁶⁹ Vidas Rachlevičius, "Vidas Rachlevičius. Ar dar turime bent šiek tiek savigarbos?" *DELFI*, April 28, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/vidas-rachlevicius-ar-dar-turime-bent-siek-tiek-savigarbos.d?id=84149141>

¹⁷⁰ Sadauskas-Kvietkevičius. *Cvirka išeis greičiau*

¹⁷¹ Beatričė Bankauskaitė, "Ipaminklinta Lietuva: griaudami norime spręsti senas problemas, statydami iš jų nesivaduojame." *15min*, June 6, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/ipaminklinta-lietuva-griaudami-norime-spresti-senas-problemas-statydami-is-ju-nesivaduojame-56-1512618?copied&copied>

¹⁷² LRT RADIJAS, "Venclova apie Cvirkos paminklo nukėlimą: tai yra bolševikinė praktika." *15min*, May 20, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1060761/venclova-apie-cvirkos-paminklo-nukelima-tai-yra-bolsevikine-praktika>

¹⁷³ Andrius Jakučiūnas, "Andrius Jakučiūnas: Neteisingų argumentų kaina, arba Kokia liga kankina Vilniaus savivaldybės ideologus." *15min*, December 17, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/asmenybe/andrius-jakuciunas-neteisingu-argumentu-kaina-arba-kokia-liga-kankina-vilniaus-savivaldybes-ideologus-285-1247860?copied&copied>

¹⁷⁴ Kamilė Šeraitė, "Kamilė Šeraitė. Cvirkos paminklui laisvame Vilniuje ne vieta (II). Kuo jį galėtume pakeisti?" *DELFI*, February 16, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/kamile-seraite-cvirkos-paminklui-laisvame-vilniuje-ne-vieta-ii-kuo-ji-galetume-pakeisti.d?id=80372881>

¹⁷⁵ Almantas Samalavičius, "Viešosios atminties nepatogumai: Leninas – Žalioji tiltas – Cvirka." *15min*, June 28, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/naujienos/viesosios-atminties-nepatogumai-leninas-zalioji-tiltas-cvirka-1104-1526258?copie&copied>

¹⁷⁶ Samalavičius

discussion surrounding statue removal in themselves is a tool in ensuring ontological security by allowing the society “to let off steam, fight, swear about certain things which are causing pain”¹⁷⁷. Various other, mostly political, actors invoke the traumatic imagery of Siberia deportations to justify or defend certain actions. This has been done by people including Culture Minister Simonas Kairys, who says that gathering by the statue on commemorative June 14 day marking the start of deportations to discuss the removal would “probably allow us to feel with all of our body the context that emanates from this monument”¹⁷⁸. Conservative MP from the Homeland Union (TS-LKD), Laurynas Kasčiūnas, invokes the imagery of ‘amžino įšalo žemė’ (the land of permafrost) that is prevalent in Lithuania’s literature that bears direct connotation with the traumatic collective experience of Siberia deportations, thus linking Cvirka monument removal to ontological security – “I believe we will have political will, which will create a legal framework to get rid of the communist frost [įšalo]¹⁷⁹.” The niece of Cvirka, however, counters the ontological security narrative by flipping it, saying that Cvirka “was a writer with whose book they departed to Siberia”¹⁸⁰.

The key thread linking collective memory, ontological security and postcolonialism is expressed by politician Paulė Kuzmickienė, who claims that the Cvirka monument shows that the colonising regime continues to be seen as organic and authentic ‘Lithuanian’ – “the machine of abuse and destruction of intelligentsia, whose deep scar continues to hurt us, [...] is still pretending to defeat us and pretends to be our own.”¹⁸¹ Other actors have linked the statue to being “a symbol of our continuing” subjugation¹⁸². Politician Audronius Ažubalis adds that collective memory clashes and the inherent trauma are prolonged by the inability to raze statues dedicated to oppressors, which stand in opposition to the ontological security-ensuring narrative of the “partisans”¹⁸³. The evocation of collective trauma is thus used to justify the need to remove the

¹⁷⁷ Bankauskaitė

¹⁷⁸ Mindaugas Jackevičius, *Ministrui užsimojus išbraukti Cvirkos paminklą*

¹⁷⁹ Jūratė Skėrytė, BNS. “Kairys sukritikavo Kultūros paveldo komisiją: pusę darbo laiko ji praleidžia gindama sovietinę architektūrą.” *LRT*, October 20, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1524547/kairys-sukritikavo-kulturos-paveldo-komisija-puse-darbo-laiko-ji-praleidzia-gindama-sovietine-architektura>

¹⁸⁰ Jurgita Lieponė, “P.Cvirkos dukterėčia: tegul nemenkina žmogaus, nepranešioję jo gyvenimo klumpių.” *15min*, August 24, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/naujienos/p-cvirkos-dukterecia-tegul-tik-nemenkina-zmogaus-nepranesioje-jo-gyvenimo-klumpiu-1104-1554160?copied&copied>

¹⁸¹ LRT.lt, “Ministras Kairys siekia Cvirkos paminklo išbraukimo iš Kultūros vertybių registro: jo kolaboravimas su sovietais sukėlė žalingų pasekmių.” *LRT*, May 31, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1421552/ministras-kairys-siekia-cvirkos-paminklo-isbraukimo-is-kulturos-vertybiu-registro-jo-kolaboravimas-su-sovietais-sukele-zalingu-pasekmiu>

¹⁸² Vytautas Landsbergis, “Vytautas Landsbergis: Cvirkos palydos.” *15min*, October 24, 2017. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/nuomones/vytautas-landsbergis-cvirkos-palydos-18-871824?copied&copied>

¹⁸³ Audrius Matonis, “Istorikė: skatinčiau ne komunistinių skulptūrų draudimus, o švietimą.” *LRT*, February 17, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/243902/istorike-skatinciau-ne-komunistiniu-skulpturu-draudimus-o-svietima>

statue in order to show “respect” to the victims of “Lithuania’s genocide”¹⁸⁴. Other actors also say the need to “get a grip” with the objects it’s the same way as taking hold of “emotions”, emphasising the ontological security element embedded in the physical object of the statue¹⁸⁵. Political organisation Pro Patria proposed to build a monument for anti-Soviet partisan Juozas Lukša-Daumantas, which would be “a great opportunity to begin forming in Vilnius a pro-state public memory” based on the “commemoration of freedom fighters”¹⁸⁶. This puts forth the ontological security element of rebuilding foundations, but also highlights, I’d argue, the uneasy postcolonial state of the society that needs to entrench its footings even three decades on. Reinforcing this point, and linking to the previous mimicry section, is Pro Patria’s own statement that “all mature democratic Western states, like the rest of the world, adorn their capitals with the statues of the nation’s most prominent representatives [and] Vilnius remains a shameful exception”¹⁸⁷.

The monument is also named as “a weapon in the hands of Russia”¹⁸⁸, connecting to the external threat. Although not in direct reference to Cvirka, politician Kasčiūnas talks about the need to regulate collective memory representation due to the ontological threat – Russia – by saying “we know in what geopolitical situation we are in”¹⁸⁹, with another politician, Liutauras Gudžinskas, saying the divisions over collective memory “is best for Russia”¹⁹⁰. The former evokes the Communism versus Nazism dichotomy explored by Subotič, saying that the evaluation of communism differs in Europe’s East and West. In Lithuania, the Soviet occupation has also damaged the “future generations”, pointing at the postcolonial condition entangled in collective memory and ontological security.¹⁹¹ Meanwhile, the move by Vilnius City Municipality to break up an artists’ installation on the monument was also cited as an ontological security threat, by saying the authorities followed the “example of Vladimir Putin”¹⁹².

¹⁸⁴ Eleonora Budzinauskienė, ELTA, “„Nacionalinis susivienijimas“ kaltina Lietuvos kultūros tarybą lėšų švaistymu.” *LRT*, August 24, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1218360/nacionalinis-susivienijimas-kaltina-lietuvos-kulturos-taryba-lesu-svaistymu>

¹⁸⁵ Algimantas Černiauskas, “Algimantas Černiauskas. Kaip įamžinti konfliktą ir pabrėžti dramą istorinių asmenybių atminimo šviesoje. Ir tamsoje taip pat.” *LRT*, December 5, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1122680/algimantas-cerniauskas-kaip-iamzinti-konflikta-ir-pabrezti-drama-istoriniu-asmenybiu-atminimo-sviesoje-ir-tamsoje-taip-pat>

¹⁸⁶ 15min, “„Pro Patria“ siūlo P.Cvirkos vietoje statyti paminklą J.Lukšai-Daumantui.” *15min*, August 25, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/naujienos/pro-patria-siulo-p-cvirkos-vietoje-statyti-paminkla-j-luksai-daumantui-1104-1554664?copied&copied>

¹⁸⁷ 15min, *Pro Patria siūlo*

¹⁸⁸ Joana Lapėnienė, “Sovietiniai paminklai – ginklas Rusijos rankose.” *LRT*, December 11, 2017. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/196288/sovietiniai-paminklai-ginklas-rusijos-rankose>

¹⁸⁹ LRT RADIJAS, “N. Putinaitė: nereikia nuimti sovietinių paminklų.” *LRT*, December 6, 2017. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/tavo-lrt/15/195863/n-putinaite-nereikia-nuimti-sovietiniu-paminklu>

¹⁹⁰ LRT RADIJAS, *N. Putinaite*

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² 15min, “Dailės kritikų asociacija: sprendimas nutraukti renginį prie P.Cvirkos paminklo riboja raiškos laisvę mene.” *15min*, November 24, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/vizualieji-menai/dailes-kritiku-asociacija-sprendimas-nutraukti-rengini-prie-p-cvirkos-paminklo-riboja-raiskos-laisve-mene-929-1602796?copied&copied>

The postcolonial condition embedded in the discourse surrounding the monument's removal also displays the use of medical language invoking psychiatric image blended with ontological security – “Russia’s institutions will demand [...] to leave this madhouse [...] so that we remain lingering there, [while] voluntarily wearing a restraining jacket”¹⁹³. The latter point links with the images of disease and “foreign objects” that need to be operated out of the Lithuanian city, nation, and people, to be discussed below.

3.4 Images of disease, body, and violence

Although a minor strand judging by the number of fragments found, or one that is closely related to other, more dominant messages, expressed in the fragments (see above), it is one that keeps appearing in discourse surrounding both the Holocaust and Soviet heritage. It describes the physical memorials posing physical, or mental, pain to the city, the society, or even the individual. Via the imagery, it thus links directly with the image of colonial violence explored in books such as *Baltic Postcolonialism*¹⁹⁴.

In the Cvirka case, the Soviet-era monuments are seen by some as “dirty”, but “destroying or forgetting them is not a way to heal”, according to a statement by artist who staged a performance at the square just before the monument's removal¹⁹⁵. “Our society's inner confrontations have become a long-term disability,” according to historian Darius Indrišionis, who adds that the statue of Cvirka is an “ugly abscess that needs to be removed as quickly as possible”¹⁹⁶. Others add that those calling to preserve the monument are in favour of “continued injuring of the city with Soviet foreign bodies”¹⁹⁷. Journalist Aurelijus Katkevičius takes the body imagery further by comparing Lithuania to a “mother”¹⁹⁸, tattooed with prison symbols, which he says are communist monuments. But the country still needs to “love” the mother, he adds.

¹⁹³ Vytautas Landsbergis, *Cvirkos palydos*

¹⁹⁴ Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006.

¹⁹⁵ LRT.lt, “Cvirkos skvere įvyks kasdienybės spektaklis: „Sunaikinti ir pamiršti „nešvarius objektus“ nėra būdas išgyti.” *LRT*, November 10, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1538501/cvirkos-skvere-ivyks-kasdienybes-spektaklis-sunaikinti-ir-pamirsti-nesvarius-objektus-nera-budas-isgyti>

¹⁹⁶ Darius Indrišionis, *Istorijos teismas*

¹⁹⁷ Donatas Puslys, “Donatas Puslys. Paplūdimys kaip mūsų laisvės ribos?” *LRT*, June 23, 2020.

<https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1191001/donatas-puslys-papludimys-kaip-musu-laisves-ribos>

¹⁹⁸ Audrius Matonis

3.5 Minor discourse strands

3.5.1 Nesting orientalisms.

One fragment focused on “nesting orientalisms”, where every country sees cultures east and south of it as “more primitive”¹⁹⁹. This is used by some in Lithuania to invoke the narrative of the ‘uncivilised’ threat from the ‘barbarians in the East’. In this same strand, the discourse surrounding the Cvirka monument, according to writer Dalia Staponkutė, “reminds of similar transformations connected with ‘the waiting of barbarians’ so that the ‘previous times’ do not come back and no one would remember them”²⁰⁰. She hints at the violence of the colonised era and its subsequent postcolonial condition, as well as the nesting orientalisms, found in Lithuania’s public discourse.

3.5.2 Decommunisation or decolonisation?

Although professor Nerija Putinaitė does not name postcolonialism, she formulates thoughts that, arguably, reflect the aims of a postcolonial society – to decouple, to move forth, to be equal. However, she laments whether the action of “decommunisation”, as the removal of Soviet statues is known in Lithuania, in fact completes this process, or – with my added interpretation – merely shows an attempt at such. “Most of all, [I would wish] that saying goodbye to Cvirka monument would also mean a change in the national, cultural consciousness”²⁰¹, which highlights the continuation of the colonised psyche and the current postcolonial condition. Other actor adds that decommunisation “has to take place in our heads” and not by removing statues²⁰². Similar, albeit more direct allusions, are made by professor Kęstutis Girnius, who draws a parallel between decommunisation and decolonisation: “Asian and African regions can [simply] raze colonial statues, even if that person has done a lot for their country and nation. The same principle should also be applied to the monument of Petras Cvirka.”²⁰³ Author Rasa Čepaitienė adds (paraphrased by an LRT journalist) that “post-Soviet society is affected by inferiority and helplessness”, meaning it

¹⁹⁹ Tanja Petrović, Heinz Fassman (eds.), “Kulturen der Differenz – Transformationsprozesse in Zentraleuropa nach 1989 transdisziplinäre Perspektiven.” Vienna University Press, Vienna, 2012, cited from Kristina Andělová, “Reinventing Central Europe and the Decline of Marxism: Czech ‘Orientalism’ through the Lens of Intellectual History.” Vienna: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows’ Conferences, vol. 35. 2016.

²⁰⁰ Dalia Staponkutė, “Dalia Staponkutė. Palyginti nepalyginama: Konstantino Kavafio barbarai ir Petro Cvirkos krukėliai.” *LRT*, June 21, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1436423/dalia-staponkute-palyginti-nepalyginama-konstantino-kavafio-barbarai-ir-petro-cvirkos-krukėliai>

²⁰¹ Nerija Putinaitė, “Nerija Putinaitė. Atsisveikinimas su Petru Cvirka.” *LRT*, November 20, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1546305/nerija-putinaite-atsisveikinimas-su-petru-cvirka>

²⁰² Monika Bertašiūtė-Čiužienė

²⁰³ Kęstutis Girnius, “Kęstutis Girnius. Paminklų griovimo metai.” *LRT*, June 17, 2020.

<https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1189198/kestutis-girnius-paminklu-griovimo-metai>

cannot “rationally interpret communist monuments and recognise what is foreign to Lithuania’s identity”²⁰⁴. This, I argue, hints at directly exposing the postcolonial nature of decommunisation.

4.0 Memorials to Škirpa and Noreika: overview of findings

Although this paper is not a comparative study, it’s important to put the Škirpa and Noreika case study in context to the Cvirka precedent. Noticeable change in discourse takes place, moving from the dominance of the silent resistance myth in the discourse surrounding the Cvirka monument to a more pronounced strand defined by Moore as longing for a mythic set of heroes found at the core of the Noreika and Škirpa case study. Many fragments also invoke the second most-prominent strand – ontological insecurity. Different to the Cvirka case, the postcoloniality in fragments surrounding Škirpa and Noreika were usually located in a discourse knot, defined as overlapping strands by Jäger and Maier²⁰⁵.

I have used the keyword “Škirp” on LRT.lt, which gave more results due to grammatical nuances – 271. Meanwhile, “Noreika” brought up 676 hits. The keyword “Škirpos” gave more results (154) on DELFI.lt than “Škirpa” due to grammatical nuances. The keyword Noreika brought up 950 hits. Meanwhile, on 15min.lt, “Škirpa” brought up 445 hits, while “Noreika” brought up 1,110 results. As there were multiple knots, ie multiple arguments, I assigned the fragments to a discourse strand that featured prominently in the knot. Some fragments may appear similar, but have been assigned different discourse strands due to the underlying message of the fragment that may not be immediately visible in the quoted text.

A discourse analysis of the polarised narratives surrounding the 2019 events reveals something less diverging that may be initially thought. Based on public statements of the various actors, the perception of the security challenge surrounding threats to the unresolved identities was almost universal. Namely, the need to counter the main security threat – Russia. Publicly expressed opinions on how to achieve that, however, differed. The state’s role to do that, as stressed by Zarakol²⁰⁶, again faded as the Lithuanian president retreated to the decades-old mantra of letting ‘historians have their say’²⁰⁷, showing the inability of the state to be the ontological security provider²⁰⁸. The society, in broad terms, then sought to achieve this security from the main threat of Russia, but through two very different routes, which also embodies the main polarisation and

²⁰⁴ Matonis

²⁰⁵ Jäger and Maier

²⁰⁶ Zarakol

²⁰⁷ Vaidotas Beniušis, BNS. “Lithuanian president retreats from stricter rules for memory policy.” LRT English. January 3, 2020.

²⁰⁸ Zarakol

highlights the tensions resulting from the country's postcolonial condition: to vehemently oppose any challenges, or put the contentious history out in the open, process the collective trauma, and reduce ontological insecurity. How the discourse showing elements of postcoloniality played out will be analysed in the following subsections.

4.1 Desire for a mythic set of heroes and ontological security

This key pillar is based on Moore's definition as one of the postcolonial conditions in the post-Soviet space: "[The] exaggerated desire for authentic sources, generally a mythic set of heroic, purer ancestors who once controlled a greater zone than the people now possess,"²⁰⁹ This strand intertwines with the ontological insecurity embedded in the search for heroes, as defined by Subotić and explored in section 1.2 – whereby attempts to challenge the established heroes are met by actors "acting out"²¹⁰.

Arkadijus Vinokuras, author and journalist, claims that Noreika and Škirpa are not representative of the "20,000 [partisans] who died for Lithuania's freedom, but do you see these heroes' names in the titles of streets, squares?"²¹¹ He uses the 'wrongly worshipped' heroes comparison to raise the threat of dictatorship that is allegedly missed by many, thus linking the strand into the ontological security knot – this time, however, invoking the seldom seen discourse fragment showing fear of losing democracy (and not independence). Justinas Argustas, head of communications of the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania, adds to this strand by saying that "not the names of democrats" but those of "nondemocrats"²¹², in the case of Noreika and Škirpa, have been heard in the "public space". Darius Indrišionis, a historian, says Vėtra and Škirpa places of memory are becoming "holy"²¹³ symbols alongside the tricolour, Vytis, and the Columns of Gediminas. Indrišionis argues that instead of looking for heroes, places of memory should celebrate heroic deeds²¹⁴. Simonas Jazavita, historian at Vytautas Magnus University (VDU), describes how various actors in Lithuania seek ways to justify their 'hero' by "doubting documents" linking the historical figures with Holocaust complicity. He admits, "I myself was at first hoping they were

²⁰⁹ Moore

²¹⁰ Subotić

²¹¹ Mindaugas Klusas, "Arkadijus Vinokuras naujuoju romanu nori įspėti Lietuvą apie nacionalizmo diktatūrą." *LRT*, February 18, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1143915/arkadijus-vinokuras-naujuoju-romanu-nori-ispeti-lietuva-apie-nacionalizmo-diktatura>

²¹² Justinas Argustas, "Justinas Argustas. Istorijos sugrįžimas." *LRT*, January 30, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1138207/justinas-argustas-istorijos-sugrizimas>

²¹³ Darius Indrišionis, "Darius Indrišionis. Trispalvė nėra indulgencija." *LRT*, January 6, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1130679/darius-indrisionis-trispalve-nera-indulgencija>

²¹⁴ Darius Indrišionis, "Darius Indrišionis. Nugriaukime paminklą Cvirkai ir pastatykime ... Frankui Krukui." *LRT*, February 19, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1144052/darius-indrisionis-nugriaukime-paminkla-cvirkai-ir-pastatykime-frankui-krukui>

NKVD fakes”²¹⁵. Poet and essayist Sergėjus Kanovičius picks at the tendency to worship a “person of ‘tragic fate’”²¹⁶, in reference to the language used to justify memorials to Noreika. Laurynas Kasčiūnas, an MP from TS-LKD, says the Škirpa street name should be preserved due to him having done “much good for our state and nation”, despite “taking decisions in very difficult circumstances [and] making mistakes”²¹⁷. Another MP from TS-LKD, Emanuelis Zingeris, asks rhetorically whether “we could let out mature democracy choose questionable examples of history, do we not have enough heroes”²¹⁸, thus linking in a knot two discourses – the desire for heroes, and the ‘return to the West’ paradigm. Simonas Gurevičius, head of Vilnius’ Jewish community, urges the country not to “dirty the history with heroes who were not heroes”²¹⁹. Dovydas Petkus, political scientist, mentions “project of national self-diminishing”, asking rhetorically whether we will let “the world spread such slander about us”²²⁰. According to Vytautas Sinica, founder of Pro Patria political organisation, “those who are killed cannot defend themselves”, which has to be done “by the state or us”, referencing the ontological need to defend ‘heroes’²²¹. Moves to show history as a mix of “scoundrels and heroes” will lead to “us losing any sort of orientation where we are coming from and where we are going”, thus directly defining ontological insecurity embedded in the postcolonial condition that contributes to preventing from opening such discussions²²². The expansion of Noreika and Škirpa to stand as the first step in the toppling of Lithuania's ontological foundation is summarised by Vidmantas Valiušaitis, head of A. Damušis Democracy Study Centre – “[By] downgrading Noreika, Škirpa, Brazaitis, other fighters, who fought not for Nazi Germany, not against Jews, but for independent Lithuania [and] letting go of Noreika [and] Škirpa, [...] we will destroy the direction of the [partisan] resistance fights which was suppressed by force.”²²³

²¹⁵ Austėja Masiokaitė-Liubiniene, BNS, “Prieš 80-metį įvykęs Birželio sukilimas: pasak istorikų, negalima jo tapyti vien šviesiomis ar vien juodomis spalvomis.” *LRT*, June 21, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1436606/pries-80-meti-ivykes-birzelio-sukilimas-pasak-istoriku-negalima-jo-tapyti-vien-sviesiomis-ar-vien-juodomis-spalvomis>

²¹⁶ Sergejus Kanovičius, “Sergejus Kanovičius. Apie tragiškas asmenybes ir stalo žudikus.” *LRT*, March 4, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/956430/sergejus-kanoviccius-apie-tragiskas-asmenybes-ir-stalo-zudikus>

²¹⁷ Virginijus Savukynas, „Istorijos detektyvai“ klausia, ar verti atminimo P. Cvirka, K. Škirpa ir J. Noreika?” *LRT*, October 11, 2017. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/189482/istorijos-detektyvai-klausia-ar-verti-atminimo-p-cvirka-k-skirpa-ir-j-noreika>

²¹⁸ Saulius Jakučionis, “Žydų genocidų aukų atminimo diena vėl žiebia diskusijas apie istorinę atmintį.” *15min*, September 23, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/zydu-genocidu-auku-atminimo-diena-vel-ziebia-diskusijas-apie-istorine-atminti-56-1206386?copied&copied>

²¹⁹ Jakučionis

²²⁰ Dovydas Petkus, “Dovydas Petkus. Valstybingumo šimtmečio proga – kaltinimai šaudžius žydus.” *DELFI*, July 23, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/dovilas-petkus-valstybingumo-simtmečio-proga-kaltinimai-saudžius-zydus.d?id=78640523>

²²¹ Vytautas Sinica, “V. Sinica. A. Terleckas – KGB’istas, valstybės kūrėjai – balvonai, J. Noreika – tautos gėda?” *DELFI*, August 6, 2015. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/v-sinica-a-terleckas-kgbistas-valstybes-kurejai-balvonai-j-noreika-tautos-geda.d?id=68629510>

²²² Sinica

²²³ Joana Lapėnienė, *LRT*, “Genocido tyrimo centras: puoli vadovą, taikaisi į instituciją?” *DELFI*, October 1, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/genocido-tyrimo-centras-puoli-vadova-taikaisi-i-institucija.d?id=79195975>

Vilnius Mayor Remigijus Šimašius claims that there were “heroes and scoundrels”²²⁴. Indrišionis challenges such views by saying the two precedents illustrate “part of our society’s view toward historical memory”, which is “not a step back, either all were heroes, or all were scoundrels”²²⁵. Organiser of a pro-Noreika and Škirpa rally, Astra Astrauskaitė, claims Šimašius is a “collaborator [...] acting like the enemy, trampling our statehood, our memorials”²²⁶. Similarly, in other outpourings, participants of a nationalist rally have carried placards, which included the portraits of Noreika and Škirpa and slogans “for great Lithuania”²²⁷. What drives wedges into society, argues VU professor Jurgita Verbickienė, “is the taking out of single things [facts]” to justify the historical being a hero or an anti-hero²²⁸. Saulius Skvernelis, the then prime minister, invokes emotional emphasis toward ontological security, saying Noreika and Škirpa were led in their actions by “patriotic, noble feelings”²²⁹. The plaque’s removal “undermined”²³⁰ the ‘heroes’, writes Vydūnas Sadauskas, member of the Vilnius City Council. “The historical truth is often painful, which is liked by some, others maybe [feel] insulted,”²³¹ says head of Lithuania’s state-funded Genocide and Resistance Research Centre (LGGRTC) Arūnas Bubnys. Showing such sentiments, Sinica says “the defamation of Noreika [...] is personally insulting, angering, and wrong”²³². Meanwhile, there are people who think that the genocide research centre “has to defend Lithuania’s honour”, says Adas Jakubauskas of the LGGRTC²³³. Painting the values in positive light – “patriotism, sacrifice to the homeland, the priority of preserving statehood, courage and the

²²⁴ LRT TELEVIZIJA, “Šimašius apie karštą Generolo Vėtros atminimo lentos klausimą: išėmiau parako statinę tautai iš po užpakalio.” *LRT*, July 27, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1083270/simasius-apie-karsta-generolo-vetros-atminimo-lentos-klausima-isemiau-parako-statine-tautai-is-po-uzpakalio>

²²⁵ Darius Indrišionis, “Darius Indrišionis. Kiek bus verta tiesa, jei ji nebebus tiesa?” *LRT*, February 16, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1344752/darius-indrisionis-kiek-bus-verta-tiesa-jei-ji-nebebus-tiesa>

²²⁶ Lukrecijus Tubys, “Nuo J.Noreikos prie Vyčio: grįžtama prie laisvės kovų Lukiškių aikštėje įamžinimo.” *15min*, September 10, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/nuo-j-noreikos-prie-vycio-griztama-prie-laisves-kovu-lukiskiu-aiksteje-iamzinimo-56-1200624?copied&copied>

²²⁷ Benas Brunalas, ELTA, Jūratė Skėrytė, BNS, “Vilniuje surengtos kontroversiškos tautininkų eitynės.” *LRT*, March 11, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1150539/vilniuje-surengtos-kontroversiskos-tautininku-eitynes>

²²⁸ Mindaugas Jackevičius, “Gelbėtojas ar kolaborantas? Dėl Vėtros asmenybės istorikė mato tarptautinį tyrimą, bet mano – lentelės neturėtų būti.” *LRT*, September 23, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1238650/gelbetojas-ar-kolaborantas-del-vetros-asmenybes-istorike-mato-tarptautini-tyrima-bet-mano-lenteles-neturetu-buti>

²²⁹ Paulina Levickytė, ELTA, “Skvernelis mano, kad neteisėtai pakabinti atminimo lentos Generolui Vėtrai nederėjo.” *LRT*, September 12, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1096839/skvernelis-mano-kad-neteisetai-pakabinti-atminimo-lentos-generolui-vetrai-nederejo>

²³⁰ Vydūnas Sadauskas, “Vydūnas Sadauskas. Šimašius ir jo profesinė (ne)draugė „teisė“.” *DELFI*, August 2, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/vydunas-sadauskas-simasius-ir-jo-profesine-nedrauge-teise.d?id=81889733>

²³¹ Lauryna Vireliūnaitė, “Naujasis LGGRTC vadovas Arūnas Bubnys: išvengti jautrių klausimų politizavimo, manau, yra neįmanoma.” *15min*, May 4, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/naujasis-lggrtc-vadovas-arunas-bubnys-ismengti-jautriu-klausimu-politizavimo-manau-yra-neimanoma-56-1497308?copied&copied>

²³² Roberta Tracevičiūtė, “Naują partiją buriantis V.Sinica: „G.Nausėda virvelių netampo.“” *15min*, October 6, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/nauja-partija-buriantis-v-sinica-g-nauseda-virveliu-netampo-56-1211276?copied&copied>

²³³ Modesta Gaučaitė, “Naujasis Genocido centro vadovas: centras turi ginti Lietuvos garbę.” *LRT*, July 30, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1199176/naujasis-genocido-centro-vadovas-centras-turi-ginti-lietuvos-garbe>

virtue of masculinity”²³⁴ – journalist and publicist Vladimiras Laučius writes that those against Noreika and Škirpa memorial see the two figures as “antiheroes”. “If we are convinced that heroes important to us are no heroes, but killers of Jews [...] then people get this feeling that all of the nation’s past is ‘weak’ and dirtied,”²³⁵ says professor Šeraitė. “Some historians, especially in Holocaust research, would like to image that they are inside the hearts of Nazis and their helpers and know themselves what they did and somehow can judge them from the inside,” says historian, philosopher, associate professor of the Faculty of History of Vilnius University Nerijus Šepetys. Crucially, he adds “that similar things exist in the history of colonialism and other mass phenomena”²³⁶, thus linking the ontological security discussions over Holocaust complicity with colonialism.

These fragments above highlight the postcoloniality embedded in the discussions over ‘heroes’, as defined in the explanations by (primarily) Moore and Subotić. Thus, one of the theoretical definitions, as raised by Moore, is evident in this discourse strand.

4.1.1 Russia as external threat to ontological security

One of the main knots found within the heroes and ontological security threads were references to Russia. The external threat, also seen as a key ontological threat internally, was used to say that one or another action (and the actor behind it) would benefit Russia.

The protesters during pro-Noreika protests allege Vilnius Mayor Remigijus Šimašius has become a tool of “the Kremlin’s hybrid war”²³⁷ and that he is “worshipped in the Russian media”²³⁸, according to Marius Kundrotas, member of the Centre Party. The ontological insecurity from external threat is summarised by one unnamed participant of the protest, who claims here was a “persistent attack by Russia, [...] some representatives of the Jewish nation, and Russian Bolsheviks against our freedom fights.”²³⁹ In delving into historical memory, the international commission that investigated Holocaust in Lithuania “ended up standing alone in front of the whole

²³⁴ Vladimiras Laučius, “Vladimiras Laučius. Sušimašinta Lietuva.” *DELFI*, August 12, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/vladimiras-laucius-susimasinta-lietuva.d?id=81964131>

²³⁵ Joana Lapėnienė, Nemira Pumprickaitė, “Ką apie J. Noreiką-Generolą Vėtrą sako LAT ir Štuthofio konclagerio dokumentai.” *LRT*, November 16, 2015. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/119711/ka-apie-j-noreika-generola-vetra-sako-lat-ir-stuthofio-konclagerio-dokumentai>

²³⁶ Simas Čelutka, “Istorikas Šepetys: didelė dalis pokomunistiniuose kraštuose nutikusių įvykių iki šiol neiškalbėti.” *LRT*, July 4, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1442377/istorikas-sepetys-didele-dalis-pokomunistiniuose-krastuose-nutikusiu-ivykiu-iki-siol-neiskalbeti>

²³⁷ Ignas Jačauskas, BNS, “Sostinės taryba apsisprendė: Škirpos alėją pervadina į Trispalvės.” *LRT*, July 24, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1081731/sostines-taryba-apsisprende-skirpos-aleja-pervadina-i-trispalves>

²³⁸ Marius Kundrotas, “Marius Kundrotas. Vakcina nuo Kremliaus.” *DELFI*, February 23, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/marius-kundrotas-vakcina-nuo-kremliaus.d?id=83583699>

²³⁹ Ronaldas Galinis, “Būti žydu prie Stalino: norėjo suversti kalnę dėl Cvirkos mirties, apie „sionistų įtaisyta vyrą“ kalbėjo ir diktatorius.” *LRT*, December 27, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pasaulyje/6/1267800/buti-zydu-prie-stalino-norejo-suversti-kalte-del-cvirkos-mirties-apie-sionistu-itaisyta-vyra-kalbejo-ir-diktatorius>

Russia's propaganda machine"²⁴⁰, according to professor Šarūnas Liekis. MP Povilas Urbšys argued that "intelligence officers in Moscow are confused" on who should they award for causing conflicts among "Lithuanian, but also Jewish communities"²⁴¹. In reference to Russia, "we should not help propagandists", says the then foreign minister Linas Linkevičius, adding that by failing to differentiate between those who the country commemorates, "we take part [in enabling] the propaganda machine which wants to [target] all of us"²⁴². Meanwhile, pro-Noreika protesters also held placards in front of the Foreign Ministry, calling, in response to Linkevičius' words, to stop "blackening Lithuania"²⁴³, ie affecting its image internationally.

Vytautas Radžvilas, one of the founders of Lithuania's Rebirth movement, head of National Alliance party and VU professor, also writes in an op-ed "check and mate for Lithuanian state?"²⁴⁴ that the Škirpa and Noreika cases are aimed at "rewriting history" and toppling Lithuania's ontological foundations, naming the external threat of the Kremlin as the source of this insecurity. Radžvilas says the "pressure and blackmail" comes "not directly from Moscow, but through the roundabout way, ie the Western capitals that do not understand the evil of Communism"²⁴⁵ This links into the tension thread over orientalism from the West, to be discussed in Section 4.4.2. According to professor Kęstutis Girnius, Radžvilas uses the Škirpa and Noreika cases to say that the Kremlin will use the Holocaust complicity argument to create a policy of non-interference in "Western countries [...] even if Lithuania is openly attacked and occupied".²⁴⁶ Also according to Vytautas Landsbergis, founder of Lithuania's Rebirth movement, "the attacks against Noreika [...] were aimed at discrediting the whole anti-Communist, anti-Soviet resistance."²⁴⁷ Political 'returnee' Valentinas Mazuronis says "we live in a very different work and it is attempted to knock us off from

²⁴⁰ Šarūnas Liekis, "Šarūnas Liekis. Atminimo lentelę nuėmus: Lietuvos istorinės atminties keliai ir klystkeliai." *LRT*, September 17, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1096942/sarunas-liekis-atminimo-lentele-nuemus-lietuvos-istorines-atminties-keliai-ir-klystkeliai>

²⁴¹ Povilas Urbšys, "Povilas Urbšys. Tai – elementarus vaivorykštinis fašizmas." *DELFI*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/povilas-urbsys-tai-elementarus-vaivorykstinis-fasizmas.d?id=81948701>

²⁴² BNS, "L. Linkevičius ragina nedelsti nukelti J. Noreikos atminimo lentą." *LRT*, September 19, 2018.

<https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/227442/l-linkevicius-ragina-nedelsti-nukelti-j-noreikos-atminimo-lenta>

²⁴³ Saulius Jakučionis, "Apie 40 protestuotojų ragina L. Linkevičių atsiprašyti už žodžius apie J. Noreiką." *15min*, October 16, 2018. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/apie-40-protestuotoju-ragina-l-linkeviciu-atsiprasyti-uz-zodzius-apie-j-noreika-56-1045300?copied&copied>

²⁴⁴ Vytautas Radžvilas, "Vytautas Radžvilas. Lietuvos valstybei – sachas ir matas?" *LRT*, March 31, 2021.

<https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1377220/vytautas-radzvilas-lietuvos-valstybei-sachas-ir-matas>

²⁴⁵ Vytautas Radžvilas, "Vytautas Radžvilas. Tikrasis Škirpos ir Noreikos puolimo tikslas." *DELFI*, September 3, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/vytautas-radzvilas-tikrasis-skirpos-ir-noreikos-puolimo-tikslas.d?id=82133223>

²⁴⁶ Kęstutis Girnius, "Kęstutis Girnius. Ar supriešinta visuomenė atvers dešiniems kelią į Seimą?" *DELFI*, September 23, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/kestutis-girnius-ar-supriesinta-visuomene-atvers-desiniems-kelia-i-seima.d?id=82320807>

²⁴⁷ Edmundas Jakilaitis, "Landsbergis valdžios veiksmus lygina su Rusijos veikimu: jiems svarbu bet kokia kaina išlaikyti daugumą, kad tik jų bijotų." *DELFI*, December 18, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/landsbergis-valdžios-veiksmus-lygina-su-rusijos-veikimu-jiems-svarbu-bet-kokia-kaina-islaikyti-dauguma-kad-tik-ju-bijotu.d?id=83081691>

all sides,” adding that the Baltic states would come in the crosshairs of Moscow after Ukraine²⁴⁸. Arvydas Juozaitis, philosopher and former presidential candidate, says Noreika case shows “us taking a step toward an abyss”²⁴⁹. Kasparas Adomaitis founder of the Freedom Party and member of Vilnius City Council, turns to show ontological fears materialising by saying that the Kremlin has “put out news on its parliament’s website about Škirpa street renaming”²⁵⁰. In a public statement, signed by NGOs representing former deportees and groups “strengthening Lithuania’s defence capabilities”, the authors say battles over historical memory pose more than just ontological threat. The external actor, Russia, is behind the “active political pressure from outside” to cause internal instability and turmoil²⁵¹. Rokas Masiulis, the then communications minister, says the “division of Lithuania into two camps” over removal of Noreika plaque is “something that Lithuania’s biggest enemies could only dream of”²⁵². Bernardas Gailius, historian at VU, also invokes ontological insecurity, saying the disagreements over Noreika and Škirpa are not the fight for the past but “a conflict for Lithuania’s future”²⁵³. He also implied that, in terms of memory politics, the post-Soviet period has passed. I’d add this shows the country being in a state of postcoloniality.

The knot above showcases how postcoloniality connects to ontological insecurity via historical memory. Due to the push to maintain the memory of ‘heroic’ figures, defined by Moore as one of the conditions of postcoloniality in the post-Soviet space, the unresolved collective memory issues thus drive a wedge into ontological security in the Lithuanian society that, as expressed in the fragments above, connect with Russia being named as the main threat.

4.2 Mimicry, tensions between the desire for autonomy and a history of dependence

The discourse strand over mimicry and tensions between desire for autonomy and a history of dependence as defined by Moore, included several other strands that have created multiple knots. Fragments within these knots call for, or question, the need to push forth Lithuania’s historical

²⁴⁸ Lukrecijus Tubys, ELTA, “Savo komandą slepiančios Mazuronis sukritikavo konkurentus: jei negali paeiti, reikia pasiimti ramentus.” *LRT*, April 19, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1050915/savo-komanda-slepiancios-mazuronis-sukritikavo-konkurentus-jei-negali-paeiti-reikia-pasiimti-ramentus>

²⁴⁹ Arvydas Juozaitis, “Arvydas Juozaitis. Chamas, barbaras, vandalas – deputatas?” *DELFI*, April 9, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/arvydas-juozaitis-chamas-barbaras-vandalas-deputatas.d?id=80853285>

²⁵⁰ Kasparas Adomaitis, “Kasparas Adomaitis: Kas ką pasakė apie K.Škirpą ir J.Noreiką.” *15min*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/nuomones/kasparas-adomaitis-kas-ka-pasake-apie-k-skirpa-ir-j-noreika-18-1185954?copied&copied>

²⁵¹ Angelė Jakavonytė, Petras Musteikis, Andrius Tučkus, Vidmantas Samys, “Viešas kreipimasis dėl įtampos visuomenėje didinimo.” *LRT*, May 2, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1055101/viesas-kreipimasis-del-itamos-visuomenėje-didinimo>

²⁵² Arnas Mazėtis, Vytautas Landsbergis: žmogus, kuris atidavė galvą už Lietuvą, nėra Lietuvos priešas.” *DELFI*, July 29, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/vytautas-landsbergis-zmogus-kuris-atidave-galva-uz-lietuva-nera-lietuvos-priesas.d?id=81850515>

²⁵³ Bernardas Gailius, “Bernardas Gailius. Jono Noreikos ir Kazio Škirpos problema – fašizmas.” *DELFI*, July 29, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/bernardas-gailius-jono-noreikos-ir-kazio-skirpos-problema-fasizmas.d?id=81849217>

narrative West, thus both shedding the postcoloniality of the Soviet-era, but also pushing away the Western historical memory approach at the centre of the EU's joint memory project, which is focused on the shared understand of Holocaust as the greatest, continent-wide tragedy²⁵⁴. However, this view is challenged by actors in the observed fragments, linking up with the “mimicry” strand of the postcolonial condition, by saying that Lithuania is mimicking the Soviet Union (or its successor state Russia) by allegedly silencing inconvenient truths in the post-independence, national historical narrative.

Thus, the core of the tensions resulted in the following dichotomy that is postcolonial in nature – should Lithuania seek for ‘authentic’, mythical²⁵⁵ historical narrative that is Lithuanian, or comply with its present-day security and political dependency²⁵⁶ on the European Union and NATO by adopting mnemonic influences from the West (forfeiting efforts to “decolonise” West-centric European history, as discussed by Mälksoo²⁵⁷).

4.2.1 Decolonising West-centric European history

“I don’t know how much it is important to us that someone said somewhere about our hero,” says Algimantas Kasparavičius, senior researcher at Lithuania’s state-funded Institute of History. His argument plays into the way Mälksoo describes Baltics and Poland attempting to push forth its historical memory West, ie decolonise from Western influences. “When we don’t say something, an empty space arises, which can be filled by other country’s propaganda, ideology, etc,”²⁵⁸ Kasparavičius adds in reference to the ontological threat from Russia. Through Škirpa, argues Alvydas Nikžentaitis of the state-funded Institute of History, “we see a dilemma that was faced by the Western countries at a certain time – who is guilty for the Holocaust. Those who fired the shots, those who gave the orders, or those who justified such actions”²⁵⁹ and that the understanding in Lithuania of who took part in Holocaust “is on the same level that it was in the Western world in 1970s”²⁶⁰. This hints at Lithuania’s decolonisation and the 50-year delay in facing the same questions, or what others including Subotič would argue, the internalisation of the joint EU tragedy.

²⁵⁴ Subotič

²⁵⁵ Moore

²⁵⁶ Tomas Jermalavičius. “Lessons for Baltics after Soviet aggression thirty years ago.” *LRT English*, January 30, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1328787/lessons-for-baltics-after-soviet-aggression-thirty-years-ago>

²⁵⁷ Mälksoo. *The First Lady of the Baltic ‘Memory Offensive’*

²⁵⁸ Arnas Mazėtis, “Istorikas sureagavo į Zuroffo komentarų audrą: kiek mums yra svarbu, ką apie mūsų herojų kažkas kažkur pasakė.” *DELFI*, May 8, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/istorikas-sureagavo-i-zuroffo-komentaru-audra-kiek-mums-yra-svarbu-ka-apie-musu-heroju-kazkas-kazkur-pasake.d?id=81114655>

²⁵⁹ Masiokaitė-Liubinienė, *Prieš 80-metį įvykęs Birželio sukilimas*

²⁶⁰ Alvydas Nikžentaitis, “Alvydas Nikžentaitis: Nuo L.Giros iki Generolo Vėtros – paminklinių ženklų šalinimo vėjus ir Lietuvos istorijos politikos klystkeliai.” *15min*, July 27, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/komentarai/alvydas-nikzentaitis-nuo-l-giros-iki-generolo-vetros-paminkliniu-zenklu-salinimo-vajus-ir-lietuvos-istorijos-politikos-klystkeliai-500-1180320?copied&copied>

“If it will be needed, [Škirpa] will be in the European Square,”²⁶¹ says Tomas Skorupskis from youth union Kryptis during a nationalist rally. Although it is unclear whether the square of Europe is named due to it being in front of the municipality building, or whether it has been chosen for its name. The pro-Noreika protesters have also proclaimed during rallies “to let us decide ourselves who deserves the respect of the nation”²⁶². In reference to Škirpa and Noreika and Holocaust complicity arguments, historian Simonas Jazavita writes that Poland has successfully resisted the historical memory push over Eastern Europe from the West.²⁶³ This comes into opposition to statements by director of the Vrublevskis’ Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Sigitas Narbutas, who says that Noreika memory, including the plaque removal, works well to pit “Jews and Lithuanians against each other” and is used by Russia to position Lithuania against “strategic partners like Israel, the US, and Germany”.²⁶⁴ Meanwhile, Cherrie Daniels, Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues at the State Department, says “all countries have their dark moments”, calling on Lithuania not to glorify people who took part in the Holocaust²⁶⁵, thus reconfirming the Western influence in pushing for the adoption of the West-centric historical narrative. Publicist Viktoras Bachmetjevas alleges that the Lithuanian society does not understand the concept of public discussion and parliamentary democracy²⁶⁶, invoking the postcoloniality in the form of fear of appearing to mimic, unsuccessfully, the ‘return to the West’ paradigm and refers to self-orientalism.. This has affected ontological security due to the society being unable to process the “psychological trauma” from the Holocaust, which “wasn’t the only trauma” in Lithuania, he writes, adding that this links to Škirpa street case, as “some have the opinion that sensitive topics should not be discussed at all”²⁶⁷. Researcher at the Institute of History, Rasa Čepaitienė, says the society has no agreement over Škirpa and Noreika and how their places of memory should be viewed. She adds that the calls by Nikžentaitis to adopt the West-centric view toward Holocaust

²⁶¹ Ramūnas Jakubauskas, Augustas Stankevičius, BNS, “Maždaug tūkstantis žmonių žygiavo tautinio jaunimo eitynėse Vilniuje.” *DELFI*, February 16, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/mazdaug-tukstantis-zmoniu-zygiavo-tautinio-jaunimo-eitynese-vilniuje.d?id=83548851>

²⁶² Vaidas Saldžiūnas, “Noreikos ir Škirpos gynėjai Vilniuje susirinko į mitingą: žada grąžinti atminimo lentą.” *DELFI*, August 7, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/noreikos-ir-skirpos-gynejai-vilniuje-susirinko-i-mitinga-zada-grazinti-atminimo-lenta.d?id=81935389>

²⁶³ Simonas Jazavita, “Simonas Jazavita. Kaziui Škirpai – 125 metai, arba kai kas iš 5 metų mano tyrinėjimų.” *DELFI*, February 21, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/simonas-jazavita-kaziui-skirpai-125-metai-arba-kai-kas-is-5-metu-mano-tyrinejimu.d?id=83577445>

²⁶⁴ Audris Narbutas, “Audris Narbutas. Ko verta Rusijos pergalė istorinės atminties lauke?” *DELFI*, February 21, 2021. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/audris-narbutas-ko-verta-rusijos-pergale-istorines-atminties-lauke.d?id=86419541>

²⁶⁵ LRT RADIJAS, LRT.lt, BNS, “JAV diplomate: prie Holokausto prisidėjusių asmenų šlovinimas Lietuvoje kenkia valstybės reputacijai.” *LRT*, September 16, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1098099/jav-diplomate-prie-holokausto-prisidejusių-asmenu-slovinimas-lietuvoje-kenkia-valstybes-reputacijai>

²⁶⁶ Viktoras Bachmetjevas, “Viktoras Bachmetjevas: Apie istorinę atmintį ir diskusijų kultūrą.” *15min*, July 9, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/komentarai/viktoras-bachmetjevas-apie-istorine-atminti-ir-diskusiju-kultura-500-1170824?copied&copied>

²⁶⁷ Bachmetjevas

would “ignore the specifics of the ‘bloodlands’”, ie Eastern Europe. According to her, an international image is being formed of Lithuania as “untrustworthy country that does not accept its past and fosters pro-fascist principles”, which is detrimental in light of the ongoing “cultural hybrid war”²⁶⁸. But the situation is worse abroad, where “Lithuanians are still being assessed as ‘Jew killing’ nation that does not understand its responsibility in light of the huge tragedies,” says Nikžentaitis²⁶⁹.

BBC presenter, David Baddiel, is quoted by LRT.lt on his film exploring Holocaust complicity, including the Noreika and Škirpa memorial cases. He says: “I come from an old culture which has never had to restore its history”. Hinting at orientalism discussed by Mälksoo, he adds that “in countries where history restoration is newer, there is an all-or-nothing approach”²⁷⁰. In reference to the same BBC film, Venclova inverts the argument of Mälksoo and says the attempts to force Lithuania’s narrative West is detrimental to the country’s image, invoking the tensions thread²⁷¹. “Are we simply afraid to raise uncomfortable questions and we only care about the image and applause from some foreign organisation,” writes TS-LKD MP Andrius Navickas, adding that “we need to remember all tortures” by the different totalitarianisms in order to “heal wounds”²⁷². Adviser to Lithuanian president, Asta Skaisgirytė, also hints at decolonisation from the West by saying “we only began to form our historical narrative [...] after restoring independence, but not immediately, [...] at around year 2000.” She says it is “difficult to explain the dichotomy” to “Western partners” that Soviets were also occupiers. She also invokes ontological security saying that it is “incredibly painful to us that our resistance against the Soviets is mixed up, skewed and attached to the massacres of Jews”²⁷³.

²⁶⁸ Rasa Čepaitienė, “Rasa Čepaitienė: Naktinė istorijos politika (atsakymas A.Nikžentaičiui).” *15min*, July 30, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/nuomones/rasa-cepaitiene-naktine-istorijos-politika-atsakymas-a-nikzentaiciui-18-1181172?copied&copied>

²⁶⁹ Andrius Balčiūnas, “Lietuva vėl skamba pasaulyje: Jono Noreikos anūkė priekaištauja šaliai dėl bandymų nutylėti Holokausto istoriją.” *LRT*, April 21, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pasaulyje/6/1392532/lietuva-vel-skamba-pasaulyje-jono-noreikos-anuke-priekaištauja-saliai-del-bandymu-nutyleti-holokausto-istorija>

²⁷⁰ LRT.lt, “Naujame BBC filme apie Holokausto neigimą – ir Generolo Vėtros istorija.” *LRT*, February 20, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pasaulyje/6/1144532/naujame-bbc-filme-apie-holokausto-neigima-ir-generolo-vetros-istorija>

²⁷¹ Domantė Platūkytė, “Tomas Venclova prisiminė Generolo Vėtros istoriją: skandalai neišvengiami, kol bus nacių kolaborantų gynėjų.” *LRT*, February 21, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1144642/tomas-venclova-prisimine-generolo-vetros-istorija-skandalai-neisvengiami-kol-bus-naciu-kolaborantu-gyneju>

²⁷² Andrius Navickas, “Andrius Navickas: Kada mūsų širdyse užgis okupacijų žaizdos?” *15min*, August 21, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/nuomones/andrius-navickas-kada-musu-sirdyse-uzgis-okupaciju-zaizdos-18-1190966?copied&copied>

²⁷³ Gintaras Radauskas, “Prezidento patarėja Asta Skaisgirytė: „Jei norime daryti procesams įtaką, turime kalbėtis. O įtakos norime.” *15min*, September 17, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/pasaulis/prezidento-patareja-asta-skaisgiryte-jei-norime-daryti-procesams-itaka-turime-kalbetis-o-itakos-norime-57-1203052?copied&copied>

4.2.2 Internalising West-centric European history

In opposition to the 4.2.1 strand above, the fragments below call to internalise, to accept, the West-centric European narrative. This mostly focuses on aiming to ‘de-heroise’ the controversial historical figures who, despite their anti-Soviet activities, are alleged to have had a hand in the Holocaust. At the centre of this discourse strand are Noreika and Škirpa.

Silvia Fotti, writer and granddaughter of Noreika and author a book about her “Nazi grandfather”, says that “some relatives in Lithuania [say] I am too young, I was born in America, and I don’t know how it was Lithuania”²⁷⁴. She underlines the inherent tensions, as discussed in this thesis, by saying “I thought if I am able to print the book in America, and it will come from outside to Lithuania, I will have more influence [and] that was my strategy”. She adds that “real heroes” were the ones who saved Jews and that Lithuania could be “the first in accepting responsibility” among Eastern European countries for their complicity in the Holocaust²⁷⁵. This forms a complicated discourse knot, invoking the Western gaze and a desire for heroes, allegedly achievable by not glorifying alleged Nazi-collaborators, but being the first in acknowledging the historical narrative of the West, as discussed by Mälksoo.

“Anti-Semitic Lithuania would have not been admitted into the European Union and therefore it was needed to show that we are not among the insensitive nations,”²⁷⁶ says historian Alfonsas Eidintas. Using Škirpa and Noreika as case studies, he says this is now being undone. His words both mirror Subotič’s argument on ontological security and tensions with the EU’s collective memory project²⁷⁷, but also reflect Moore’s definition of tensions between desire to have mythic heroes, but also a history of dependence – this time on the West. The controversial places of memory have become “the reason for negative attention from international press”²⁷⁸, writes Renaldas Vaisbrodas from the Freedom Party group at the Vilnius City Council, naming it as one of the reasons for renaming the Škirpa street. Professor emeritus from Millersville University in the United States, Saulius Sužiedėlis, also says Lithuania sends a message internationally by choosing which historical moments to elevate. “We are part of NATO, the EU, and now remember that the Temporary Government and Lithuanian Activist Front was asking to join the Reich’s allies in the

²⁷⁴ Domantė Platūkytė, „Nacio anūkė“. Generolo Vėtros vaikaitė – apie senelio nuodėmes ir pareigą atskleisti tiesą.” *LRT*, November 4, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1531833/nacio-anuke-generolo-vetros-vaikaite-apie-senelio-nuodemes-ir-pareiga-atskleisti-tiesa>

²⁷⁵ Platūkytė, „Nacio anūkė“

²⁷⁶ Virginijus Savukynas, “Lietuvių santykiai su žydais: sakralizuojant istorinių asmenybių klaidas žengtas žingsnis atgal?” *LRT*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1086533/lietuviu-santykiai-su-zydais-sakralizuojant-istoriniu-asmenybiu-klaidas-zengtas-zingsnis-atgal>

²⁷⁷ Subotič

²⁷⁸ LRT.lt, “Liepos pabaigoje bus nuspręsta, ar pervadinti Škirpos alėją į Trispalvės.” *LRT*, July 10, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1077394/liepos-pabaigoje-bus-nuspresta-ar-pervadinti-skirpos-aleja-i-trispalves>

fight against Bolshevism,”²⁷⁹ he says. Nikžentaitis of Lithuania’s History Institute adds that adhering to the ‘Western’ values “makes up an important part of Lithuania’s pro-western citizens’ identity”²⁸⁰. Researcher at Institute of History Rasa Čepaitienė says that Lithuania has accepted the West-centric historical memory – but “the narratives of the Baltic states then [...] do not find a place”²⁸¹, leading to the criticism against the freedom fighters. Faina Kukliansky, head of Lithuania’s Jewish Community (LŽB), says she is sure the reinstalling of the Noreika plaque during the street protests will “do damage to the country’s image”, adding that a high ranking delegation from the US is due to visit²⁸². Other actors, including Vilnius mayor spokesperson Aleksandras Zubriakovas, echo her words²⁸³. However, Sinica says that the new plaque will have an additional sentence, which was not part of the removed memorial, announced that Noreika “was prisoner at Stutthof concentration camp”²⁸⁴. This could be seen as an attempt to push Lithuania’s narrative into the West’s Holocaust memory.

Describing the fear of mimicry found in the discourse strand over tensions, publicist Bachmetjevas writes that, “quite often, in Lithuania it is feared how we will look like to the West or to the civilised world.”²⁸⁵ Publicist Ramūnas Bogdanas adds that ‘writing off’ a deceased person only because of what has been written “by an influential newspaper from abroad” means “drawing an imaginary future by [simply] deleting all hurdles”.²⁸⁶ Meanwhile, Mark Adam Harold, the then Vilnius City Council member, says that by renaming Škirpa street, “all international media will write [positively] about us”.²⁸⁷ Politician Vytautas Landsbergis mocks the “naivety” in succumbing to Western orientalist tendencies – “Valatka is naively using as source Spiegel, which is [apparently] a respectable magazine.”²⁸⁸

²⁷⁹ Masiokaitė-Liubinienė, *Prieš 80-metį įvykęs Birželio sukilimas*

²⁸⁰ Nikžentaitis, *Nuo L. Girso iki Generolo Vėtros*

²⁸¹ Masiokaitė-Liubinienė

²⁸² Modesta Gaučaitė, “Biblioteka mano, kad Generolo Vėtros lenta galėtų likti, policija jos kabintojams baudų kol kas neišrašė.” *LRT*, September 6, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1095086/biblioteka-mano-kad-generolo-vetros-lenta-galetu-likti-policija-jos-kabintojams-baudu-kol-kas-neisrase>

²⁸³ LRT RADIJAS, “Policija vertins, kokiomis aplinkybėmis vėl pakabinta atminimo lenta Generolui Vėtrai.” *LRT*, September 6, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1095039/policija-vertins-kokiomis-aplinkybemis-vel-pakabinta-atminimo-lenta-generolui-vetrai>

²⁸⁴ Kristina Pocytė, “Nenuleidžia rankų: pagamino naują lentą generolui Vėtrai.” *DELFI*, September 4, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/nenuleidzia-ranku-pagamino-nauja-lenta-generolui-vetrai.d?id=82154241>

²⁸⁵ Viktoras Bachmetjevas, “Viktoras Bachmetjevas: Antisemito alėja.” *15min*, June 30, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/komentarai/viktoras-bachmetjevas-antisemito-aleja-500-1167120?copied&copied>

²⁸⁶ Ramūnas Bogdanas, “R. Bogdanas. Kolaborantas. Kolaborantas?” *LRT*, September 24, 2018. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/227905/r-bogdanas-kolaborantas-kolaborantas>

²⁸⁷ Markas Adamas Haroldas, “Markas Adamas Haroldas: „Pakeiskime vienos alėjos pavadinimą ir apie mus rašys visa pasaulio žiniasklaida.“” *15min*, May 15, 2016. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/markas-adamas-haroldas-pakeiskime-vienos-alejos-pavadinima-ir-apie-mus-rasys-visa-pasaulio-ziniasklaida-56-625269?copied&copied>

²⁸⁸ Vytautas Landsbergis, “Vytautas Landsbergis. Šis tas nauja dėl „Generolo Vėtros“.” *DELFI*, September 21, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/vytautas-landsbergis-sis-tas-nauja-del-generolo-vetros.d?id=79125463>

Hinting at the current postcolonial condition, Nikžentaitis says “all these discussions show that in Lithuania deep-rooted processes in our own understanding of who we are as Lithuanians”.²⁸⁹ MP Zingeris also delves into the tensions between authenticity and history of dependence by pointing to the West, asking rhetorically “why do so unwillingly draw from humanitarian experience in the West, which we are connected with in strong unions, not only economical but also militarily, but firstly, alliances of values”. In the West, he writes, the states form a clear and principled position “after extensive discussions” – ie, rational approach – which leaves “Kremlin’s propagandists” empty handed, thus finishing the discourse knot with Lithuania’s ontological security threat²⁹⁰.

4.2.3 Fear of repeat behaviour of Soviets and/or Russia

This mimicry strand focuses on the fears of repeating, or appearing to repeat, the behaviour of the former colonisers – ie the Soviet Union or its successor state Russia. This, again, highlights the postcolonial condition, whereby people are aiming to shed the colonised psyche. This embedded fear of mimicry, defined by Moore as one of the conditions of postcoloniality²⁹¹, is observed in multiple fragments.

Suggestions by President Gitanas Nausėda to have coordinate historical memory approach in Lithuania after Noreika/Škirpa protests “in such truly painful and sensitive questions over our history”²⁹² has been met by allegations of acting like Russia – “welcome to Putin’s Russia, President,”²⁹³ writes publicist and journalist Remigijus Valatka. Rimvydas Petraukas, professor at VU’s history faculty, also says that regulating historical memory in the wake of Noreika and Škirpa controversies is not the route that “democratic, liberal states” would take.²⁹⁴ The removal of memorials has “nothing to do with liberal values”²⁹⁵, adds Viktorija Čmilytė-Nielsen, the head of

²⁸⁹ Lukrecijus Tubys, “Konfliktas dėl J.Noreikos ir K.Škirpos – gilus, be greitos pabaigos, bet reikalingas.” *15min*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/konfliktas-del-j-noreikos-ir-k-skirpos-gilus-be-greitos-pabaigos-bet-reikalingas-56-1186278?copied%20%E2%80%9E&copied>

²⁹⁰ Markas Zingeris, “Markas Zingeris. Suklijuoti memorialinę lentą paprasčiau negu dūžtantį Lietuvos įvaizdį.” *DELFI*, April 26, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/markas-zingeris-suklijuoti-memorialine-lenta-paprasciau-nesgu-duztanti-lietuvos-ivaizdi.d?id=81012477>

²⁹¹ Moore

²⁹² Milena Andrukaitytė, BNS, “Nausėda: neturi būti kelių skirtingų politikų jautriais istorijos klausimais.” *LRT*, August 3, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1084875/nauseda-neturi-buti-keliu-skirtingu-politiku-jautriais-istorijos-klausimais>

²⁹³ Laura Adomavičienė, “Sukritikavo Nausėdos idėją dėl atminimo lentelių: taip elgiasi Rytų kaimynai.” *LRT*, August 14, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1088182/sukritikavo-nausedos-ideja-del-atminimo-lenteliu-taip-elgiasi-rytu-kaimynai>

²⁹⁴ Lauryna Vireliūnaitė, “Kultūros forume Gitanas Nausėda išgirdo: neturėtų būti tokių dalykų kaip vieninga istorijos politika.” *15min*, September 9, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/kulturos-forume-gitanas-nauseda-igirdo-neturetu-buti-tokiu-dalyku-kaip-vieninga-istorijos-politika-56-1199656?copied&copied>

²⁹⁵ *15min*, “Buvę bendražygiai atsisuko prieš R.Šimašų: kaltina galios žaidimais.” *15min*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/buve-bendrazygiai-atsisuko-pries-r-simasiu-kaltina-galios-zaidimais-56-1186136?copied&copied>

the Liberal faction of the Seimas and then the leader of the parliamentary opposition. According to Bernardas Gailius, the slogan “Lithuania for Lithuanians” allegedly at the core of Noreika and Škirpa supporters is the same as “Russia for Russians”.²⁹⁶

“I don’t know a civilised country, where such [memory] politics would not be done,”²⁹⁷ writes Diana Stomienė, member of Vilnius City Council and Vice-Chair of the Freedom and Justice Party. She adds that it depends on whether it is done by finding consensus in the society, or following orders from “the leaders” (she uses the term in a diminutive way). Although indirectly, she references “nesting orientalisms”²⁹⁸ by invoking mimicry – will Lithuania act in a civilised, ie Western, way, or eastern, ie Russian, where a leader gives binding orders. American historian and author Timothy Snyder says “the whole discourse in Eastern Europe would benefit if the use of the word ‘hero’ would stop [as] it was inherited from the Soviet Union”²⁹⁹, thus hinting at the embedded mimicry tensions in the desire of heroic figures. Valdemaras Klumbys, historian and lecturer at VU, writes that many “patriotically minded people [...] simply fear our history”³⁰⁰, invoking the fear of mimicry of former colonisers, saying that history will become politicised and “party” controlled.

4.3 Silent resistance and ‘good versus bad’ collaboration

Although the silent resistance myth is not expressed as clearly as in the Cvirka case study, it has also been noted in a number of discourse fragments, usually where it is linked in a discursive knot with whether the collaboration was ‘good’, ie in the name of Lithuania, or ‘bad’ in that it favoured the occupiers. These labels are applied in the discourse to both Soviet collaboration and Nazi collaboration by deeming it ‘good’ or ‘bad’, interchangeably.

TS-LKD MP Laurynas Kasčiūnas says that by removing the plaque, the mayor could not separate “occupiers and collaborators,” ie those working with the Soviets, “and people who tried to save Lithuania’s independence under extremely difficult circumstances”³⁰¹, ie those who worked

²⁹⁶ Bernardas Gailius, “Bernardas Gailius. Kelk, lietuvi, galvą į Rusiją.” *15min*, December 18, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/bernardas-gailius-kelk-lietuvi-galva-i-rusija.d?id=83067387>

²⁹⁷ Diana Stomienė., “Diana Stomienė. Pašlovinti, suniekinti, užmiršti? Istorinė atmintis ir „dzin liberalizmas“.” *LRT*, September 8, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1227006/diana-stomiene-paslovinti-suniekinti-uzmirsti-istorine-atmintis-ir-dzin-liberalizmas>

²⁹⁸ Petrović and Fassman cited from Andělová

²⁹⁹ Hans H. Luik, Kadri Veermäe, “Amerikiečių istorikas: Rusija suteikia užuominų, kokia kryptimi viskas klostysis kitur.” *DELFI*, November 27, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/amerikieciu-istorikas-rusija-suteikia-uzuominu-kokia-kryptimi-viskas-klostysis-kitur.d?id=82861679>

³⁰⁰ Valdemaras Klumbys, “Valdemaras Klumbys. Istorijos baimė.” *LRT*, February 24, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1351170/valdemaras-klumbys-istorijos-baime-i>

³⁰¹ Tomas Vaitelė, BNS, “Po Šimašiaus akibrokšto – audringa Landsbergio ir Kasčiūno reakcija: meras atminimo lentą turi sugrąžinti.” *DELFI*, July 27, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/po-simasiaus-akibroksto-audringa-landsbergio-ir-kasciuno-reakcija-meras-atminimo-lenta-turi-sugrazinti.d?id=81838899>

‘for Lithuania’ under the Nazi occupation. He thus calls on the mayor “to get rid of the signs glorifying the real collaborators”³⁰². The dichotomy between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ collaboration has been discussed in depth by publicist Tomas Daugirdas, who writes that the state-funded Lithuania’s Genocide and Resistance Research Centre (LGGRTC) uses “arguments that neutralise the evil of collaboration”³⁰³ when discussing Noreika, laying the ground for “evaluating [Nazi] collaboration as a sort of resistance”. Daugirdas writes that “silently agreeing on what was Soviet collaboration, attaching most of it to national ‘resistance’, we run headfirst into a situation, which needs a different interpretation of collaboration”³⁰⁴. Meanwhile, historian Darius Indrišionis merges the two different case studies by saying Cvirka was “no Škirpa or Noreika of the left”, subsequently invoking the silent resistance myth in the latter two figures who “truly fought for Lithuania, maybe a certain type, but Lithuania, while Cvirka saw and wanted no Lithuania”³⁰⁵. MP Valdas Rakutis from TS-LKD questions whether it was Škirpa and Vėtra who “took over the terrible idas”³⁰⁶ of the Nazis, added that it was not them. He paints a picture of the ‘antiheroes’ who were complicit in the Holocaust – “there were different people, often uneducated, with a tendency to feel important after receiving a weapon, sometimes strongly affected by the Soviet repressions in 1941, sometimes blindly following orders.”³⁰⁷ He adds that the Nazi collaborators “were similar to Stribai”, the Lithuanian Soviet collaborators. “In the minds of the society, up until now the Nazi occupation is visibly seen more positively than the Soviet occupation,” writes Valdemaras Klumbys, historian and lecturer at VU. “But if Noreika and Škirpa cooperating with Nazis are seen as working in the name of the nation, then why does it not apply to those who cooperated with the Soviets?”³⁰⁸ Historian Indrišionis took a different approach and applies the silent resistance myth to both Noreika and Škirpa as well as Cvirka – “Arguing that more communists were Lithuanian, they would say that ‘those Lithuanian communists often worked for the good of the Lithuanian people’. It’s pointless asking them about Škirpa and Vėtra – for these people they are unmistakably heroes, because they were Lithuanian. And Cvirka is also bearable – because he was a good writer. And also a Lithuanian.”³⁰⁹

Drawing an equalising line, publicist and journalist Rimvydas Valatka writes in reference to Cvirka and Noreika/Škirpa that “old uncles are still trying to say how one is [...] better than the

³⁰² ELTA. *Grupė Seimo narių ragina nekeisti*

³⁰³ Daugirdas, *Bėda su sqvokomis*

³⁰⁴ Daugirdas

³⁰⁵ Indrišionis, *Istorijos teismas*

³⁰⁶ Valdas Rakutis, “Valdas Rakutis. Tarptautinė Holokausto diena ir istorinė atmintis.” *LRT*, January 27, 2021.

<https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1329389/valdas-rakutis-tarptautine-holokausto-diena-ir-istorine-atmintis>

³⁰⁷ Rakutis

³⁰⁸ Valdemaras Klumbys, “Valdemaras Klumbys. Ar Lietuvai reikia istorikų?” *LRT*, December 3, 2020.

<https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1290941/valdemaras-klumbys-ar-lietuvai-reikia-istoriku>

³⁰⁹ Indrišionis, *Paslėpkite nuo tėvukų Šapokos „Istorija“*

other”³¹⁰, naming them all as “collaborators” and that “we all would like to see heroes, but sometimes we manufacture these heroes inorganically”³¹¹. Vilnius Mayor Remigijus Šimašius also says Noreika, Škirpa, and Cvirka all “crossed the [collaboration] line.”³¹² Poet Tomas Venclova argues that the good versus bad collaboration dichotomy is “false”, adding that “political forces that take part in justification [of collaboration] does big damage to Lithuania”³¹³. Venclova says that actions by Noreika and Škirpa are “the same, or even worse, like signing an order to deport Lithuanians to Siberia”, adding that Lithuanian “prestige” has suffered internationally.³¹⁴

These discourse fragments have revealed how the collaboration is approached differently by various actors – from claiming one type of collaboration was better and done ‘in the name of Lithuania’, or worse. Some have also drawn an equalising line between the three figures, saying that both Holocaust complicity and Soviet collaboration are the same. At the core of these tensions, however, lies the postcolonial condition, explained by one of the key pillars based on put forth by Vytautas Rubavičius: the myth of “silent resistance”³¹⁵, and the tensions over which, if any, *collaboration* was in fact *resistance*.

4.4 Minor strands

4.4.1 Self-orientalism

Self-orientalism, the understanding and judging of one selves through Western gaze³¹⁶ as well as the internalisation of the orientalist point of view by individuals or institutions³¹⁷, is also present in the discussions surrounding Noreika/Škirpa. Linas Linkevičius, the then foreign ministry, connects the irrationality versus rationality argument at the centre of orientalism by saying that “we need to honestly talk it out, speaking in the language of arguments, and not

³¹⁰Rimvydas Valatka, “Rimvydas Valatka. Ir didvyrių, ir tautos priešų vardai – greitai ir pigiai.” *LRT*, November 18, 2015. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/119961/rimvydas-valatka-ir-didvyriu-ir-tautos-priesu-wardai-greitai-ir-pigiai>

³¹¹Edmundas Jakilaitis, “Žydu bendruomenė ir intelektualai lieka neišgirsti: Vilniaus meras nesiryžta priimti sprendimo.” *DELFI*, September 19, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/zydu-bendruomene-ir-intelektualai-lieka-neisgirsti-vilniaus-meras-nesiryzta-priimti-sprendimo.d?id=79108957>

³¹²Violeta Grigaliūnaitė, “R.Šimašius po lentos generolui Vėtrai nuėmimo: neliks ir lentos V.Valsiūnienei, ir paminklo P.Cvirkai.” *15min*, July 29, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/15min-studijoje-del-nakti-nuimtos-lentos-j-noreikai-priverstas-teisintis-vilniaus-meras-r-simasius-56-1180684?copied>

³¹³15min, “Tomas Venclova: „Škirpa nusipelnė gatvės ne daugiau negu Paleckis.” *15min*, November 30, 2016. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/istorija/tomas-venclova-skirpa-nusipelne-gatves-ne-daugiau-negu-paleckis-582-719614?copied&copied>

³¹⁴Mindaugas Jackevičius, “T. Venclova perspėja dėl pražūtingų užuomazgų ir ilgam pakirsto Lietuvos prestižo.” *LRT*, September 25, 2018. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/227989/t-venclova-perspeja-del-prazutingu-uzuomazgu-ir-ilgam-pakirsto-lietuvos-prestizo>

³¹⁵Rubavičius, *A Soviet Experience of Our Own..*

³¹⁶Okmeydan

³¹⁷Özdemir

emotions”³¹⁸. According to VU history faculty lecturer and doctor Norbertas Černiauskas, “it is a Lithuanian characteristic, to say that it was better before”, highlighting the orientalist self-depiction of irrationality. He also hints at decolonisation, saying the young generation “use new arguments”³¹⁹. Algimantas Černiauskas, a painter, stabs at the perceived absurdity of renaming Škirpa street to Tricolour street, saying that “when will we finally be able to rename Cvirka square as “beekeeping farm”, underlining self-orientalism, the mock monument would “invite city guests to try sweet goodies on these fringes of the world”³²⁰.

5.0 Conclusion

I have demonstrated that signs of Lithuania’s postcolonial condition are found at the core of ontological insecurity that stems from traumatic Soviet and Holocaust heritage and results in clashes over collective memory

To summarise, this work has shown that the discourse in the media contains multiple strands that highlight this postcoloniality. The myth of “silent resistance” has highlighted how postcoloniality guides discussions surrounding collaboration with the Soviets, and is also used as a reference point in the Holocaust complicity discourse. Meanwhile, the desire for a mythic set of heroes, defined by Moore as one of the postcolonial conditions, has been a key factor affecting the foundations of ontological security, dealing a blow to societal cohesion and resulting in street protests. The embedded fears in mimicking the behaviours of former colonisers has also influenced discussions over collective memory to a large extent. Crucially, I believe the key pillar surrounding “tensions between the desire for autonomy and a history of dependence”³²¹ is the one that can apply universally to both the traumatic Soviet as well as Holocaust memory. Discussions on how to deal with contentious legacy often displayed the “desire to replace one homogenising view of the world with another”³²². However, in the case of memory surrounding Holocaust complicity, the discourse strand was in a knot and split between internalising the West-centric memory, or “decolonising”³²³ from it and pushing Lithuania’s historical narrative west.

³¹⁸ Milena Andrukaitytė, BNS, “Sprendžiant dėl atminties ženklų Linkevičius ragina remtis ekspertų nuomone.” *DELFI*, July 31, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/sprendziant-del-atminties-zenklu-linkevicius-ragina-remtis-ekspertu-nuomone.d?id=81865973>

³¹⁹ Paulius Gritėnas, “Istorikas N.Černiauskas: „Bijau, kad šimtmečio minėjimas netaptų vienos dienos ar dvidešimties pavardžių švente.” *15min*, November 20, 2017. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/istorija/istorikas-norbertas-cerniauskas-bijau-kad-simtmecio-minejimas-netaptu-vienos-dienos-ar-dvidesimties-pavardziu-svente-582-884130?copied&copied>

³²⁰ Algimantas Černiauskas, “Algimantas Černiauskas. Kalinys. Socrealizmas dabar. Dailininko komentaras.” *LRT*, June 8, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1427327/algimantas-cerniauskas-kalinys-socrealizmas-dabar-dailininko-komentaras>

³²¹ Moore

³²² Salumets

³²³ Mälksoo, *The Memory Politics of Becoming European*

Ultimately, the findings answer the question posed by the thesis – how do signs of the country’s postcolonial condition manifest through collective memory discourses? The highlighted manifestations of postcoloniality thus leads to a conclusion that Lithuania is in a postcolonial condition. Therefore, the theory is a valid tool in analysing collective memory and ontological security issues.

The volume of findings, especially dealing with ontological security, was considerably smaller in the Cvirka case study, potentially showing that the Noreika and Škirpa cases carried more weight in the country’s ontological security. Although this presumption would have to be analysed further, which is outside the scope of this paper, the findings indicate that the removal of the Cvirka statue did not produce nearly as much public discourse in the media.

In the Noreika case, when crowds rallied to ‘protect the heroes’, they may have also sought to ‘heal’ and ‘defend’ those traumatised by the Soviet colonisation, thus linking postcoloniality to collective trauma – “the wellbeing of traumatised people depends heavily on the overall atmosphere in the society”³²⁴. Namely, it’s important for victims that the “society recognises traumas and seeks justice”, which encourages the “healing of scars”.³²⁵ Similarly, it may help explain why ontological insecurity invokes such an emotional – or even physical – response. This bodily reaction also points to the postcoloniality buried within – “it’s probably difficult to accept that we were humiliated, suffered abuses, but also took part in the abusive [Soviet] regime.”³²⁶ Thus, the clues as to why the society finds it difficult to internalise, or even approach, its postcoloniality and the embedded colonial violence in its collective psyche is also related to trauma. This, argues Gailienė, continues to be passed down to the younger generation, which displays signs of self-destructive behaviour as a way to suppress the “psychological pain”.

I believe the explored cases provided a sufficient snapshot into how postcoloniality shapes and influences the ongoing clashes over historical memory. The disputes also stretch to cover other objects and figures, including those under the umbrellas of collaboration with both the Communist and Nazi regimes. Traces of similar discourse may also extend to the other Baltic states, Estonia and Latvia, as well as various post-Soviet countries, as already explored by authors including Subotić.

As expressed by Moore, the postcolonial lens in the post-Soviet space may not be as important when/if judging “whether place X ‘is postcolonial or not’, but rather to cause them to ask if postcolonial hermeneutics might add richness to studies of place or literature X or Y or Z”³²⁷. In this case, I would argue that adding postcoloniality could help study, process and find new ways of dealing with a contentious past. Perhaps there is less use for initiating public discussions on

³²⁴ Gailienė

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Moore

postcolonialism in Lithuania, but the theory may be better suited to helping understand that some processes inevitably arise (insecurity in historical memory, the search for heroes, the fears of mimicry, et al) and why.

5.1 Recommendations

I believe postcolonial theory can form the basis of extended discussions over collective memory clashes. “Naming and understanding the past – be it as occupation, Soviet, colonial, or postcolonial – is important for the creation of both national and personal identity,”³²⁸ according to Vytautas Rubavičius, which he names as one of the routes to “grasp the past” and deal with traumatic experiences. The ability to include postcolonialism in discussions surrounding collective memory and trauma may now be more viable than before, as the third generation after disastrous events is able to take a more active stance in dealing with them – “they are still bonded to the (post)memories, yet being more distanced from this party, they have the courage to ask questions or seek for reconciliation instead of avoiding or neglecting it.”³²⁹

Adding the postcolonial lens that may help *understand* the roots of ontological anxieties. Understanding them can thus lead to a better response – either by internalising or defusing them, or using other means that are beyond the scope of this paper. According to Mälksoo, “as ontological anxiety is, to an extent, quite simply inevitable, it would be wiser to acknowledge and come to terms with it, instead of entertaining a pipe dream of a perfectly ‘securable’ identity and its beholder’s historical memory”³³⁰.

An interdisciplinary approach combining research into collective memory and trauma, ontological security, and postcolonialism could lead to a more fruitful discussion on how to deal with contentious past, potentially moving beyond the current dichotomies of ‘good versus bad’ collaboration, keeping/destroying monuments, enabling/avoiding discussions, resisting/internalising different narratives, etc. This could be just one of many examples for a potential path forward that may become the focus of further studies.

“Reliving the past, or being nostalgic about it, is not helpful in either the personal or the collective quest. One needs to go back, individually and collectively, to remember history,

³²⁸ Rubavičius, *A Soviet Experience of Our Own*

³²⁹ Margaret Tali and Ieva Astahovska, “Exploring alternative ways of commemorating long-silenced traumas.” *Baltic Worlds*, Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (CBEES), Södertörn University, Vol. XIII:4. December 2020.

³³⁰ Mälksoo, “‘Memory Must Be Defended’: Beyond the Politics of Mnemonical Security.” *Security Dialogue*, 46, no. 3, June 2015, 221–37.

to face guilt and trauma, to piece it all together. But one needs to maintain a strong foothold in the present while doing that. This is the juggling act of the postcolonial identity.”³³¹

6.0 List of literature

1. 15min, „Pro Patria“ siūlo P.Cvirkos vietoje statyti paminklą J.Lukšai-Daumantui.” *15min*, August 25, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/naujienos/pro-patria-siulo-p-cvirkos-vietoje-statyti-paminkla-j-luksai-daumantui-1104-1554664?copied&copied>
2. 15min, „Buvę bendražygiai atsisuko prieš R.Šimašių: kaltina galios žaidimais.” *15min*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/buve-bendrazygiai-atsisuko-pries-r-simasiu-kaltina-galios-zaidimais-56-1186136?copied&copied>
3. 15min, „Dailės kritikų asociacija: sprendimas nutraukti renginį prie P.Cvirkos paminklo riboja raiškos laisvę mene.” *15min*, November 24, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/vizualieji-menai/dailes-kritiku-asociacija-sprendimas-nutraukti-rengini-prie-p-cvirkos-paminklo-riboja-raiskos-laisve-mene-929-1602796?copied&copied>
4. 15min, „Tomas Venclova: „Škirpa nusipelnė gatvės ne daugiau negu Paleckis.” *15min*, November 30, 2016. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/istorija/tomas-venclova-skirpa-nusipelne-gatves-ne-daugiau-negu-paleckis-582-719614?copied&copied>
5. Algimantas Čekuolis, „Algimantas Čekuolis. Dar ne visi liudininkai mire.” *LRT*, October 4, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1101249/algimantas-cekuolis-dar-ne-visi-liudininkai-mire>
6. Algimantas Černiauskas, „Algimantas Černiauskas. Kaip įamžinti konfliktą ir pabrėžti dramą istorinių asmenybių atminimo šviesoje. Ir tamsoje taip pat.” *LRT*, December 5, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1122680/algimantas-cerniauskas-kaip-iamzinti-konflikta-ir-pabrezti-drama-istoriniu-asmenybiu-atminimo-sviesoje-ir-tamsoje-taip-pat>
7. Algimantas Černiauskas, „Algimantas Černiauskas. Kalinys. Socrealizmas dabar. Dailininko komentaras.” *LRT*, June 8, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1427327/algimantas-cerniauskas-kalinys-socrealizmas-dabar-dailininko-komentaras>
8. Almantas Samalavičius, „Lithuanian Prose and Decolonization: Rediscovery of the Body.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 409–428.
9. Almantas Samalavičius, „Viešosios atminties nepatogumai: Leninas – Žaliasis tiltas – Cvirka.” *15min*, June 28, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/naujienos/viesosios-atminties-nepatogumai-leninas-zaliasis-tiltas-cvirka-1104-1526258?copie&copied>
10. Alvydas Nikžentaitis, „Alvydas Nikžentaitis: Nuo L.Giros iki Generolo Vėtros – paminklinių ženklų šalinimo vėjus ir Lietuvos istorijos politikos klystkeliai.” *15min*, July 27, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/komentarai/alvydas-nikzentaitis-nuo-l-giros-iki-generolo-vetros-paminkliniu-zenklu-salinimo-vajus-ir-lietuvas-istorijos-politikos-klystkeliai-500-1180320?copied&copied>
11. Andrius Balčiūnas, „Lietuva vėl skamba pasaulyje: Jono Noreikos anūkė priekaištauja šaliai dėl bandymų nutylėti Holokausto istoriją.” *LRT*, April 21, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pasaulyje/6/1392532/lietuva-vel-skamba-pasaulyje-jono-noreikos-anuke-priekaištauja-saliai-del-bandymu-nutyleti-holokausto-istorija>
12. Andrius Jakučiūnas, „Andrius Jakučiūnas: Neteisingų argumentų kaina, arba Kokia liga kankina Vilniaus savivaldybės ideologus.” *15min*, December 17, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/asmenybe/andrius-jakuciunas-neteisingu-argumentu-kaina-arba-kokia-liga-kankina-vilniaus-savivaldybes-ideologus-285-1247860?copied&copied>
13. Andrius Jakučiūnas, „Andrius Jakučiūnas: Neteisingų argumentų kaina, arba Kokia liga kankina Vilniaus savivaldybės ideologus.” *15min*, December 17, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/asmenybe/andrius-jakuciunas-neteisingu-argumentu-kaina-arba-kokia-liga-kankina-vilniaus-savivaldybes-ideologus-285-1247860?copied&copied>
14. Andrius Navickas, „Andrius Navickas: Kada mūsų širdyse užgis okupacijų žaidžios?” *15min*, August 21, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/nuomones/andrius-navickas-kada-musu-sirdyse-uzgis-okupaciju-zaidzios-18-1190966?copied&copied>

³³¹ Inta Ezergailis, „Postcolonial Subjectivity in Latvia: Some Signs in Literature.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 331–358.

15. Angelė Jakavonytė, Petras Musteikis, Andrius Tučkus, Vidmantas Samys, “Viešas kreipimasis dėl įtampos visuomenėje didinimo.” *LRT*, May 2, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1055101/viesas-kreipimasis-del-itamos-visuomeneje-didinimo>
16. Anne Ellerup Nielsen and Hanne Nørreklit, "A discourse analysis of the disciplinary power of management coaching." *Society and Business Review*, Vol. 4 No. 3, 2016, 202-214.
17. Arnas Mazėtis, “Istorikas sureagavo į Zuroffo komentarus audrą: kiek mums yra svarbu, ką apie mūsų herojų kažkas kažkur pasakė.” *DELFI*, May 8, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/istorikas-sureagavo-i-zuroffo-komentaru-audra-kiek-mums-yra-svarbu-ka-apie-musu-heroju-kazkas-kazkur-pasake.d?id=81114655>
18. Arnas Mazėtis, “Vytautas Landsbergis: žmogus, kuris atidavė galvą už Lietuvą, nėra Lietuvos priešas.” *DELFI*, July 29, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/vytautas-landsbergis-zmogus-kuris-atidave-galva-uz-lietuva-nera-lietuvos-priesas.d?id=81850515>
19. Artūras Zuokas, “Artūras Zuokas. Vilniaus oro uosto plėtra – pasaka be galo.” *LRT*, October 1, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1509648/arturas-zuokas-vilniaus-oro-uosto-pletra-pasaka-be-galo>
20. Arvydas Juozaitis, “Arvydas Juozaitis. Chamas, barbaras, vandalas – deputatas?” *DELFI*, April 9, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/arvydas-juozaitis-chamas-barbaras-vandalas-deputatas.d?id=80853285>
21. Audris Narbutas, “Audris Narbutas. Ko verta Rusijos pergalė istorinės atminties lauke?” *DELFI*, February 21, 2021. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/audris-narbutas-ko-verta-rusijos-pergale-istorines-atminties-lauke.d?id=86419541>
22. Audrius Matonis, “Istorikė: skatinčiau ne komunistinių skulptūrų draudimus, o švietimą.” *LRT*, February 17, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/243902/istorike-skatinčiau-ne-komunistiniu-skulpturu-draudimus-o-svietima>
23. Audrys Antanaitis, “Audrys Antanaitis. Atviras laiškas Rimvydui Valatkei.” *DELFI*, June 30, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/audrys-antanaitis-atviras-laiskas-rimvydui-valatkei.d?id=84656877>
24. Austėja Masiokaitė-Liubinienė, BNS, “Prieš 80-metį įvykęs Birželio sukilimas: pasak istorikų, negalima jo tapyti vien šviesiomis ar vien juodomis spalvomis.” *LRT*, June 21, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1436606/pries-80-meti-ivykes-birzelio-sukilimas-pasak-istoriku-negalima-jo-tapyti-vien-sviesiomis-ar-vien-juodomis-spalvomis>
25. Ayşe Zarakol, “States and ontological security: A historical rethinking.” *Cooperation and Conflict*, 52(1), 2017, 8-68.
26. BBC, “‘I, Russian Occupier’: The hit propaganda film.” *BBC*, March 5, 2015. <https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-31715389>
27. Beatričė Bankauskaitė, “Įpaminklinta Lietuva: griaudami norime spręsti senas problemas, statydami iš jų nesivaduojame.” *15min*, June 6, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/ipaminklinta-lietuva-griaudami-norime-spresti-senas-problemas-statydami-is-ju-nesivaduojame-56-1512618?copied&copied>
28. Benas Brunalas, ELTA, “Seimo pirmininkė palaiko Kairio iniciatyvą dėl Cvirkos paminklo: šio klausimo išsprendimas sulauktų didelio palaikymo.” *LRT*, June 2, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1423054/seimo-pirmininke-palaiko-kairio-iniciatyva-del-cvirkos-paminklo-sio-klausimo-issprendimas-sulauktu-didelio-palaikymo>
29. Benas Brunalas, ELTA, Jūratė Skėrytė, BNS, “Vilniuje surengtos kontroversiškos tautininkų eitynės.” *LRT*, March 11, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1150539/vilniuje-surengtos-kontroversiskos-tautininku-eitynes>
30. Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 1991.
31. Benjamin Forest and Juliet Johnson. “Unraveling the Threads of History: Soviet-Era Monuments and Post-Soviet National Identity in Moscow.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 92, no. 3. 2002, 524–47.
32. Bernardas Gailius, “Bernardas Gailius. Jono Noreikos ir Kazio Škirpos problema – fašizmas.” *DELFI*, July 29, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/bernardas-gailius-jono-noreikos-ir-kazio-skirpos-problema-fasizmas.d?id=81849217>
33. Bernardas Gailius, “Bernardas Gailius. Kelk, lietuvi, galvą į Rusiją.” *15min*, December 18, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/bernardas-gailius-kelk-lietuvi-galva-i-rusija.d?id=83067387>
34. BNS, “L. Linkevičius ragina nedelsti nukelti J. Noreikos atminimo lentą.” *LRT*, September 19, 2018. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/227442/l-linkevicius-ragina-nedelsti-nukelti-j-noreikos-atminimo-lenta>
35. BNS, LRT.lt, “Political fallout continues after protesters reinstall Noreika plaque.” *LRT English*, September 6, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1095278/political-fallout-continues-after-protesters-reinstall-noreika-plaque>

36. Cudi Kaan Okmeydan, "Orientalism in Turkish Political Election Campaigns." Book: Işıl Tombul and Sarı Gülşah (eds.), *Handbook of Research on Contemporary Approaches to Orientalism in Media and Beyond*. Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2021, 470-485.
37. Cudi Kaan Okmeydan, "Orientalism in Turkish Political Election Campaigns." Book: Işıl Tombul and Sarı Gülşah (eds.), *Handbook of Research on Contemporary Approaches to Orientalism in Media and Beyond*. Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2021, 470-485.
38. Dalia Cidzikaitė, "Searching for National Allegories in Lithuanian Prose: Saulius Tomas Kondrotas's "The Slow Birth of Nation."" Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 291–307.
39. Dalia Cidzikaitė, "Postcolonialism in Lithuania: suspicious or acceptable?" *Kultūros barai*. Nr. 2, 2008, 7-11.
40. Dalia Staponkutė, "Dalia Staponkutė. Palyginti nepalyginama: Konstantino Kavafio barbarai ir Petro Cvirkos krukeliai." *LRT*, June 21, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1436423/dalia-staponkute-palyginti-nepalyginama-konstantino-kavafio-barbarai-ir-petro-cvirkos-krukeliai>
41. Dalius Stancikas, "Dalius Stancikas. Kaip išnarplioti Šimašiaus mazgą." *DELFI*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/dalius-stancikas-kaip-isnarplioti-simasiaus-mazga.d?id=81943499>
42. Danutė Gailienė, *Ką jie mums padarė. Lietuvos gyvenimas traumų psichologijos žvilgsniu*. Tyto alba, 2021.
43. Darius Indrišionis, "Darius Indrišionis. Kiek bus verta tiesa, jei ji nebebus tiesa?" *LRT*, February 16, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1344752/darius-indrisionis-kiek-bus-verta-tiesa-jei-ji-nebebus-tiesa>
44. Darius Indrišionis, "Darius Indrišionis. Nugriaukime paminklą Cvirkai ir pastatykime ... Frankui Krukui." *LRT*, February 19, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1144052/darius-indrisionis-nugriaukime-paminkla-cvirkai-ir-pastatykime-frankui-krukui>
45. Darius Indrišionis, "Darius Indrišionis. Paspėkite nuo tėvukų Šapokos „Istoriją“. Bent prieš rinkimus." *LRT*, February 26, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1146325/darius-indrisionis-pasplekite-nuo-tevuku-sapokos-istorija-bent-pries-rinkimus>
46. Darius Indrišionis, "Darius Indrišionis. Paspėkite nuo tėvukų Šapokos „Istoriją“. Bent prieš rinkimus." *LRT*, February 26, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1146325/darius-indrisionis-pasplekite-nuo-tevuku-sapokos-istorija-bent-pries-rinkimus>
47. Darius Indrišionis, "Darius Indrišionis. Trispalvė nėra indulgencija." *LRT*, January 6, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1130679/darius-indrisionis-trispalve-nera-indulgencija>
48. Darius Indrišionis. "Darius Indrišionis. Istorijos teismas neturi aukščiausios instancijos." *LRT*, September 27, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1503397/darius-indrisionis-istorijos-teismas-neturi-auksciausios-instancijos>
49. Darius Indrišionis. "Darius Indrišionis. Lietuvos, kurios (ne)diskutuoja." *LRT*, September 1, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1220433/darius-indrisionis-lietuvos-kurios-ne-diskutuoja>
50. David Chioni Moore, "Is the Post- in Postcolonial the Post- in Post-Soviet? Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique." *Special Topic: Globalizing Literary Studies*, PMLA, Vol. 116, No. 1, January 2001, 111-128.
51. Diana Stomienė, "Diana Stomienė. Pašlovinti, suniekinti, užmiršti? Istorinė atmintis ir „dzin liberalizmas“." *LRT*, September 8, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1227006/diana-stomienė-paslovinti-suniekinti-uzmirsti-istorine-atmintis-ir-dzin-liberalizmas>
52. Domantė Platūkytė, "„Nacio anūkė“. Generolo Vėtros vaikaitė – apie senelio nuodėmes ir pareigą atskleisti tiesą." *LRT*, November 4, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1531833/nacio-anuke-generolo-vetros-vaikaite-apie-senelio-nuodemes-ir-pareiga-atskleisti-tiesa>
53. Domantė Platūkytė, "Tomas Venclova prisiminė Generolo Vėtros istoriją: skandalai neišvengiami, kol bus nacių kolaborantų gynėjų." *LRT*, February 21, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1144642/tomas-venclova-prisimine-generolo-vetros-istorija-skandalai-neisvengiami-kol-bus-naciu-kolaborantu-gyneju>
54. Domantė Platūkytė, "Women partisans among Lithuania's Forest Brothers: from lovers to fighters." *LRT English*, September 12, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1227079/women-partisans-among-lithuania-s-forest-brothers-from-lovers-to-fighters>
55. Donatas Puslys, "Donatas Puslys. Paplūdimys kaip mūsų laisvės ribos?" *LRT*, June 23, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1191001/donatas-puslys-papludimys-kaip-musu-laisves-ribos>
56. Donatas Puslys, "Donatas Puslys. Paplūdimys kaip mūsų laisvės ribos?" *LRT*, June 23, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1191001/donatas-puslys-papludimys-kaip-musu-laisves-ribos>
57. Dovilas Petkus, "Dovilas Petkus. Valstybingumo šimtmečio proga – kaltinimai šaudžius žydus." *DELFI*, July 23, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/dovilas-petkus-valstybingumo-simtmecio-proga-kaltinimai-saudzius-zydus.d?id=78640523>
58. Dovilas Petkus, "Dovilas Petkus. Valstybingumo šimtmečio proga – kaltinimai šaudžius žydus." *DELFI*, July 23, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/dovilas-petkus-valstybingumo-simtmecio-proga-kaltinimai-saudzius-zydus.d?id=78640523>

59. Dovile Budrytė, “Decolonization of Trauma and Memory Politics: Insights from Eastern Europe.” *Humanities*. 5(1):7, 2016.
60. Duncan Ivison. "Postcolonialism". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Nov 10, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/postcolonialism>.
61. Edmundas Jakilaitis, “Landsbergis valdžios veiksmus lygina su Rusijos veikimu: jiems svarbu bet kokia kaina išlaikyti daugumą, kad tik jų bijotų.” *DELFI*, December 18, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/landsbergis-valdzios-veiksmus-lygina-su-rusijos-veikimu-jiems-svarbu-bet-kokia-kaina-islaikyti-dauguma-kad-tik-ju-bijotu.d?id=83081691>
62. Edmundas Jakilaitis, “Žydų bendruomenė ir intelektualai lieka neišgirsti: Vilniaus meras nesiryžta priimti sprendimo.” *DELFI*, September 19, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/zydu-bendruomene-ir-intelektualai-lieka-neisgirsti-vilniaus-meras-nesiryzta-priimti-sprendimo.d?id=79108957>
63. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
64. Eleonora Budzinauskienė, ELTA, “„Nacionalinis susivienijimas“ kaltina Lietuvos kultūros tarybą lėšų švaistymu.” *LRT*, August 24, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1218360/nacionalinis-susivienijimas-kaltina-lietuvos-kulturos-taryba-lesu-svaistymu>
65. Elisabeth Kovtiak, “Bringing Back the silenced memories: (un)official commemorations of the Holocaust in Belarus.” *Baltic Worlds*, February 15, 2021. <https://balticworlds.com/bringing-back-the-silenced-memories/>
66. ELTA, “Grupė Seimo narių ragina nekeisti Škirpos alėjos pavadinimo.” *DELFI*, July 4, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/grupe-seimo-nariu-ragina-nekeisti-skirpos-alejos-pavadinimo.d?id=81638455>
67. Fabio Belafatti, “Lithuanian far-right walking into Putin's trap – opinion.” *LRT English*, February 23, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1142075/lithuanian-far-right-walking-into-putin-s-trap-opinion>
68. Gabija Dalekaitė, Samanta Galinaitytė, Evaldas Ignatavičius (eds.), “Dealing with the Trauma of an Undigested Past: International Conference Overview.” *Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, March 2020, Vilnius:Petro Ofsetas, 2020. https://issuu.com/lmfa/docs/dealing_with_the_trauma_of_undigested_past_confere
69. Gabrielė Rosenthal, “The Narrated Life Story: On the Interrelation Between Experience, Memory and Narration.” *Narrative, Memory & Knowledge: Representations, Aesthetics, Contexts*, University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, 2006, 1-16.
70. Geoffrey Hosking, *Rulers and Victims: The Russians in the Soviet Union*. Belknap Press, 2009.
71. Gintaras Radauskas, “Prezidento patarėja Asta Skaisgirytė: „Jei norime daryti procesams įtaką, turime kalbėtis. O įtakos norime.” *15min*, September 17, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/pasaulis/prezidento-patareja-asta-skaisgiryte-jei-norime-daryti-procesams-itaka-turime-kalbetis-o-itakos-norime-57-1203052?copied&copied>
72. Goda Krukauskienė, “Goda Krukauskienė. Škirpa vs Cvirka.” *DELFI*, July 29, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/goda-krukauskiene-Skirpa-vs-cvirka.d?id=81844891>
73. Hans H. Luik, Kadri Veermäe, “Amerikiečių istorikas: Rusija suteikia užuominų, kokia kryptimi viskas klostysis kitur.” *DELFI*, November 27, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/amerikieciu-istorikas-rusija-suteikia-uzuominiu-kokia-kryptimi-viskas-klostysis-kitur.d?id=82861679>
74. Henry F. Carey and Rafal Raciborski, “Postcolonialism: A Valid Paradigm for the Former Sovietized States and Yugoslavia?” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2004, 191–235.
75. Ignas Jačasuskas, BNS, “Sostinės taryba apsisprendė: Škirpos alėją pervadina į Trispalvės.” *LRT*, July 24, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1081731/sostines-taryba-apsisprende-skirpos-aleja-pervadina-i-trispalves>
76. Ignas Jačasuskas, BNS, LRT.lt, “Cvirkos paminklo nukėlimą stebėjo ir priešininkai, ir palaikantieji: bus švariau, bet ne taip gražu?” *LRT*, November 19, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1546530/cvirkos-paminklo-nukelima-stebejo-ir-priesininkai-ir-palaikantieji-bus-svariau-bet-ne-taip-grazu>
77. Ignas Jačasuskas, BNS. “Rašytojai: griaudami Cvirkos paminklą, dramatiškų istorijos puslapių neišbrauksime”. *LRT*. May 24, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1062510/rasytojai-griaudami-cvirkos-paminkla-dramatisku-istorijos-puslapiu-neisbrauksime>
78. Ikenna Kamalu and Ayo Osisanwo, “Discourse Analysis.” Book: Ikenna Kamalu and Isaac Tamunobelema (ed.), *Issues in the study of language and literature*, Ibadan: Kraft Books Limited, 2015.
79. Inta Ezergailis, “Postcolonial Subjectivity in Latvia: Some Signs in Literature.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 331–358.
80. Jelena Subotić, “Political memory, ontological security, and Holocaust remembrance in post-communist Europe.” *European Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 2018, 296–313
81. Jelena Subotić. “Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change.” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Volume 12, Issue 4, October 2016, 610–627

82. Jennifer Milliken, "The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods." *European Journal of International Relations*, 5, no. 2, June 1999, 225–54.
83. Jennifer Mitzen, "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma." *European Journal of International Relations*, 2006, 341-370.
84. Joana Lapėnienė, "Sovietiniai paminklai – ginklas Rusijos rankose." *LRT*, December 11, 2017. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/196288/sovietiniai-paminklai-ginklas-rusijos-rankose>
85. Joana Lapėnienė, *LRT*, "Genocido tyrimo centras: puoli vadovą, taikaisi į instituciją?" *DELFI*, October 1, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/genocido-tyrimo-centras-puoli-vadova-taikaisi-i-institucija.d?id=79195975>
86. Joana Lapėnienė, Nemira Pumprickaitė, "Ką apie J. Noreiką-Generolą Vėtrą sako LAT ir Štuthofio konclagerio dokumentai." *LRT*, November 16, 2015. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/119711/ka-apie-j-noreika-generola-ve-tra-sako-lat-ir-stuthofio-konclagerio-dokumentai>
John B. Dunlop, "Russia: Confronting a Loss of Empire, 1987-1991." *Political Science Quarterly*, 108, no. 4, 1993, 603-634.
87. John E. Tunbridge and Gregory J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1996.
88. Jūratė Skėrytė, BNS. "Kairys sukritikavo Kultūros paveldo komisiją: pusę darbo laiko ji praleidžia gindama sovietinę architektūrą." *LRT*, October 20, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1524547/kairys-sukritikavo-kulturos-paveldo-komisija-puse-darbo-laiko-ji-praleidzia-gindama-sovietine-architektura>
89. Jurgita Lieponė, "P.Cvirkos dukterėčia: tegul nemenkina žmogaus, nepranešioję jo gyvenimo klumpių." *15min*, August 24, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/naujienos/p-cvirkos-dukterecia-tegul-tik-nemenkina-zmogaus-nepranesioje-jo-gyvenimo-klumpiu-1104-1554160?copied&copied>
90. Justinas Argustas, "Justinas Argustas. Istorijos sugrįžimas." *LRT*, January 30, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1138207/justinas-argustas-istorijos-sugrizimas>
91. Kamilė Šeraitė, "Kamilė Šeraitė. Cvirkos paminklui laisvame Vilniuje ne vieta (II). Kuo jį galėtume pakeisti?" *DELFI*, February 16, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/kamile-seraite-cvirkos-paminklui-laisvame-vilniuje-ne-vieta-ii-kuo-ji-galetume-pakeisti.d?id=80372881>
92. Karl E. Jirgens, "Labyrinths of Meaning in Aleksandrs Pelēcis' Siberia Book and Agate Nesaule's Woman in Amber: A Postmodern/Postcolonial Reading." Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 359–385.
93. Kasparas Adomaitis, "Kasparas Adomaitis: Kas ką pasakė apie K.Škirpą ir J.Noreiką." *15min*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/nuomones/kasparas-adomaitis-kas-ka-pasake-apie-k-skirpa-ir-j-noreika-18-1185954?copied&copied>
94. Kęstutis Girnius, "Kęstutis Girnius. Ar supriešinta visuomenė atvers dešiniems kelią į Seimą?" *DELFI*, September 23, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/kestutis-girnius-ar-supriesinta-visuomene-atvers-desiniems-kelia-i-seima.d?id=82320807>
95. Kęstutis Girnius, "Kęstutis Girnius. Pagaliau, nors pavėluotai, nukeltas išdaviko paminklas." *DELFI*, September 20, 2021. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/kestutis-girnius-pagaliau-nors-paveluotai-nukeltas-isdaviko-paminklas.d?id=88212393>
96. Kęstutis Girnius, "Kęstutis Girnius. Paminklų griovimo metai." *LRT*, June 17, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1189198/kestutis-girnius-paminklu-griovimo-metai>
97. Kristina Andělová, "Reinventing Central Europe and the Decline of Marxism: Czech 'Orientalism' through the Lens of Intellectual History." *IWM Junior Visiting Fellows' Conferences*, vol. 35, Vienna, 2016.
98. Kristina Pocyte, "Nenuleidžia rankų: pagamino naują lentą generolui Vėtrai." *DELFI*, September 4, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/nenuleidzia-ranku-pagamino-nauja-lenta-generolui-ve-trai.d?id=82154241>
99. Laimonas Talat-Kelpša, "Dealing with trauma of an undigested past." Presentation in a conference "Dealing with the trauma of an undigested past", Vilnius, Lithuania, March 5-6, 2020.
100. Laimonas Talat-Kelpša, "What is wrong with us – opinion?" *LRT English*, March 4, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1148089/what-is-wrong-with-us-opinion>
101. Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford University Press, 1994.
102. Laura Adomavičienė, "Sukritikavo Nausėdos idėją dėl atminimo lentelių: taip elgiasi Rytų kaimynai." *LRT*, August 14, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1088182/sukritikavo-nausedos-ideja-del-atminimo-lenteliu-taip-elgiasi-rytu-kaimynai>
103. Lauryna Vireliūnaitė, "Kultūros forume Gitanas Nausėda išgirdo: neturėtų būti tokių dalykų kaip vieninga istorijos politika." *15min*, September 9, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/kulturos-forume->

- gitanas-nauseda-isgirdo-neturetu-buti-tokiu-dalyku-kaip-vieninga-istorijos-politika-56-1199656?copied&copied
104. Lauryna Vireliūnaitė, “Naujasis LGGRTC vadovas Arūnas Bubnys: išvengti jautrių klausimų politizavimo, manau, yra neįmanoma.” *15min*, May 4, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/naujasis-lggrtc-vadovas-arunas-bubnys-ismengti-jautriu-klausimu-politizavimo-manau-yra-neimanoma-56-1497308?copied&copied>
 105. Leon de Kock. “Interview With Gayatri Chakrovorty Spivak: New Nation Writers Conference in South Africa.” 1992. <http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~sj6/Spivak%20Interview%20DeKock.pdf>
 106. Leonardas Marcinkevičius, ELTA, “Dėl Cvirkos paminklo išsiskiria ir Vilniaus valdančiųjų politikų nuomonės.” *DELFI*, September 2, 2021. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/del-cvirkos-paminklo-issiskiria-ir-vilniaus-valdanciuju-politiku-nuomones.d?id=88096019>
 107. LietuviškosTVArchyvas. “Kremliuje Lietuva priimama i Tarybų Sąjungą 1940 08 03.” *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Xh37-GjaF4&ab_channel=Lietuvi%C5%A1kosTVArchyvas
 108. Lisa M. Given, *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. Los Angeles, Calif: Sage Publications, 2008.
 109. LRT RADIJAS, “N. Putinaitė: nereikia nuimti sovietinių paminklų.” *LRT*, December 6, 2017. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/tavo-lrt/15/195863/n-putinaite-nereikia-nuimti-sovietiniu-paminklu>
 110. LRT RADIJAS, “Policija vertins, kokiomis aplinkybėmis vėl pakabinta atminimo lenta Generolui Vėtrai.” *LRT*, September 6, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1095039/policija-vertins-kokiomis-aplinkybemis-vel-pakabinta-atminimo-lenta-generolui-vetrai>
 111. LRT RADIJAS, “Venclova apie Cvirkos paminklo nukėlimą: tai yra bolševikinė praktika.” *15min*, May 20, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1060761/venclova-apie-cvirkos-paminklo-nukelima-tai-yra-bolsevikine-praktika>
 112. LRT RADIJAS, LRT.lt, BNS, “JAV diplomatė: prie Holokausto prisidėjusių asmenų šlovinimas Lietuvoje kenkia valstybės reputacijai.” *LRT*, September 16, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1098099/jav-diplomate-prie-holokausto-prisidejusių-asmenu-slovinimas-lietuvoje-kenkia-valstybes-reputacijai>
 113. LRT TELEVIZIJA, “Šimašius apie karštą Generolo Vėtros atminimo lentos klausimą: išėmiau parako statinę tautai iš po užpakalio.” *LRT*, July 27, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1083270/simasius-apie-karsta-generolo-vetros-atminimo-lentos-klausima-ismiau-parako-statine-tautai-is-po-uzpakalio>
 114. LRT.lt, “Cvirkos skvere įvyks kasdienybės spektaklis: „Sunaikinti ir pamiršti „nešvarius objektus“ nėra būdas išgyti.” *LRT*, November 10, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1538501/cvirkos-skvere-ivyks-kasdienybes-spektaklis-„sunaikinti-ir-pamirsti-nesvarius-objektus-nera-budas-isyti“>
 115. LRT.lt, “Dėl Cvirkos paminklo: Literatūros tarybos nariai reiškia nepasitenkinimą, kad kultūros ministras juos ignoravo.” *LRT*, August 31, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1482195/del-cvirkos-paminklo-literaturos-tarybos-nariai-reiskia-nepasitenkinima-kad-kulturos-ministras-juos-ignoravo>
 116. LRT.lt, “Liepos pabaigoje bus nuspręsta, ar pervadinti Škirpos alėją į Trispalvės.” *LRT*, July 10, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1077394/liepos-pabaigoje-bus-nuspresta-ar-pervadinti-skirpos-aleja-i-trispalves>
 117. LRT.lt, “LRT.lt – tarp trijų skaitomiausių lietuviškų interneto svetainių.” *LRT*. January 8, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/tavo-lrt/15/1315765/lrt-lt-tarp-triju-skaitomiausių-lietuvisku-interneto-svetainiu>
 118. LRT.lt, “Ministras Kairys siekia Cvirkos paminklo išbraukimo iš Kultūros vertybių registro: jo kolaboravimas su sovietais sukėlė žalingų pasekmių.” *LRT*, May 31, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1421552/ministras-kairys-siekia-cvirkos-paminklo-isbraukimo-is-kulturos-vertybiu-registro-jo-kolaboravimas-su-sovietais-sukele-zalingu-pasekmiu>
 119. LRT.lt, “Naujame BBC filme apie Holokausto neigimą – ir Generolo Vėtros istorija.” *LRT*, February 20, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pasaulyje/6/1144532/naujame-bbc-filme-apie-holokausto-neigima-ir-generolo-vetros-istorija>
 120. LRT.lt, “Not the past, but contentious present. Conference in Vilnius to look at legacy of WW2.” *LRT English*, June 3, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1424200/not-the-past-but-contentious-present-conference-in-vilnius-to-look-at-legacy-of-ww2>
 121. Lukrecijus Tubys, “Konfliktas dėl J.Noreikos ir K.Škirpos – gilus, be greitos pabaigos, bet reikalingas.” *15min*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/konfliktas-del-j-noreikos-ir-k-skirpos-gilus-be-greitos-pabaigos-bet-reikalingas-56-1186278?copied%20%20E2%80%9E&copied>
 122. Lukrecijus Tubys, “Nuo J.Noreikos prie Vyčio: grįžtama prie laisvės kovų Lukiškių aikštėje įamžinimo.” *15min*, September 10, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/nuo-j-noreikos-prie-vycio-griztama-prie-laisves-kovu-lukiskiu-aiksteje-iamzinimo-56-1200624?copied&copied>

123. Lukrecijus Tubys, ELTA, "Savo komandą slepiantis Mazuronis sukritikavo konkurentus: jei negali paeiti, reikia pasiimti ramentus." *LRT*, April 19, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1050915/savo-komanda-slepiantis-mazuronis-sukritikavo-konkurentus-jei-negali-paeiti-reikia-pasiimti-ramentus>
124. Maire Jaanus, "Estonia's Time and Monumental Time." Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 203–232.
125. Margaret Tali and Ieva Astahovska, "Exploring alternative ways of commemorating long-silenced traumas." *Baltic Worlds*, Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (CBEES), Södertörn University, Vol. XIII:4. December 2020.
126. Marharyta Fabrykant, "Russian-speaking Belarusian Nationalism: An Ethnolinguistic Identity Without a Language?" *Europe-Asia Studies*, January 2019.
127. Maria Mälksoo, "'Memory Must Be Defended': Beyond the Politics of Mnemonical Security." *Security Dialogue*, 46, no. 3, June 2015, 221–37.
128. Maria Mälksoo, "The Memory Politics of Becoming European: The East European Subalterns and the Collective Memory of Europe." *European Journal of International Relations* 15, no. December 4, 2009: 653–80.
129. Maria Mälksoo, "The First Lady of the Baltic 'Memory Offensive'." *The International Centre for Defence and Security (ICDS)*, August 1, 2007. <https://icds.ee/en/the-first-lady-of-the-baltic-memory-offensive-2/>
130. Marius Ivaškevičius, "Marius Ivaškevičius. Škirpa ar Cvirka?" *DELFI*. July 15, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/marius-ivaskevicius-Škirpa-ar-cvirka.d?id=81708625>
131. Marius Kundrotas, "Marius Kundrotas. Vakcina nuo Kremliaus." *DELFI*, February 23, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/marius-kundrotas-vakcina-nuo-kremliaus.d?id=83583699>
132. Mark Adam Harold, "Markas Adamas Haroldas: „Pakeiskime vienos alėjos pavadinimą ir apie mus rašys visa pasaulio žiniasklaida.“" *15min*, May 15, 2016. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/markas-adamas-haroldas-pakeiskime-vienos-alejos-pavadinima-ir-apie-mus-rasys-visa-pasaulio-ziniasklaida-56-625269?copied&copied>
133. Markas Zingeris, "Markas Zingeris. Suklijuoti memorialinę lentą paprasčiau negu dūžtantį Lietuvos įvaizdį." *DELFI*, April 26, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/markas-zingeris-suklijuoti-memorialine-lenta-paprasciau-negu-duztanti-lietuvos-ivaizdi.d?id=81012477>
134. Milena Andrukaitytė, BNS, "Nausėda: neturi būti kelių skirtingų politikų jautriais istorijos klausimais." *LRT*, August 3, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1084875/nauseda-neturi-buti-keliu-skirtingu-politiku-jautriais-istorijos-klausimais>
135. Milena Andrukaitytė, BNS, "Sprendžiant dėl atminties ženklų Linkevičius ragina remtis ekspertų nuomone." *DELFI*, July 31, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/sprendziant-del-atminties-zenklu-linkevicius-ragina-remtis-ekspertu-nuomone.d?id=81865973>
136. Mindaugas Jackevičius, "Gelbėtojas ar kolaborantas? Dėl Vėtros asmenybės istorikė mato tarptautinį tyrimą, bet mano – lentelės neturėtų būti." *LRT*, September 23, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1238650/gelbetojas-ar-kolaborantas-del-vetros-asmenybes-istorike-mato-tarptautini-tyrima-bet-mano-lenteles-neturetu-buti>
137. Mindaugas Jackevičius, "Ministrui užsimojus išbraukti Cvirkos paminklą iš Kultūros vertybių registro, menotyrininkė įžvelgia ir interesus dėl nekilnojamojo turto." *LRT*, May 31, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1422007/ministrui-uzsimojus-isbraukti-cvirkos-paminkla-is-kulturos-vertybiu-registro-menotyrininke-izvelgia-ir-interesus-del-nekilnojamojo-turto>
138. Mindaugas Jackevičius, "Pratrūko net Venclova: nenoriu, kad tai būtų siejama su mano vardu." *DELFI*, April 26, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/pratruko-net-venclova-nenoriu-kad-tai-butu-siejama-su-mano-vardu.d?id=77804097>
139. Mindaugas Jackevičius, "T. Venclova perspėja dėl pražūtingų užuomazgų ir ilgam pakirsto Lietuvos prestižo." *LRT*, September 25, 2018. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/227989/t-venclova-perspeja-del-prazutingu-uzuomazgu-ir-ilgam-pakirsto-lietuvos-prestizo>
140. Mindaugas Klusas, "When poem could land you in prison: Soviet Lithuanian author implicated in fellow writer's persecution." *LRT English*, November 10, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1114187/when-poem-could-land-you-in-prison-soviet-lithuanian-author-implicated-in-fellow-writer-s-persecution>
141. Mindaugas Klusas, "Arkadijus Vinokuras naujuoju romanu nori įspėti Lietuvą apie nacionalizmo diktatūrą." *LRT*, February 18, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1143915/arkadijus-vinokuras-naujuoju-romanu-nori-ispeti-lietuva-apie-nacionalizmo-diktatura>
142. Mindaugas Klusas, "Arkadijus Vinokuras naujuoju romanu nori įspėti Lietuvą apie nacionalizmo diktatūrą." *LRT*, February 18, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1143915/arkadijus-vinokuras-naujuoju-romanu-nori-ispeti-lietuva-apie-nacionalizmo-diktatura>

143. Mindaugas Klusas, Rugilė Augustaitytė, ELTA, "Istorinė akimirka: nukeltas sovietinio veikėjo ir rašytojo Petro Cvirkos paminklas." *LRT*, November 19, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1545956/istorine-akimirka-nukeltas-sovietinio-veikejo-ir-rasytojo-petro-cvirkos-paminklas>
144. Mindaugas Kvietkauskas, "Mindaugas Kvietkauskas. Ar nugriautas tik Cvirka?" *15min*, November 20, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/asmenybe/mindaugas-kvietkauskas-ar-nugriautas-tik-cvirka-285-1600784?copied>
145. Modesta Gaučaitė, "Biblioteka mano, kad Generolo Vėtros lenta galėtų likti, policija jos kabintojams baudų kol kas neišrašė." *LRT*, September 6, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1095086/biblioteka-mano-kad-generolo-vetros-lenta-galetu-likti-policija-jos-kabintojams-baudu-kol-kas-neisrase>
146. Modesta Gaučaitė, "Naujasis Genocido centro vadovas: centras turi ginti Lietuvos garbę." *LRT*, July 30, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1199176/naujasis-genocido-centro-vadovas-centras-turi-ginti-lietuvos-garbe>
147. Monika Bertašiūtė-Čiužienė, "Filologai aistroms dėl P.Cvirkos verdant: literatūra čia beveik nedalyvauja." *15min*, June 1, 2021. <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/naujiena/literatura/dar-vienas-p-cvirkos-epopejos-puslapis-filologu-komentarai-286-1512988?copied&copied>
148. Murat Özdemir, "The West-East From Two Children's Points of View: The Example of BBC-TRT." Book: Işıl Tombul and Sarı Gülşah (eds.), *Handbook of Research on Contemporary Approaches to Orientalism in Media and Beyond*. Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2021, 470-485.
149. Nerija Putinaitė, "Nerija Putinaitė. Atsisveikinimas su Petru Cvirka." *LRT*, November 20, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1546305/nerija-putinaite-atsisveikinimas-su-petru-cvirka>
150. Neringa Klumbytė, "Review of Kelertas's: *Baltic Postcolonialism*: Baltic Postcolonialism Edited by Violeta Kelertas. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006. Pp. 464." *East European Politics and Societies*, 21, no. 2, May 2007, 382–91.
151. Paulina Levickytė, ELTA, "Skvernelis mano, kad neteisėtai pakabinti atminimo lentos Generolui Vėtrai nederėjo." *LRT*, September 12, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1096839/skvernelis-mano-kad-neteisetai-pakabinti-atminimo-lentos-generolui-ve-trai-nederejo>
152. Paulina Levickytė, ELTA, "Žemaitaitis: koaliciją su „valstiečiais“ įsivaizduotume tik be Verygos." *LRT*, September 14, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1231824/zemaitaitis-koalicija-su-valstieciais-isivaizduotume-tik-be-verygos>
153. Paulius Gritėnas, "Istorikas N.Černiauskas: „Bijau, kad šimtmečio minėjimas netaptų vienos dienos ar dvidešimties pavardžių švente." *15min*, November 20, 2017. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/istorija/istorikas-norbertas-cerniauskas-bijau-kad-simtmečio-minejimas-netaptu-vienos-dienos-ar-dvidešimties-pavardziu-svente-582-884130?copied&copied>
154. Phillip Darby and A. J. Paolini, "Bridging International Relations - and Postcolonialism." *Alternatives*, 19, 1994, 371-397.
155. Pinar Bilgin, *Security Studies*, Routledge, 2018.
156. Povilas Urbšys, "Povilas Urbšys. Tai – elementarus vaivorykštinis fašizmas." *DELFI*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/povilas-urbsys-tai-elementarus-vaivorykstinis-fasizmas.d?id=81948701>
157. Ramūnas Bogdanas, "R. Bogdanas. Kolaborantas. Kolaborantas?" *LRT*, September 24, 2018. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/227905/r-bogdanas-kolaborantas-kolaborantas>
158. Ramūnas Jakubauskas, Augustas Stankevičius, BNS, "Maždaug tūkstantis žmonių žygiavo tautinio jaunimo eitynėse Vilniuje." *DELFI*, February 16, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/mazdaug-tukstantis-zmonių-zygiavo-tautinio-jaunimo-eitynese-vilniuje.d?id=83548851>
159. Rasa Čepaitienė, "Rasa Čepaitienė: Naktinė istorijos politika (atsakymas A.Nikžentaičiui)." *15min*, July 30, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/nuomones/rasa-cepaitiene-naktine-istorijos-politika-atsakymas-a-nikzentaiciui-18-1181172?copied&copied>
160. Rasa Goštautaitė. "Dissonant Soviet monuments in post-Soviet Lithuania: the application of artistic practices." *Baltic Worlds*. February 12, 2021. <https://balticworlds.com/dissonant-soviet-monuments-in-post-soviet-lithuania/>
161. Rimvydas Valatka, "Rimvydas Valatka. Ir didvyrių, ir tautos priešų vardai – greitai ir pigiai." *LRT*, November 18, 2015. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/119961/rimvydas-valatka-ir-didvyriu-ir-tautos-priesu-vardai-greitai-ir-pigiai>
162. Rita Miliūtė, "Kairys apie Cvirkos paminklo nukėlimą: turime ką daugiau pasakyti pasauliui, ne tik diskutuoti apie vieną ar kitą sovietinį elementą." *LRT*, November 19, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/kultura/12/1546692/kairys-apie-cvirkos-paminklo-nukelima-turime-ka-daugiau-pasakyti-pasauliui-ne-tik-diskutuoti-apie-viena-ar-kita-sovietini-elementa>

163. Roberta Tracevičiūtė, “Naują partiją buriantis V. Sinica: „G. Nausėda virvelių netampo.“” *15min*, October 6, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/nauja-partija-buriantis-v-sinica-g-nauseda-virveliu-netampo-56-1211276?copied&copied>
164. Romas Sadauskas-Kvietkevičius, “Romas Sadauskas-Kvietkevičius. Cvirka išeis greičiau, negu ištirps cukriniai avinėliai mūsų širdyse.” *DELFI*, August 28, 2021. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/romas-sadauskas-kvietkevičius-cvirka-iseis-greiciau-negu-istirps-cukriniai-avineliai-musu-sirdyse.d?id=88044599>
165. Ronaldas Galinis, “Būti žydu prie Stalino: norėjo suversti kaltę dėl Cvirkos mirties, apie „sionistų įtaisyta vyrą“ kalbėjo ir diktatorius.” *LRT*, December 27, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pasaulyje/6/1267800/buti-zydu-prie-stalino-norejo-suversti-kalte-del-cvirkos-mirties-apie-sionistu-itaisyta-vyra-kalbejo-ir-diktatorius>
166. Rūta Miškinytė. “Petro Cvirkos paminklo epopėja (II): 2019 m. diskusijos įkaito iki raudonumo.” *15min*. November 12, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/ar-zinai/naujiena/idomi-lietuva/petro-cvirkos-paminklo-epopeja-ii-2019-m-diskusijos-ikaito-iki-raudonumo-1162-1229036?copied>
167. Ruth Sanz Sabido, *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in the British Press*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
168. Šarūnas Liekis, “Šarūnas Liekis. Atminimo lentelę nuėmus: Lietuvos istorinės atminties keliai ir klystkeliai.” *LRT*, September 17, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1096942/sarunas-liekis-atminimo-lentele-nuemus-lietuvas-istorines-atminties-keliai-ir-klystkeliai>
169. Saulius Jakučionis, “Apie 40 protestuotojų ragina L. Linkevičių atsiprašyti už žodžius apie J. Noreiką.” *15min*, October 16, 2018. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/apie-40-protestuotoju-ragina-l-linkeviciu-atsiprasyti-uz-zodzius-apie-j-noreika-56-1045300?copied&copied>
170. Saulius Jakučionis, “Žydų genocidų aukų atminimo diena vėl žiebia diskusijas apie istorinę atmintį.” *15min*, September 23, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/zydu-genocidu-auku-atminimo-diena-vel-ziebia-diskusijas-apie-istorine-atminti-56-1206386?copied&copied>
171. Sergejus Kanovičius, “Sergejus Kanovičius. Apie tragiškas asmenybes ir stalo žudikus.” *LRT*, March 4, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/956430/sergejus-kanovicius-apie-tragiskas-asmenybes-ir-stalo-zudikus>
172. Siegfried Jäger and Florentine Maier. “Analysing discourses and dispositives: a Foucauldian approach to theory and methodology.” Book: Wodak Ruth and Michael Meyer (ed.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*. London: Sage Publications, 2016.
173. Simas Čelutka, “Istorikas Šepetys: didelė dalis pokomunistiniuose kraštuose nutikusių įvykių iki šiol neiškalbėti.” *LRT*, July 4, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1442377/istorikas-sepetys-didele-dalis-pokomunistiniuose-krastuose-nutikusių-ivykių-iki-siol-neiškalbėti>
174. Simonas Jazavita, “Simonas Jazavita. Kaziui Škirpai – 125 metai, arba kai kas iš 5 metų mano tyrinėjimų.” *DELFI*, February 21, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/simonas-jazavita-kaziui-škirpai-125-metai-arba-kai-kas-is-5-metu-mano-tyrinejimu.d?id=83577445>
175. Special Correspondent. “Marred. M. Lumumba's offensive speech in King's presence”, *The Guardian*, July 1, 1960. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/1960/jul/01/congo>
176. Tanmay Chatterjee, “Colonial Discourse Analysis: Foucault's Power/Knowledge Nexus and Said's Orientalism.” *Pratidhwani the Echo*, Volume-VII, Issue-I, July 2018, 199-208.
177. Teresė Birutė Burauskaitė. “DĖL KAZIO ŠKIRPOS VEIKLOS ANTROJO PASAULINIO KARO METAIS.” *Lietuvos gyventojų genocido ir rezistencijos tyrimo centras*. http://genocid.lt/UserFiles/File/Pazymos/201510_Škirpa_pazyma01.pdf
178. Teresė Birutė Burauskaitė. “JONO NOREIKOS (GENEROLO VĖTROS) VEIKLA NACIŲ OKUPUOTOJE LIETUVOJE.” *Lietuvos gyventojų genocido ir rezistencijos tyrimo centras*. http://genocid.lt/UserFiles/File/Pazymos/201510_noreika_pazyma01.pdf
179. Thomas Salumets, “Conflicted Consciousness: Jaan Kaplinski and the Legacy of Intra-European Postcolonialism in Estonia.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 429–450.
180. Thomas Salumets, “Conflicted Consciousness: Jaan Kaplinski and the Legacy of Intra-European Postcolonialism in Estonia.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 429–450.
181. Tiina Kirss, “Viivi Luik's The Beauty of History: Aestheticized Violence and the Postcolonial in the Contemporary Estonian Novel.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 271–289.
182. Tomas Daugirdas, “Tomas Daugirdas: Bėda su sąvokomis: kolaboravimas nacistinis ar sovietinis.” *15min*, August 27, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/istorija/tomas-daugirdas-beda-su-savokomis-kolaboravimas-nacistinis-ar-sovietinis-582-1193850?copied&copied>

183. Tomas Jermalavičius, “Lessons for Baltics after Soviet aggression thirty years ago.” *LRT English*, January 30, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1328787/lessons-for-baltics-after-soviet-aggression-thirty-years-ago>
184. Tomas Vaitelė, BNS, “Po Šimašiaus akibrokšto – audringa Landsbergio ir Kasčiūno reakcija: meras atminimo lentą turi sugrąžinti.” *DELFI*, July 27, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/po-simasiaus-akibroksto-audringa-landsbergio-ir-kasciuno-reakcija-meras-atminimo-lenta-turi-sugrazinti.d?id=81838899>
185. Vaidas Saldžiūnas, “Noreikos ir Škirpos gynėjai Vilniuje susirinko į mitingą: žada grąžinti atminimo lentą.” *DELFI*, August 7, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/noreikos-ir-skirpos-gynejai-vilniuje-susirinko-i-mitinga-zada-grazinti-atminimo-lenta.d?id=81935389>
186. Vaidotas Beniušis, BNS. “Lithuanian president retreats from stricter rules for memory policy.” *LRT English*. January 3, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1130098/lithuanian-president-retreats-from-stricter-rules-for-memory-policy>
187. Valdas Rakutis, “Valdas Rakutis. Tarptautinė Holokausto diena ir istorinė atmintis.” *LRT*, January 27, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1329389/valdas-rakutis-tarptautine-holokausto-diena-ir-istorine-atmintis>
188. Valdemaras Klumbys, “Valdemaras Klumbys. Ar Lietuvai reikia istorikų?” *LRT*, December 3, 2020. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1290941/valdemaras-klumbys-ar-lietuvai-reikia-istoriku>
189. Valdemaras Klumbys, “Valdemaras Klumbys. Istorijos baimė.” *LRT*, February 24, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1351170/valdemaras-klumbys-istorijos-baime-i>
190. Valery Tishkov. “What Are Russia and the Russian People?” *Russian Politics & Law*, 47:2, 2009, 30-59.
191. Vidas Rachlevičius, “Vidas Rachlevičius. Ar dar turime bent šiek tiek savigarbos?” *DELFI*, April 28, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/vidas-rachlevicius-ar-dar-turime-bent-siek-tiek-savigarbos.d?id=84149141>
192. Vidmantas Martikonis, “Vidmantas Martikonis. Vilnius griaua... Kas kitas?” *DELFI*, May 16, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/vidmantas-martikonis-vilnius-griaunakas-kitas.d?id=77861371>
193. Viktoras Bachmetjevas, “Viktoras Bachmetjevas: Antisemito alėja.” *15min*, June 30, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/komentarai/viktoras-bachmetjevas-antisemito-aleja-500-1167120?copied&copied> <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/komentarai/viktoras-bachmetjevas-antisemito-aleja-500-1167120?copied>
194. Viktoras Bachmetjevas, “Viktoras Bachmetjevas: Apie istorinę atmintį ir diskusijų kultūrą.” *15min*, July 9, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/komentarai/viktoras-bachmetjevas-apie-istorine-atminti-ir-diskusiju-kultura-500-1170824?copied&copied>
195. Violeta Grigaliūnaitė, “R.Šimašius po lentos generolui Vėtrai nuėmimo: neliks ir lentos V. Valsiūnienei, ir paminklo P. Cvirka.” *15min*, July 29, 2019. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/15min-studijoje-del-nakti-nuimtos-lentos-j-noreikai-priverstas-teisintis-vilniaus-meras-r-simasius-56-1180684?copied>
196. Violeta Kelertas, “Perceptions of the Self and the Other in Lithuanian Postcolonial Fiction.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.), *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 251–269.
197. Virginijus Savukynas, “Lietuvių santykiai su žydais: sakralizuojant istorinių asmenybių klaidas žengtas žingsnis atgal?” *LRT*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/1086533/lietuviu-santykiai-su-zydais-sakralizuojant-istoriniu-asmenybiu-klaidas-zengtas-zingsnis-atgal>
198. Virginijus Savukynas, “Virginijus Savukynas. Kodėl Komunizmą Vertiname Atlaidžiau Nei Nacizmą?” *LRT*, September 3, 2019. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1094140/virginijus-savukynas-kodel-komunizma-vertiname-atlaidziau-nei-nacizma>
199. Virginijus Savukynas, „Istorijos detektyvai“ klausia, ar verti atminimo P. Cvirka, K. Škirpa ir J. Noreika?” *LRT*, October 11, 2017. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/189482/istorijos-detektyvai-klausia-ar-verti-atminimo-p-cvirka-k-skirpa-ir-j-noreika>
200. Vladimiras Laučius, “Vladimiras Laučius. Sušimašinta Lietuva.” *DELFI*, August 12, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/vladimiras-laucius-susimasinta-lietuva.d?id=81964131>
201. Vydūnas Sadauskas, “Vydūnas Sadauskas. Šimašius ir jo profesinė (ne)draugė „teisė“.” *DELFI*, August 2, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/vydunas-sadauskas-simasius-ir-jo-profesine-nedrauge-teise.d?id=81889733>
202. Vytautas Landsbergis, “Vytautas Landsbergis. Šis tas nauja dėl „Generolo Vėtros“.” *DELFI*, September 21, 2018. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/vytautas-landsbergis-sis-tas-nauja-del-generolo-vetros.d?id=79125463>
203. Vytautas Landsbergis, “Vytautas Landsbergis: Cvirkos palydos.” *15min*, October 24, 2017. <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/nuomones/vytautas-landsbergis-cvirkos-palydos-18-871824?copied&copied>
204. Vytautas Radžvilas, “Vytautas Radžvilas. Lietuvos valstybei – šachas ir matas?” *LRT*, March 31, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/pozicija/679/1377220/vytautas-radzvilas-lietuvos-valstybei-sachas-ir-matas>

205. Vytautas Radžvilas, “Vytautas Radžvilas. Tikrasis Škirpos ir Noreikos puolimo tikslas.” *DELFI*, September 3, 2019. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/vytautas-radzvilas-tikrasis-skirpos-ir-noreikos-puolimo-tikslas.d?id=82133223>
206. Vytautas Rubavičius, “A Soviet Experience of Our Own: Comprehension and the Surrounding Silence.” Book: Violeta Kelertas (ed.). *Baltic Postcolonialism*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 83-104.
207. Vytautas Sinica, “V. Sinica. A. Terleckas – KGB`istas, valstybės kūrėjai – balvonai, J. Noreika – tautos gėda?” *DELFI*, August 6, 2015. <https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/v-sinica-a-terleckas-kgbistas-valstybes-kurejai-balvonai-j-noreika-tautos-geda.d?id=68629510>
208. Zenonas Mačiulaitis, “Vyras pasakė, kas jam daro gėdą Lietuvoje: užsieniečiai tokio mūsų užsispyrimo nesupras.” *DELFI*, January 12, 2020. <https://www.delfi.lt/piliietis/voxpopuli/vyras-pasake-kas-jam-daro-geda-lietuvoje-uzsienieciai-tokio-musu-uzsispyrimo-nesupras.d?id=83212311>
209. Zigmas Vitkus, “Zigmas Vitkus. Turbūt šaukštai po pietų, bet gal dar pavyks: apie Petro Cvirkos skulptūrą ir skverą.” *LRT*, September 30, 2021. <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/nuomones/3/1505491/zigmas-vitkus-turbut-saukstai-po-pietu-bet-gal-dar-pavyks-apie-petro-cvirkos-skulptura-ir-skvera>

7.0 Summary

(EN) This thesis, “Occupied or colonised? Looking for signs of Lithuania's postcolonial condition”, aims to answer the following question – how do signs of the country’s postcolonial condition manifest through collective memory discourses? In order to find an answer, two case studies are used – the places of memory dedicated to Petras Cvirka, and Jonas Noreika and Kazys Škirpa. By employing Critical Discourse Analysis in the media, the goal of this thesis is to look for signs of Lithuania’s postcolonial condition that lie at the core of ontological insecurity, which stems from traumatic Soviet and Holocaust heritage and results in clashes over collective memory. The aim is to show: a) how the postcolonialism manifests itself in public discourse via the media; b) the postcolonial lens being a valid tool in analysing issues surrounding ontological security, as well as collective memory and trauma.

The relevance of this thesis stems from the fact that only in the past decade did the postcolonial lens begin to expand to include the post-Soviet space. A crucial factor on why it has been missing is external (Western monopoly of the postcolonial critique), but also internal (the difficulty of internalising colonialism in Lithuania itself). So far, only few authors in Lithuania have used the theory in the local context, while also employing only limited methodological tools (mainly by looking at literature). This is where this work hopes to push forward the discourse surrounding postcolonialism in Lithuania.

The key pillars that serve as reference points to look for signs of postcolonialism in the discourse are based on definitions established by David Chioni Moore et al, which lay out the parameters for postcoloniality in the post-Soviet space. These include the desire for a mythic set of heroes, mimicry (either the fear of repeating the behaviour of the Soviets, or resulting in the “desire to replace one homogenising view of the world with another” (Salumets)), tensions between the

desire for autonomy and a history of dependence, the myth of silent or passive resistance, and invocations of disease, body, and violence to describe non-physical processes (such as memory).

These manifestations of postcolonialism have prevented the country from processing and dealing with traumatic history, leading to ontological insecurity, as any moves to challenge the postcolonial effects on Lithuania's collective memory are seen as destructive to the society's image of 'self', leading to "actors acting out" (Subotić). This 'acting out' results in subsequent street protests and discursive clashes in the media. This contentious past then affects both societal cohesion and politics domestically, but also impacts Lithuania's international relations.

Adding the postcolonial lens that may help *understand* the roots of ontological anxieties. Understanding them can thus lead to a better response – either by internalising or defusing them, or using other means that are beyond the scope of this paper. According to Mälksoo, "as ontological anxiety is, to an extent, quite simply inevitable, it would be wiser to acknowledge and come to terms with it, instead of entertaining a pipe dream of a perfectly 'securable' identity and its beholder's historical memory."

An interdisciplinary approach combining research into collective memory and trauma, ontological security, and postcolonialism could lead to a more fruitful discussion on how to deal with contentious past, potentially moving beyond the current dichotomies of 'good versus bad' collaboration, keeping/destroying monuments, enabling/avoiding discussions, resisting/internalising different narratives, etc. This could be just one of many examples for a potential path forward that may become the focus of further studies.

(LT) Šis darbas: „Okupuoti ar kolonizuoti? Lietuvos postkolonijinės būsenos požymių beiėškant“, siekiama atsakyti į klausimą – kaip per kolektyvinės atminties diskursus pasireiškia šalies postkolonijinės būklės ženklai? Norint rasti atsakymą, pasitelkiamos dvi atvejo studijos – Petru Cvirikai ir Jonui Noreikai bei Kaziui Škirpai skirtos atminimo vietos. Taikant kritinio diskurso analizę žiniasklaidoje, šio darbo tikslas – ieškoti Lietuvos postkolonijinės būklės požymių, slypinčių ontologinio nesaugumo, kylančio iš trauminio sovietinio ir holokausto paveldo kuris sukelia susirėmimus dėl kolektyvinės atminties. Tikslas – parodyti: a) kaip postkolonializmas pasireiškia viešajame diskurse per žiniasklaidą; b) postkolonijinė teorija yra tinkamas įrankis analizuojant ontologinio saugumo, kolektyvinės atminties ir traumų problemas.

Šio darbo aktualumas kyla iš to, kad tik praėjusį dešimtmetį postkolonijinė teorija pradėjo plėstis, apimdama posovietinę erdvę. Esminis veiksnys, kodėl jo trūko, yra išorinis (Vakarų postkolonijinės kritikos monopolis), bet ir vidinis (kolonializmo internalizavimo sunkumas pačioje Lietuvoje). Kol kas tik nedaugelis autorių Lietuvoje taikė teoriją vietiniame kontekste, o taip pat

pasitelkė tik ribotas metodines priemones (daugiausia žvelgiant į literatūrą). Todėl, šiuo darbu tikimasi pastūmėti diskursą apie postkolonializmą Lietuvoje.

Pagrindiniai ramsčiai, kurie yra atskaitos taškai ieškant postkolonializmo požymių diskurse, yra pagrįsti David Chioni Moore ir kt. nustatytais apibrėžimais, kurie išdėsto postkolonialumo posovietinėje erdvėje parametrus. Tai mitinių herojų ieškojimas, mimika (arba baimė pakartoti sovietų elgesį, arba „noras pakeisti vieną homogenizuojantį pasaulio vaizdą kitu“ (Salumets)), įtampa tarp autonomijos troškimo ir priklausomybės istorijos, tylaus ar pasyvaus pasipriešinimo mitas, ir ligų, kūno ir smurto iššaukimus, apibūdinančius nefizinius procesus (pvz., atmintį).

Šios postkolonializmo apraiškos neleidžia šaliai apdoroti traumuojančią istoriją, o tai veda prie ontologinio nesaugumo, nes bet kokie žingsniai, kuriais siekiama spręsti postkolonijį poveikį Lietuvos kolektyvinei atminčiai, yra laikomi destruktiviais visuomenės „savęs“ įvaizdžiu, vedančiais į susipriešinimą (Subotić). Šie susipriešinimai taip pat sukelia protestus ir diskursinius susirėmimus žiniasklaidoje. Ši ginčijama praeitis veikia tiek visuomenės koheziją, tiek vidaus politiką, bet taip pat turi įtakos Lietuvos tarptautiniams santykiams.

Pridedant postkolonijinę teoriją gali padėti suprasti ontologinio nerimo šaknis. Jas bandant suprasti, galima bandyti rasti geresnį atsaką. Anot Mälksoo, „kadangi ontologinis nerimas tam tikru mastu yra tiesiog neišvengiamas, būtų protingiau jį pripažinti ir su juo susitaikyti, o ne svajoti apie tobulai „užtikrinamą“ tapatybę ir jos stebėtojo istorinę istoriją. atmintis“.

Tarpdisciplininis požiūris, apjungiantis kolektyvinės atminties ir traumų, ontologinio saugumo ir postkolonializmo tyrimus, galėtų paskatinti vaisingesnę diskusiją apie tai, kaip spręsti ginčytiną praeitį, potencialiai peržengiant dabartines „gero ir blogo“ bendradarbiavimo dichotomijas, saugoti / naikinti paminklus, įgalinti/išvengti diskusijų, priešintis/įtraukti skirtingus naratyvus, ir pan. Tai gali būti tik vienas iš daugelio pavyzdžių, kuris gali tapti tolesnių studijų akcentu.